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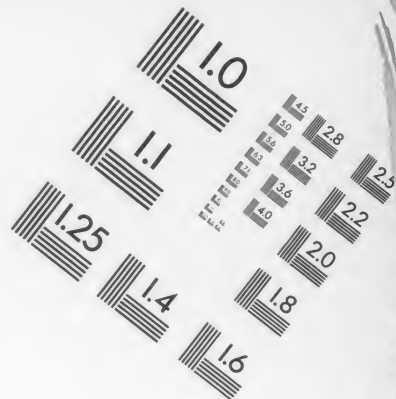
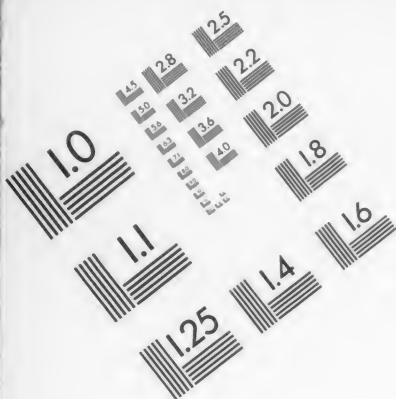
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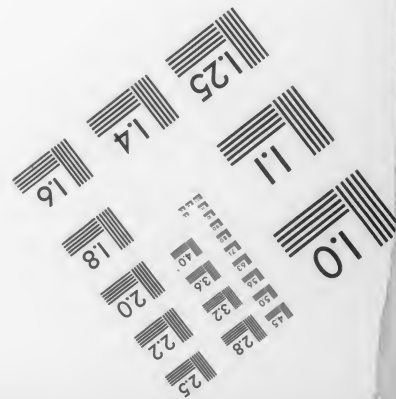
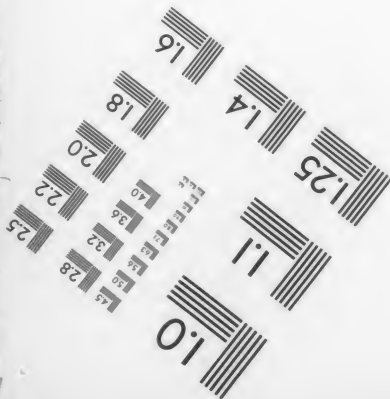
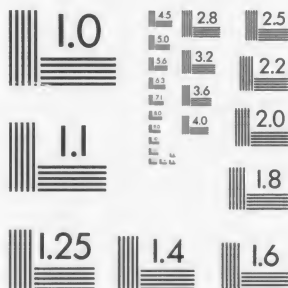
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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.



HISTORY OF ROME

THE ROMAN PEOPLE

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

VICTOR DE LA VIGNE,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. G. PARAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

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LONDON:

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1854.

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

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THIS volume contains the history of a few years only, those which elapsed between the consulship of Cæsar and the Battle of Actium. But in this short period the greatest revolution of antiquity was accomplished—the Fall of the Roman Republic and the Establishment of the Empire.

I first wrote this history forty years ago. Time, study, experience in public affairs—*usus rerum*, have not led me to alter the general lines of my first narrative. I still think, as I thought then, that the liberty of Rome had nothing in common with ours, and that the republicans of the Tiber's banks were but a narrow oligarchy, who, when they had conquered the world, knew not how to govern it. Guy Patin once said to a First President that, if he himself had been in the senate on the ides of March, he would have dealt the dictator the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. It was a literary opinion which it was good taste to profess, in memory of Cicero glorifying the murder of Cæsar, at a time when the Opposition in Parliament imagined themselves Catos. "The conquering cause which pleased the gods" is still repugnant to a few men of letters in France, but, in free England, as well as in Cæsarian Germany, historical criticism now decides in favour of the gods.

Like many others, I could have wished that the great Republic, which for centuries had displayed so much wisdom, had endured. Was this possible? The answer will be found in this book if the reader will therein carefully study, in a perfectly impartial spirit, the transformations that historical circumstances brought about in Roman society. The reading of the work will occupy fewer hours than the writing did years, and it will lead to the conviction that, while still retaining the ideas of the present

day, we may approve of a revolution which was a step in advance for the human race. A hundred families lost by it, but eighty millions of men have profited.¹

In concluding this volume I must express my gratitude to His Majesty King Humbert, who with royal liberality has deigned to place at my disposal the documents published by his Government upon the archaeological researches carried on in Italy.

Nov., 1880.

¹ "The establishment of the empire in Rome was a distinct step in advance. . . . It was an enormous boon to ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population." (Beesly, *Tiberius*, p. 147, 1878.)

CHAPTER LI.

POWERLESSNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

I.—INTERNAL TROUBLES; RISE OF CÆSAR.

IN the time of Sylla the Tuscan haruspices when consulted about certain portents had replied that a new era of the world was approaching, and that the form of the universe was about to undergo a change. Prophetic powers were not needed to see that on earth a revolution was in course of preparation.

In the last sixty years two diverse attempts had been made to reconstitute the Republic, one in the popular interest, the other in that of the aristocracy. The former failed because the Gracchi counted too much upon the crowd of freedmen who had replaced the ancient Roman people; the other appeared to succeed for a time because Sulla made use of the only power left in Rome, the nobility; but this nobility, which might have ruled the world had it known how to rule itself, showed itself incapable of preserving the empire, and Pompey, to repay the plaudits of the populace, deprived it of a portion of what Sylla had given.¹ It was at best but an unintelligent restoration of the past, a return to the times of Sulpicius and Saturninus, without any further guarantee against the spirit of faction; it was a revival of war in the Forum, where it soon broke out again. The consulship of Piso in the year 67 B.C. may be reckoned among the worst times of the Republic.

One of Pompey's former quaestors, C. Cornelius, was then tribune. He was anxious to repress the usurious loans by which the nobles ruined the provinces, and to prevent certain bribed senators from dispensing, in the name of their partners, with the observation of some law. Piso contested his *rogatio*, and when the

¹ See vol. ii. p.
VOL. III.

people murmured he ordered several arrests; but the crowd rushed upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove the consul from the Forum with a shower of stones. Like his patron, Cornelius was no demagogue. He dismissed the assembly and modified his proposal in this way: a *senatus-consultum* dispensing with an existing law must be passed by a senate of at least 200 members.¹ He also attempted to extend the crime of canvassing (bribery) to those who had aided the incriminated candidate, and he proposed severe penalties against them. Piso, whose violence had not succeeded, now employed cunning; he himself took charge of this law in order not to leave the honour of it to the tribune, and under pretext that in the face of excessive penalties there would be found neither accusers nor judges, he demanded for the guilty only expulsion from the senate, suspension from office, and a fine. Again a disturbance compelled him to fly from the Forum; he called together his friends, came back by force, and the law was passed.² Scarcely had Cornelius quitted office when the two Cominii accused him of the crime of *majestas* for having paid no heed to the veto of his colleagues; but Manilius, another of Pompey's agents, at the head of an armed band threatened them with death. They fled under the protection of the consuls to a house whence they escaped at night over the roofs (66).

Thus the armed conflicts began again: but a short while ago Licinius Macer accused the senate of despotism,³ now the consuls reproach the tribunes with their violence; thus nobility and populace were equally convicted of impotence to rule, and there remained but one solution—monarchy.⁴ Three men were then aiming at it; Pompey, after the manner of Pericles, by legal means; Catiline, like Dionysius and Agathocles, by conspiracies and the soldiery; Cæsar, after the manner of Alexander, by

¹ A more important law by the same tribune obliged the magistrates, upon their entry into office, to publish the rules by which they would judge, and forbade them ever to set aside their edict, as they had hitherto done, by a new edict, *edictum repentinum*. (Dion., xxxvi. 38-39; Cic., *pro Murena*, 23; Dion., xxxvi. 21; and Ascon. in Cic., *pro C. Cornelio*, fragm. i. 19, 34.)

² The affair was taken up again in 65. Cicero, who was anxious to please Pompey and render himself popular, defended the accused. This oration, which Quintilian (viii. 3) calls a masterpiece, is lost, except a few fragments.

³ See vol. ii. p. 783.

⁴ Cicero says that at the commencement of his consulship: *novæ dominationes, extraordinaria non imperia, sed regna, quæri putabantur*. (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 3.)

the ascendancy of his genius. Among these three men another took his place who was superior to his times, who believed in virtue and in the power of reason, and who would not yield to the thought that liberty must perish. Cicero, like Drusus, sought the safety of the Republic, not in the exclusive predominance of one class of citizens, but in the reconciliation of all; with one there would be despotism, with two war, with three harmony and peace. He had already done his part in transferring the judicial powers to the *equites*, and he worked hard to win public opinion to their side by extolling their impartiality and services in all his speeches. He would have liked to attach Pompey to their cause, and as he had gained an insight into the nature of his ambition he had spared no pains to advance it.¹ Moreover, as a *novus homo* Cicero needed Pompey's support to make his way: thus his personal ambition was in agreement with what he believed to be the public interest.

There was another person who flattered Pompey, and who beneath the shadow of this mighty name was making himself a position in the State. We know Julius Cæsar. His influence at Rome was already considerable, and he owed it neither to the offices he had held, for he was only pontiff, nor to his exploits, for he had never held a command, nor to his eloquence, though it was proved by early successes. The people placed their hope in this son-in-law of Cinna, this nephew of Marius, sprung from the noblest of the patrician houses, and they felt the charm that breathed from the person of the descendant of Venus and Anchises.³ His mind and manners had an attractiveness that one other ruler has also possessed; but in Cæsar it was allied with a natural elegance that Napoleon was



Coin of Young Julius Cæsar.²

¹ Quintus tells his brother (*de Petit. cons.*, 19, 51) that he acquired his popularity by defending Pompey's friends, Manilius and Cornelius.

² M. SANQUINIVS IIIVIR. Bare head of Julius Cæsar, represented as young and deified; above, a star. Silver coin struck by Sanquinius, monetary triumvir of Augustus.

³ Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 15; "He bore on his ring the figure of an armed Venus, a double emblem of the weakness and glory of this great man." (Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*.) The *Museo Borbonico* at Naples possesses a colossal bust of Cæsar which is considered authentic. His features have also been preserved to us by other busts, statues, coins, and gems. Unfortunately all these portraits are not alike. Cicero says of him; *Forma magnifica et generosa quodam modo*. (*Brut.*, 75.)

never able to acquire. The reason was that the one, in spite of himself, was the representative of a young and uncouth



Venus and Anchises.²

democracy, the other was the inheritor of a time-honoured nobility, a great noble who had strayed among the people.¹ It must indeed be owned that the future master of the world was at first only the king of fashion, though he had at the age of twenty-two shown the courage to gain a civic crown; the greatest dandies despaired of rivalling the folds of his toga,³ and women could never resist him. Magnificent and prodigal, as if he counted upon the wealth of the world, he lavished gold less for his pleasures than for his friends, and for the populace, whom he entertained at splendid feasts. Cicero, who was too great a student to be a good judge of men, Cicero, who put faith in Catiline's repentance, as he did later in the unselfishness of Octavius, was deceived by this apparent frivolity.



Coin of Cicero.⁴

“When I see him with his hair so nicely curled, afraid of disarranging it with the tip of his finger, I feel reassured; such a man can never dream of overturning the State.” He would have been less confident had he called to

¹ In the formation of great men Nature does three-quarters of the work, and education the rest. It is worthy of remark that Caesar's master in philosophy and eloquence was Gniphio the Gaul. (Suet., *de Gramm.*, 7.)

² Fragment of a bronze mirror-case found in Epirus, representing the goddess near the sleeping Anchises, accompanied by Eros (Love) and Himeros, the personification of desire. (Millingen, *Anc. uned. monuments*, i. 2, pl. 12; Cf. L. de Ronchaud in *Diet. des Antig.*, Saglio, p. 226.)

³ Suet., *Cæsar*, 43; *Usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur.*

⁴ Head of Cicero on a bronze coin struck at Magnesia in Lydia, with this inscription: ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ (Marcus Tullius Cicero). It may be that this coin has preserved to us the authentic portrait of the great orator. (Mionnet, *Descript.*, vol. iv., *Lydia*, No. 385, p. 71.)

mind that journey into Asia (76 B.C.), during which Cæsar, having fallen into the hands of pirates, astonished and mastered the robbers by his proud bearing, compelling them to listen to him and to serve him, and threatened them, captive as he was, with the cross. They had demanded twenty talents as his ransom: “It is not enough,” said he, “you shall have fifty, but afterwards I will have you all hanged;” and he had kept his word; when his ransom arrived from Miletus he collected a few vessels, pursued and captured them, and crucified them in spite of the governor of the province. On his return to Rome he accused the Syllan Dolabella of the extortion which he had practised in his government of Macedonia, and then Antonius Hybrida, one of the dictator's lieutenants, who had pillaged several Greek towns. Those celebrated suits were a means for a young man to attain notoriety; but by his choice of defendants Cæsar affirmed his popular opinions. Some time afterwards, while studying at Rhodes, he learned that Mithridates was attacking the allies of the Republic. He immediately crossed to the mainland, assembled some troops, defeated several detachments of the Pontic army, and retained the towns in alliance with Rome; and all this he had effected without any command being conferred upon him or any mission entrusted to him. Sylla, whom he had withstood in refusing to repudiate the daughter of Cinna,¹ had understood him better. “Beware,” said he to the nobles, “beware of this loose boy.”² The foppish rake did indeed nourish a high ambition, for he felt his genius and saw the ills from which the Republic suffered, the powerlessness of the remedy proposed by Sylla, and the absolute incapacity of his heirs. His friends asserted that they had seen him weep before a statue of Alexander, saying, again and again, “At my age he had conquered the world, and as yet I have done nothing.”

He had done more than he confessed.³ Already the senate

¹ According to Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 1., Sylla confiscated Cornelia's dowry. Pompey and Piso had been less rebellious against the dictator's wishes.

² Suet., *Cæsar*, 45; *Ut male præcinctum puerum caverent.* I feel no greater assurance of the authenticity of this remark of Sylla's than of the one related in vol. ii. p. 690. These remarks were fabricated after Cæsar's success.

³ The chronology of Cæsar's history up to his consulship is as follows; born July 12th of the year 100 or 102 B.C. (see vol. ii. p. 734, note 1); appointed *flamen dialis* through the influence of Marius, 87; marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, 83; serves under Minucius Thermus at the

watched uneasily the nephew of Marius and of that Aurelius Cotta who had deprived them of their *judicia*, the popular orator who had brought about the recall of the friends of Lepidus, the spendthrift who outshone all the nobility in his magnificence. Crassus, the triumphant consul, saw in him a rival;¹ Pompey, a necessary friend; and the people loved him, that people whom he courted without cringing, whom he led by restraining their evil passions, like the spirited horses which he amused himself by taming on the Field of Mars. The nobles hoped that he would ruin himself by his mad expenditure, and so cease to be formidable by being unable to buy office any longer;² but they forgot that perhaps the people would give him what they sold to others. Moreover, the usurers with their rapacious instinct foresaw the future of the young spendthrift, and none refused him money. Before he had held any office he owed 1,300 talents!³

When Pompey returned from Spain he found Caesar so strong that he felt obliged to make terms with him. He had thought to make a tool of him, but he became one himself; at least he fell under the spell, he listened to advice offered in the guise of eulogy, and Caesar had a great share in the decision which separated Pompey from the nobility, his true place, and put him at the head of the people, where his character could not allow him long to remain.⁴ It was a clever move to bring over to

siege of Mitylene, 81; wins a civic crown there, 80; serves in Cilicia under P. Sulpicius, and returns to Rome on the news of Sylla's death, 78; accuses Dolabella, 77; accuses Antonius, 76; resides at Rhodes to attend the lessons of Molon the rhetorician, 75; regains the dignity of flamen, and is chosen legionary tribune by the people, whom he had won over by distributing largesse of corn, 74; his uncle Aurelius Cotta deprives the senate of their judicial powers, and he himself brings about the recall of the accomplices of Lepidus, 70; made quaestor, and follows the praetor Antistius into Hispania Citerior, 68; marries Pompeia, granddaughter of Pompeius Rufus the *consularis*, supports the *Gabinian Law* in favour of Pompey, and is appointed director of the repairs to the *via Appia*, 67; elected to the curule-aedileship, 65; made *judex questionis de sicariis*, 64; chosen high pontiff and praetor, 63; his praetorship, 62; governor of Hispania Ulterior, 61; returns to Rome, 60; his consulship, 59.

¹ Caesar disputed a mission to Egypt with him, and he would have obtained it from the people if the nobles had not hindered the *plebiscitum* by the veto of the tribunes.

² Plut., *Caesar*, 4; Cic., *pro Plancio*, 26.

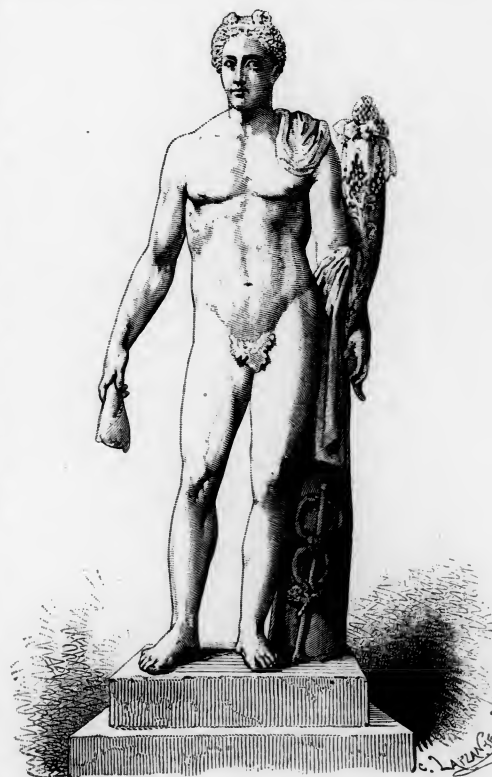
³ Plut., *ibid.*, 5. His debts were perhaps less than stated. His borrowing was a means of attaching influential persons to his political fortunes. With this object he borrowed of Crassus, Pompey, and Atticus. (Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1; and Plut., *ibid.*) This Crassus was interested in the success of a man who owed him 850 talents. During his proconsulate and dictatorship Caesar had his household affairs managed with care.

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 786.

the popular party and the tribuneship a man who must inevitably offend both people and tribunes. And not less clever was it, when he had compromised him with the aristocracy, to place a still greater distance between them by contriving to have almost regal honours decreed him. Caesar gave his staunchest support to the propositions of Gabinius and Manilius.¹ On this occasion he met Cicero on the same

ground, but with very different intentions; the *novus homo* thought only of gaining a patron and votes for his own approaching candidature for the consulship. The popular patrician saw with pleasure how the people were accustoming themselves to confer great powers which he himself might yet claim. Yet there was a great boldness in accumulating so much power in Pompey's hands; was it not working to provide himself with a master? But Caesar thoroughly understood his rival.

From the first day he had seen the royal airs of the popular hero he had never believed in the stay of his popularity. Pompey had nothing to recommend him but his military successes, and as for victories, Caesar would gain



Manilius as Mercury.²

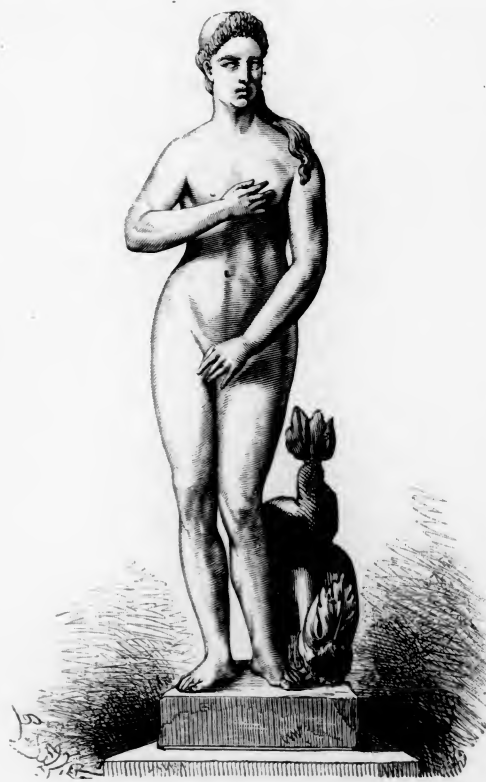
¹ See vol. ii. p. 798.

² This statue, as well as the one of Manilia as Venus, given on the next page, was found in the tomb of the consul Manilius on the Appian Way. They are now in the Vatican Museum.

them; he would eclipse these successes by greater ones, and there would remain to him the advantage—a very great one in a dying republic—of knowing how to sway and lead that crowd of the Forum, whose nominal sovereignty might at any time be changed into a real one by an able man.

These patient calculations have been too much insisted upon, and their subtle depth has been exaggerated. If Pompey had been

really capable of vigorous action all this scaffolding of ambition would have been overturned. At the commencement of his political life Caesar followed events rather than directed them; at the utmost he did but help them to glide into the channels to which they themselves were disposed. He swayed the future in the only way in which man can sway it to suit his purpose—by foreseeing, through a clear understanding of the present, to what far-off end society is tending. The saying of Cicero, quoted by



Manilia as Venus.

Suetonius,¹ "From his ædileship he dreamed of empire, and he made sure of it when he was consul," is one of those pompous sentences which the great orator loved to deliver. Caesar did not

¹ *Caesar*, 9.

dream of the dictatorship from his youth upwards. His birth had placed him on the side of the popular party, the party which sought for reforms, and he remained there without ever swerving. As consul he began these necessary reforms, as dictator he continued and extended them; the empire was the result of the civil war.

But all plans for the present and future, whether Cæsar's or Pompey's, as well as those of the senate or the tribunes, were nearly upset by a conspiracy hatched in the "vilest sink of the Republic."

II.—CATILINE (65—62 B.C.).

Sylla thought he had made peaceable husbandmen of his veterans and honest citizens of his enriched assassins. But the idle soldiery got their work done for them, or sold their lands and kept their swords only, in hopes of another civil war and fresh plunder. Still less time had been needed for their former leaders to spend the gold of the proscribed. The rich and the well-to-do classes saw with alarm a populace beneath them, no longer made up of the poor of Rome, lazy, resigned to their miseries, and asking but a few measures of wheat to live in peace, but another populace with a taste and a craving for debauch, men with dark looks and ready hands, enemies of order and society, whatever the government might be, and gaining their living in various criminal pursuits. And day by day this crowd was increasing.

For some time only individual crimes resulted from this state of things; but a man arose who aimed at using the class thus at war with society as a force to procure his own elevation. Catiline had all the qualities needful for a party chief—high birth,¹ a noble appearance, an iron frame fit to support all excesses, great abilities, unlimited audacity and courage, and at need the frugality of the hardest soldier. Liberal, obliging, and insinuating, he could be in turns austere, grave, or playful. Ever ready to serve his friends with money, credit, or personal aid, never sparing labour or crime for them, he exercised an irresistible influence in this

¹ The Sergian house was patrician, and had given its name to one of the tribes.

atmosphere of debauch.¹ Two centuries sooner Catiline might have been a great citizen, but the manners and social state of the new Rome opened another object of ambition, and he pursued it with all the ardour of his fiery nature. In age, Catiline belonged to the generation which had entered upon public life under the dictatorship of Sylla. The days of terror in cities, whether nature strikes with contagion or men slay with the sword, is generally accompanied and always followed by the most frightful license. It was in the midst of such a time, when men played at hazard with fortunes and lives, that Catiline, prepared by the disorders of his youth,² had finished his political education. And how he, too, played with life and fortune! We have already said that he had distinguished himself among the fiercest assassins; he had killed his brother-in-law to give free course to an incestuous amour; he slew his wife and son to induce a woman to give him her hand.³ During his pro-prætorship in Africa he committed fearful extortions (67 B.C.); on his return he canvassed for the consulship, but as a deputation from the province came to lodge an accusation against him, the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. Catiline withdrew boiling with rage; he was forbidden even lawful canvassing; so he set about a revolution.

He had long been leagued with all the infamous and guilty in Rome. But it was a party he wished for, not merely accomplices; he therefore set himself to win over the poor and the dissolute youth by pandering to their passions. For any one who asked him he always had fine hounds, horses, gladiators, or courtesans; then from pleasure he led them on to crime, and at last he had them in his power. But these debauched youths did not constitute an army. Catiline had long before prepared one by his relations with the military colonists, his old companions in arms. He reminded them of Sylla and his gifts, of their lands pledged to usurers; if he attained the consulship, if he

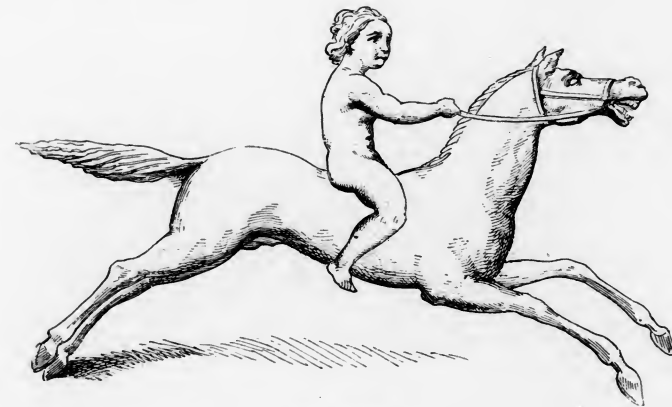
¹ Such at least is the portrait which Cicero draws of him in the *pro Cælio*, and in the second oration against *Catiline*; yet for a short time he was in league with him: *Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam pæne ille decepit*. Catiline had distinguished himself with Curio's army in Macedonia, and as soon as he attained the prescribed age for the prætorship, had obtained it.

² His father had been condemned for murder. (Cicero, *pro Cluentio*, 7.)

³ Cic., *Cat.*, i. 6; Val. Max., ix. 1, 9; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 2. Sallust does not mention the murder of Gratidianus which Cicero attributes to him.

became master, he should know how to preserve to the victors the fruits of their courage. The abolition of debts should be the prelude to fresh indulgence. Accordingly the veterans held themselves in readiness to come and vote for him in a body. Thus Catiline already possessed great resources. The severity of the new tribunals furnished him with fresh allies.

A decision had just been pronounced against the two consuls-elect for the year 65 B.C., P. Autronius Pætus and P. Corn. Sylla, as guilty of having bought votes, and their accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, had been chosen to replace them. Catiline inflamed their resentment and a plot was formed to murder



Race Horse.

the new consuls on the kalends of January, when they would go to offer sacrifice on the Capitol. Crassus and Cæsar are said to have joined this conspiracy; the former was to have been created dictator, and in virtue of his office reinstated Autronius and Sylla in the consulship. This must be a calumny. Crassus was rich, and he had everything to lose by associating with ruined men, whose first care would have been to spoil the wealthy. As for Cæsar, his kindly disposition was averse to the intended violences of the conspirators; but certainly neither of them viewed the agitation with any great disapproval, and, without taking any part in it, they must have awaited the issue, to turn it to the furtherance of their ambition. Neither of them could give a hand to the

desperadoes, in revolt against all social order, but they had no intention of constituting themselves the upholders of the oligarchy. They therefore, held aloof allowing the nobles and Catiline to weaken each other in mortal combat.

Twice the attempt failed, once on the kalends of January and once on the nones of February, because the consuls had been forewarned. It seems that a reconciliation then took place, or rather that the trembling senate attempted to pacify these irreconcilables by concessions. Cn. Piso, one of the most formidable conspirators, was sent to Spain as prætor; it is true that his Spanish escort assassinated him. But when Clodius brought up again the accusation of extortion against Catiline, Torquatus, one of the consuls who had escaped being murdered, undertook the defence of the accused, and we are not sure that Cicero did not also take part in it. He at least made preparations for doing so, and in a letter which is extant he congratulates himself upon having secured all the judges whom he desired. "If he be acquitted," he adds, "I hope to come to an agreement with him about my candidature."¹ This letter may give us a great deal of matter for reflection on the subject of the great day of the nones of December, 63 B.C. But we must tell the story from the only documents that time has left us, maintaining however, a discreet reserve.²

Catiline was acquitted, but he was a ruined man.³ All the gold he had brought from Africa had passed to his judges (65 B.C.). What disposed the senate to connive at such schemes was the feeling of their own weakness and the fear inspired by Cæsar. Catiline's ambition as yet appeared to be that of a single individual; at Cæsar's back the senators saw a party.⁴ In this same year (65) he had been nominated curule-ædile, and he had not let slip the

¹ *Ad Att.*, i. 2.

² Cicero afterwards, in the *de Officiis* (ii. 24), spoke of Catiline's conspiracy as only a debtor's plot against their creditors: *nunquam nec majus æs alienum fuit, nec melius, nec facilius dissolutum est*; and the letter of Mallius to Marcius Rex (*Sall., Cat.*, 33) proves that this was the real cause which would provide Catiline with an army. But if the soldier demanded only the abolition of debts, did not the chief desire something more?—*tabulas novas, proscriptiones locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas*. (*Sall., ibid.*, 21.) Our documents show us an ambitious man desirous of taking the highest place; nothing indicates the reformer.

³ *Cic., de Petit. cons.*, 3. He was again accused in the following year (64 B.C.) by Lucullus of public violence and acquitted. (*Dion.*, xxxvii. 10.)

⁴ *Suet., Cæsar*, 10; *Dion.*, xxxviii. 8.

opportunity of making a surer canvass than that of the election day by bribing the whole populace at once with the magnificence of his games and by unheard-of prodigalities. He adorned the Forum, basilicas, and temples with pictures and statues, and in honour of his father's memory he displayed 320 pairs of gladiators wearing gilded armour. Never had the circus seen such slaughter, never had the people enjoyed such a surfeit of savage pleasure. The senate took fright at this butchery, or rather at the opportunities for a sudden surprise furnished by such an army of bravoes; by a decree they limited the number of gladiators at such shows. The Megalesia, or great Roman games, were celebrated with the same pomp—the poor wretches condemned to fight with wild beasts were furnished with silver lances.¹



Chariot Driver.²

At the sight of these feasts and games, his colleague, Bibulus, who was then serving his apprenticeship in effacement, exclaimed with an astonished air: "We are both ruining ourselves, and it appears as if he alone paid; the people

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 16: . . . *Omni apparatu arenæ argenteo usus est.*

² Victor in the chariot races, from a beautiful statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, No. 619. In the right hand he holds a palm, the emblem of victory, and in the left, either the reins or a purse containing the money he has won. His costume is that which the *auriga* usually wore in races.

see only him."¹ Caesar won still greater applause when one morning, from all parts of the town, people saw statues sparkling with gold at the gates of the Capitol; it was old Marius reappearing with his trophies brought home from Jugurtha and the Cimbri.² Caesar had already, some years earlier, caused the image of Marius to be carried at the funeral of his aunt Julia, and from the platform he had pronounced a panegyric over that lady, the widow of the conqueror of the Cimbri.³ But the senate had proscribed these trophies, and Sylla had torn them down; now an ædile set them up again! The nobles were struck dumb by such audacity and by the joy of the multitude, which had hastened to greet the image of the man who, in spite of his selfish ambition, had always been loved as the most glorious representative of the people. Well Catulus might exclaim: "It is no longer by secret intrigue, but in the face of heaven, that Caesar attacks the constitution;"⁴ but none dared support him, and the trophies of the popular hero continued to shine above the heads of the trembling senators.

This day was decisive; a party had found its true leader and its colours. Pompey fell to the second place in the affections of the people, while Caesar rose to the first. The conqueror of Sertorius, of the pirates and Mithridates, might now return; the ædile was in a position to cope with him.

At the expiration of his ædileship (64 B.C.), Caesar tried to obtain the mission to go and reduce Egypt to a province, in virtue of the will of Ptolemy-Alexander I. This kingdom, through which the whole commerce between Europe and the East then passed, was the richest country in the world. If it did not possess the 23,000 towns that Theocritus assigns to it, it is certain that it paid a yearly tax of 14,800 talents. With such a revenue many debts could be paid, and with the Egyptian harvests many largesses might be bestowed on the people. Crassus and Caesar disputed the rich prey. Neither of them obtained it. The affair was adjourned,

¹ *Beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur.* (Sall., *Cat.*, 54.)

² Plut., *Caesar*, 6; Vell. Patere., ii. 53; Val. Max., VI. ix. 14.

³ In 68 B.C., during his quaestorship, contrary to custom, which did not authorize funeral orations over young women, he had pronounced a panegyric upon his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna.

⁴ Marius had ordered the death of the father of Catulus.

and the tribune Papius by a law drove out all the foreigners whom the two competitors, especially Caesar, who was already in intimate relations with the Transpadani,¹ had called to Rome to aid in passing their demand.

Instead of this brilliant mission, Caesar was called upon to preside at the tribunal charged with the punishment of the murderers, *de sicariis*. Hitherto he had restricted himself to protesting against Sylla's dictatorship; he now wished to inflict a legal disgrace upon it. Among the cases brought before his court were those of the murderers of two proscribed persons, L. Bellianus, who had killed Lucretius Ofella, and another more obscure assassin; he condemned them.² In order to make an impression on the senate he went higher still. At his instigation, Labienus, one of the tribunes of the people, in the following year accused the aged senator Rabirius of having, nearly forty years before, slain, on the decree of the senate, an inviolable magistrate, the tribune Saturninus,³ and he claimed the application of the old law of *perduellio*, which did not, like the law of *majestas*, allow the choice of voluntary exile.⁴ Condemned by the duumvirs, Rabirius appealed to the people. But Labienus placed the image of the murdered magistrate on the platform, and allowed the advocate of the accused only half-an-hour for his pleading. In spite of the eloquent efforts of Cicero, in spite of the prayers and tears of the principal senators, Rabirius would have been declared guilty, had not the prætor Metellus Celer snatched down the white flag which floated over the Janiculum.⁵ This people of formalists, laughing at themselves, yielded to ancient custom; the meeting was



Egyptian
Reaping
Wheat.²

¹ Dion., xxxvii. 9; Cic., *de Lege agraria*, i. 4; *pro Archia*, 5. On returning from Spain after his quaestorship he had promised the Transpadani, who already possessed the *jus Latii* (Ascon., in *Pison.*, p. 3, ed. of Orelli), to obtain for them the *jus civitatis*, which he afterwards bestowed upon them. (Cf. Suet., *Caesar*, 8; Dion., xli. 36.)

² Coin of one of the Lagidæ (*Cabinet de France*), published by Pellerin, *Médailles des Rois*, p. 209.

³ Suet., *Caesar*, 12; Dion., xxxvii. 10; Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 29.

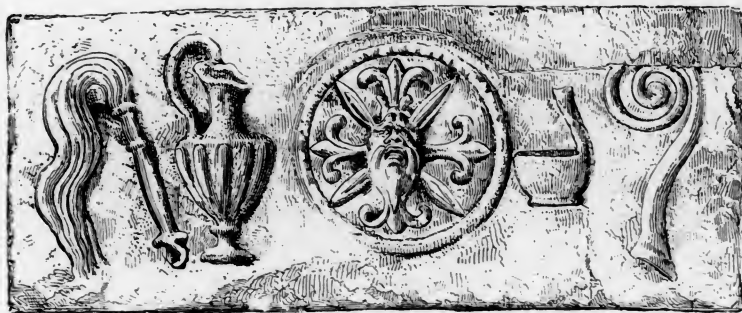
⁴ See vol. ii. p. 521. It is not proved that Rabirius was the murderer of Saturninus.

⁵ *Aliæ leges condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed exilium permitti jubent.* (Sallust, *Cat.*, 51; Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 66.) The *lex de crimine majestatis* of Sylla seems to have abolished the *crimen perduellionis*, which still appeared in the *leges tabellariæ* of Cassius (137 B.C.) and Cælius (107).

⁶ *Roseum bellorum, album comitorium fuisse tradunt.* (Serv., *ad Æneid.*, viii. 1.) In the time of Dion. (xxxvii. 28) the custom was still observed.

declared dissolved, and Cæsar, satisfied with having once more proved his power, let the affair drop;¹ but the senate were warned that if they ever attempted revolutions the people would crush their tools.²

This same Labienus, who served as his lieutenant in the tribuneship, as he was afterwards to serve him twice in the Gallic war, also obtained the abrogation of the Cornelian law relating to the pontiffs, the nomination of whom was restored to the comitia. The people immediately testified their gratitude to Cæsar for this



Insignia of the Pontificate.³

by making him high pontiff, a life-office which rendered him inviolable.⁴ Neither his loose morals nor the atheism which he openly professed had proved any obstacle. His morals and opinions were those of most men of his time; at this very moment Lucretius was writing his bold poem against the popular religion. The official creed was nothing more than a State institution, but it gave its primate a high position, and Cæsar would not leave to

¹ The same year he accused C. Piso of extortion in Gallia Narbonensis, and of having caused a Transpadan to be unjustly beheaded. Cicero defended the accused, who was acquitted; but by this accusation Cæsar had renewed his old relations with the Transpadani, to whom he was a kind of patron.

² Cicero himself acknowledged that it was the only object of this suit: *Ut illud summum auxilium majestatis atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus est traditum, de re publica tolleretur* (*pro C. Rabirio perd. reo*, 1), and: *Ego in C. Rabirio . . . senatus auctoritatem sustinui.* (*in Pison.*, 2.)

³ A bas-relief from the Museum of St. Germain,

⁴ Dion., xxxvii. 37. Marius, his uncle, had him appointed *flamen dialis* (87 B.C.) in the place of Corn. Merula. (Vell. Patere., ii. 43; Suet., *Cæsar*, 1.) Sylla deprived him of the title, but he recovered it at the death of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta, in 74 B.C.

others this means of influence. Catulus, one of his competitors, knowing that he was deeply in debt, had attempted to buy him out by large offers of money. "I will borrow greater sums to succeed," said he, and it may well be believed that he was prepared to resort to force, if his last words to his mother, as he set out for the comitia be true: "To-day I shall either be banished, or you will see me chief pontiff."¹ The same year (63 B.C.) he was nominated for the prætorship, and, as he continued in friendly relations with Pompey, caused him to be awarded by a plebiscitum the right to appear at games wearing a laurel crown and the triumphal robe.

Cicero was then consul. The dread of Cæsar and Catiline had obliged the nobility to accept the *novus homo*,² the brilliant advocate who had succeeded in winning so many suits, and who whispered to each *consularis* in turn: "In my heart I have ever been with you, on the side of the nobility, never on the side of

the people. If I have sometimes spoken in the popular interest it was because it was needful for me to win over Pompey, whose



Cæsar as pontifex maximus.³

¹ Plut., *Cæsar*, 7; Vell. Patere., ii. 40; Dion., xxxvii. 21.

² Cicero (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 2) describes the kind of proscription which then fell upon *novi men*. He had not, he says, at the beginning of his consulship the support of the nobility. Sallust speaks of the same thing. (*Cat.*, 23.)

³ Bust in the Louvre Museum, representing Cæsar as pontiff, with his head veiled.

interest is so necessary in an election."¹ Moreover, those who offered themselves were little better than Catiline. Galba and Cassius were unknown; Antonius had been expelled from the senate, and could not, as he himself said, have argued at Rome against a Greek with a fair chance of being believed.² To drive a man whose moderation naturally classed him among the conservatives into the arms of Cæsar or Pompey would have been imprudent, and useless into the bargain.

Supported by the *publicani* and the equestrian order, to whom he had rendered such great services; by the Italian municipalities, who remembered his origin; by the younger nobility, who were enthusiastic about his eloquence, and by the principal agents of the tribes, who for the last two years had made him formal promises, Cicero would have attained the consulship without the aid of the senate and in spite of it. By receiving him with a good grace the nobles won the devotion of the upstart, and provided their party with a great orator for the struggles of the Forum—no inconsiderable acquisition.

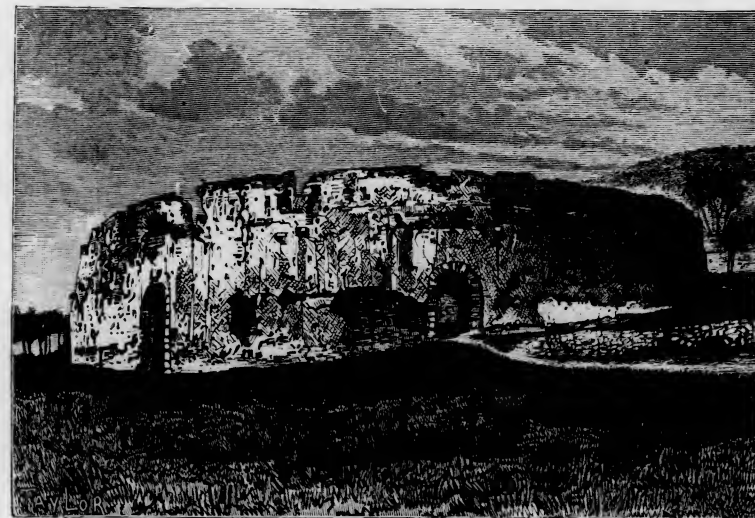
Cicero was elected unanimously, without any call to resort to the ballot.³ His success cut Cæsar to the quick, but it was easy to put this popularity to the proof by raising some question in which it would be necessary to declare for people or for senate. The tribune Rullus proposed an agrarian law by which ten commissioners invested with the *imperium* should for five years have absolute power to sell the lands belonging to the Public Domain in Italy, Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and as far as Pontus, with the exception of those which had been assigned during the dictatorship of Sylla. With the produce of this sale and the revenues of all the provinces, except Asia, which was reserved to Pompey, whom Cæsar still humoured, together with the restitution of the spoils of war and the coronal gold that the generals had not placed in the treasury or employed in public monuments, the decemvirs were to buy arable lands in

¹ I here do nothing more than translate the advice given him by his brother Quintus: *Minime populares*, etc. (See the treatise *de Petit. cons.*, where Cicero's position is well defined, for some curious and indeed shameful details about canvassing.)

² Cic., *de Petit. cons.*, 5.

³ *Non tabellam . . . sed vocem vivam.* (*de Lege agraria*, ii. 2.)

Italy, especially in Campania and the fertile territory of Venafrum and Casinum, and distribute them among the poor. Finally the *rogatio* recognized their right to exact the rent due to the treasury for all public land that they should leave to the present occupiers. By offering to Sylla's colonists an exchange in specie or a guarantee of their holdings, and by allowing an indemnity to those who on being dispossessed by the dictator had lapsed into misery, the ill-feelings excited by the proscriptions would have been allayed. The



Ruins of the Amphitheatre at Casinum (San Germano).¹

aim therefore of Rullus, or rather of Cæsar, was patriotic. They were desirous of reconciling the present and former landholders, and at the same time of abolishing the proletariat, that festering sore of great cities and wealthy communities which we now try to heal by a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry, but which could then be cured only by grants of land. But the law would also have destroyed all the wealth of the aristocracy by obliging the nobles to refund the spoils of war, which were as much the property of the State as the lands which its arms had conquered, and of which Rullus proposed to dispose. By the

¹ From a photograph.

Romans of the truly Republican age this right had always been respected; a century earlier Cato the censor still acted in conformity with the principle, and Cato of Utica did not divert a single drachme from the Cypriote treasury. In the new Republic different ideas prevailed; Rome's soldiers fought and died, rather with the object of winning gold for their leaders than provinces for their country. The clause introduced by the tribune would have ruined Sylla's son, Lucullus, Metellus, Catulus, and a hundred more. It was indeed a remodelling of the State, a profound conception which shows Caesar's inspiration and his genius for reform; but it was also an extremely complicated law, difficult of application. The nobles, who held the public land, and the knights, who farmed the taxes, were equally threatened; they declared that a dictatorship must result from a law which conferred such powers. It was a case for Cicero, who was generally their advocate, to plead; he did so in four eloquent speeches.¹ With extreme cleverness he demonstrated to the poor that by having lands given them, they were being robbed; that while liberty was preached to them, they were about to be enslaved; and in the midst of this fertile Campania which was offered to them, he showed the threatening phantom of Capua, resuscitated, and threatening Rome as she had done in the days of Hannibal. His eloquence, aided by the money of the rich, prevented the passing of the law. But even while he repeated that he desired to be a popular consul, Cicero had been forced by his new position to explain what he understood by popularity. His reasons are excellent. Nevertheless the people, when they heard him speak only of submission to the present state of things, must have thought that the portrait of a popular leader sketched by their consul bore a strange resemblance to that of a devoted partizan of the nobility. Caesar, whom Cicero had attacked in veiled words,² was beaten, yet he had attained an important end; the position of the brilliant pleader who had just spoken with such effect was thenceforward fixed:

¹ Only three are left, but Cicero (*ad Att.*, ii. 1) mentions four. Three years later he wrote to Atticus (i. 19): *Confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones, is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium.* We see that his political ideas were confined to the safe-keeping of the interests of the wealthy, even against the most legitimate claims.

² Cf. *de Lege agraria* (i. 7): *Hi quos multo magis quam Rullum timetis*; and ch. 24: *Eis quibus ad habendum, ad consumendum nihil satis esse videatur.*

Cicero was no longer anything but the orator of the wealthy classes.

Another tribune proposed to set a limit to the civic degradation with which Sylla had stricken the posterity of his victims. The decree was very cruel, as Cicero admitted,¹ and the first act of Caesar's dictatorship was to suppress it. But after recovering their political rights the sons of the proscribed might perhaps demand back their confiscated property; Cicero caused the rejection of this *rogatio* also. When the people hissed the tribune Roscius, for having assigned to the knights separate places at the theatre, the consul, who loved to mount the rostra,² led the crowd to the temple of Bellona, cried shame on them for giving way to despicable envy, lauded the equestrian order, and led them back repentant to the theatre. "This," says Quintilian, "was his greatest oratorical triumph." But when the people were no longer under the spell of his eloquent language they relapsed into their ill-will and anger. Cicero's popularity no longer seemed formidable.

During the whole of this consulship Caesar had ceaselessly harassed Cicero. Yet the attacks of the popular party were not the consul's chief cause of preoccupation. Catiline caused him much greater uneasiness. Frightened at the progress made by the conspiracy at Rome and throughout Italy, he began to see that if it was a question of influence and power between the senate and Caesar, it was a question of life and death between Catiline and the nobles. At the last consular elections Antonius had only beaten Catiline by a few votes, and the latter had put down his name again as a candidate for the year 62 B.C. In order to prevent his election Cicero and the senate supported Silanus and Murena, both friends of Crassus and Caesar, with a view to winning over those two powerful men who were suspected of viewing with pleasure the dangers with which Catiline threatened the oligarchy.³ As a last resource, in case the latter should be

¹ *Cic.*, *ad Att.*, ii. 1; *in Pison.*, 2; *Plut.*, *Cic.*, 12.

² *De Lege agraria*, ii. 3. He will not, he says, imitate the example of his predecessors, who carefully avoided the rostra: *aditum hujus loci conspectumque vestrum.*

³ . . . *Res publica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit.* See the speech which Sallust puts in Catiline's mouth. (*Cat.*, 20.) It is the work of the historian, but it is also the opinion of a contemporary and an eyewitness. Sallust was twenty-six at the time of Catiline's death, and he had lived at Rome. Sallust does not believe in the dreadful oath by which

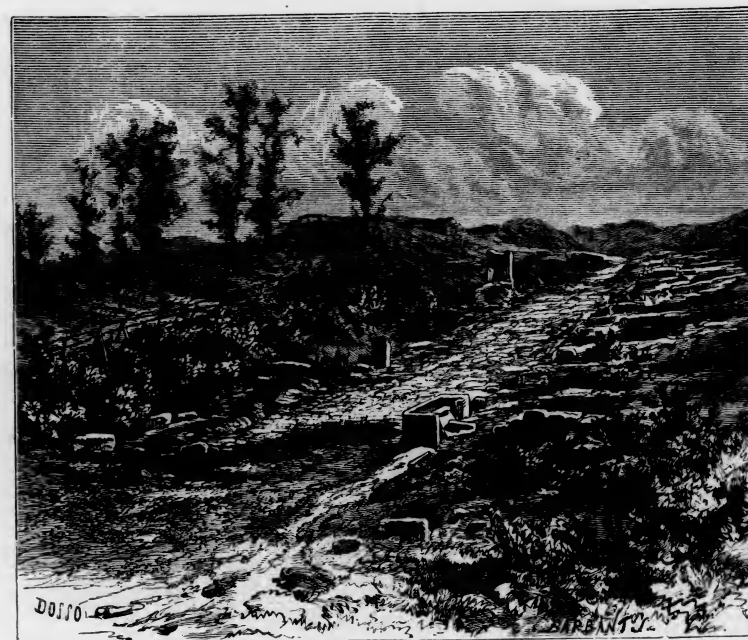
elected, Cicero obtained the addition of exile of ten years to the penalties imposed by the laws on election bribery.¹ Catiline growing impatient had decided that if he did not succeed this time he would risk everything. His preparations were completed, arms were collected in different places. Veterans in Umbria, Etruria, and Samnium, long since worked upon by his emissaries, made ready in silence. The fleet of Ostia seemed to be won over to his side. Sittius Nucerinus promised to raise Africa, and perhaps Spain. At Rome, no doubt Cicero exercised an annoying vigilance, but he had no forces at hand, all the legions being in Asia with Pompey, and Catiline thought he could reckon upon Antonius, the other consul; lastly, one of the conspirators, L. Bestia, was tribune-elect and another was prætor. He hoped therefore, that it would be enough to give the signal for his armies to appear suddenly before the walls of Rome, where other accomplices would set fire to various points, so that amid the confusion they might get at the senate and the consuls. A few of the conspirators, especially Lentulus Sura,² a ruined and dishonoured man, talked of arming the slaves, who were showing signs of restlessness in Apulia. Catiline hesitated to let loose

Catiline desired to bind his accomplices; he is right in not believing; but Florus, Plutarch, and Dion have collected these horrors, which Cicero would not have failed to parade had they been true.

¹ This law also required of every candidate that he should not have given gladiatorial combats in the two years preceding his candidature. Another law, the *Tullian*, reduced to one year the longest duration of the *legationes liberae*.

² Among the conspirators, besides Lentulus, who had been consul in 71 B.C., and whom the censors of 70 had expelled from the senate, Sallust mentions P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, Cethegus, a member, like Lentulus, of the *gens Cornelia*, two nephews of the dictator, Publius and Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius, an ex-quæstor who had also suffered the disgrace of a conviction, Q. Amnius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia and Q. Curius, all senators; among the knights; M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito and C. Cornelius. Lentulus when quæstor had embezzled public funds; on being arraigned he was acquitted by a majority of two votes; "I have bought one too many," said he. (Plut., *Cic.*) During his prætorship he presided at the tribune before which was argued the case of Varro, the governor of Asia. Hortensius, the defendant's counsel, bribed president and judges; but to make sure that these should really earn their money he gave them different coloured tablets. (Cic., *in Ferr.*, I. and Asconius.) To regain entrance into the senate Lentulus again canvassed the prætorship (64 B.C.). The Sibylline Books said that CC and C should reign at Rome; already the prophecy had been realized in Cinna and Cornelius Sylla, the third was evidently Cornelius Lentulus. The *Sibylline Prince*, as Porcius Latro calls him, threw himself heart and soul into the conspiracy, which included three other members of the same house, so much had Sylla's success excited the most vulgar ambitions. P. Autronius, consul-elect for the preceding year, had been removed from office; Cassius Longinus had canvassed the same office in vain in 64; Bestia was then tribune; Gabinus had been condemned for extortion in Achæa.

a horde whom he feared he should not afterwards be able to master. His accomplices were only anxious to escape from their creditors and judges; he had a higher ambition. In full senate he dared to say: "The Roman people is a strong body, but headless; I will be its head." And on another occasion; "They wish to set fire to my house; I will extinguish it beneath ruins."¹ Less clever than Cæsar or Pompey, he took up a position outside



Ostia, Via Romana.²

the constitution in order to overturn it with a single blow, assured that his partisans once sated with gold would leave him the power—even though one of them, Lentulus, thought himself predestined to rule over Rome.³

He awaited with anxiety the issue of the consular comitia. Cicero, who through the revelations of one of the conspirators

¹ Cic., *pro Murena*, 25; Sall., *Cat.*, 31: *Incendium meum ruina restinguam*.

² Roman road leading down to Ostia and bordered with ruined tombs.

³ Cic., *in Cat.*, iii. 4; Plut., *Cic.*, 17.

was already in possession of all their secrets,¹ came to preside at the assembly with a cuirass visible beneath his toga; soldiers occupied the neighbouring temples, and a crowd of knights surrounded the consul. Silanus and Murena, the two candidates of the senatorial party carried the election.²

The same day, emissaries issued from all the gates of Rome, and, some time afterwards the senate learned that armed gatherings had been seen in Picenum and Apulia; that the fortress of Præneste had almost been taken by surprise; that at Capua a rising of the slaves was dreaded; that one of Sylla's old officers, Mallius, was encamped before Fæsulæ with an army of soldiers drawn from the military colonies and ruined peasantry; and finally, that at Rome two conspirators had attempted to get into Cicero's house at daybreak in order to assassinate him.³ Fortunately two proconsuls, Marcius Rex and Metellus Creticus, had just arrived from the East, and were waiting outside the gates with some of their troops the triumph which they had solicited. The first named was immediately ordered to proceed against Mallius, the second to Apulia; another prætor went into Picenum, and Pompeius Rufus hastened to Capua to bring away the gladiators, whom he distributed in small bands among the neighbouring municipia. Rome was put in what we should call a state of siege. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, and offered rewards for information; they raised troops, placed guards at the gates and upon the walls, and ordered patrols throughout the city. This military display, these fears of an invisible enemy, increased the public terror; all the nobles felt themselves threatened by a great peril, which was not on the frontiers, but around them, over them, and they knew not how to meet it. Cicero knew well that amid this terror the slightest incident would be sufficient to upset all his plans, but he would precipitate nothing; they were no longer in the days of Servilius

¹ See, in Sallust, the part played by Crassus, an ex-questor, who had been expelled from the senate eight years before, and by his mistress Fulvia.

² Murena was accused of canvassing by Sulpicius, whom Cato supported, to Cicero's great displeasure, for a condemnation would have given all his chance over to Catiline. Accordingly he, with Hortensius and Crassus, undertook his defence; Murena was acquitted.

³ Sall., *Cat.*, 27, 30; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 3. See in the *II. Catilinaris*, 3, for the description of Mallius' army.

Ahala; violence would not perhaps have succeeded; and he knew that an energetic action which fails in its object is the death blow of a weak government. The senate must veil its weakness under a respect for legality. It had many other enemies. Which side would Crassus and Caesar take? They would certainly set themselves against an act of justice which could be called proscription and tyranny. In order to isolate the conspirators it was necessary, then, to oblige them to unmask their incendiary schemes; and still Catiline remained at Rome, Catiline attended the senate.

On the 8th of November the consul had assembled the senators in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline appeared there, too; at the sight of him Cicero burst forth upon him in his famous oration,¹ in which he told him to his face all the details of his conspiracy, and while speaking, lest Catiline should look upon his words as a sign of weakness, he pointed to the Roman knights who surrounded the curia with angry gestures, ready at a sign to strike down the enemy of all the rich. But the consul saw that the populace was in favour of the rebel;² he feared lest the criminals' blood should some day be upon his head, and with all his might he pressed him to declare open war, that he might legally declare him a public enemy. He remembered Scipio Nasica and Opimius, who had died miserably for having served an oligarchy far stronger than that he was now defending, and he would have been satisfied with the voluntary exile of Catiline.

Driven out by the eloquent speech of the great orator, Catiline

¹ Extant as the *First Speech against Catiline*.

² Bosc, *Dict. raisonné d'architecture*, vol. i. p. 394.

³ *Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, non exoptant* (Sall., *Cat.*, 37); . . . qui probro . . . præstabant . . . Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant. (*Ibid.*)



Capital from the Temple of Jupiter Stator.²

quitted the senate with threats upon his tongue. When night fell he left Rome, and after some hesitation he went and placed himself at the head of the troops of Mallius, taking them, as a pledge of victory, a silver eagle, under which Marius' soldiers had fought at Aix and Verceil.¹



An Aquilifer.³

At starting he had placed his wife, Orestilla, under the protection of Q. Catulus in a letter in which he said: "Driven to desperation by the injustice which deprives me of well-earned rewards, while they are accorded to unworthy men, I have embraced the cause of the outcast. It was the only course left open to me to save my honour."² In the eyes of these patricians an election defeat was an insult, because it lessened their *dignity*. Catiline had no right perhaps to speak as he did, but the feeling of what was due to a Roman of high birth filled the souls of these nobles even when they had fallen into public contempt.

Before going away Catiline had sent word to the conspirators whom he had left in the city still to count upon him, and that he would soon be back at the gates of Rome. Cicero tried to get rid of them, as he had done of their leader, by exposing their schemes at a meeting of the people, pouring out upon them by turns sarcasms and threats.⁴

"At last, Quirites, this bold man has quitted our walls; Catiline has fled; his fears or his fury have carried him away

¹ Cic., *in Cat.*, i. and ii. Catiline left Rome on the 9th of November, 63 B.C., which answers to the 13th of January, 62, in the reformed calendar.

Sall., *Cat.*, 35.

³ From the column of Trajan.

⁴ This is the subject of the second *Speech against Catiline*.

from us. The security of the State demanded his death. But how many among you refused to believe in his crimes! How many treated them as idle fancies, or found excuses for them! Now none will doubt, and you will fight him face to face, since he publicly declares himself your enemy. Why did he not take with him his dangerous accomplices. For his army, that mob of hoary desperadoes, bankrupt peasants, and fugitive debtors, I have the greatest contempt. It is not the sword that will put them to flight; it will be enough to show them the prætor's edict. But there are others scented, and clad in purple, who go to and fro in the Forum, besiege the door of the senate, and even enter into the curia. These it is among his soldiers whom I should have wished to see depart with him. The gates are open, the roads are free. What are they waiting for? They are strangely mistaken if they think that my long patience will never be wearied out. Whosoever shall make a disturbance in the city or undertake aught against his country will learn that Rome has vigilant consuls, a courageous senate, arms, and a prison in which our ancestors willed that manifest crimes should be expiated."

A few only of the conspirators took flight and left. Among these was the son of a senator; his father being told of it had him pursued and slain by his slaves.¹ But Lentulus, Cethegus, and Bestia remained at Rome, now talking of accusing Cicero for having exiled a citizen without trial, now plotting a general massacre of the magistrates during the ensuing saturnalia. Cicero by means of numerous spies followed all their movements, yet he he dared not strike, because he lacked written proofs, but the imprudence of the conspirators furnished them.

There were then at Rome some Allobrogian deputies who had long been vainly demanding justice for their nation, ruined as it was by the exactions of the governors. Lentulus sounded them through Umbrenus, reckoning upon making their discontent available for his cause. They yielded and promised the assistance of their cavalry; then, reflecting upon the dangers of such an alliance, they went and revealed all to Fabius Sanga, their patron at Rome. He hurried them before the consul, who ordered them to obtain

¹ Val. Max., V. viii. 5; Dion., xxxvii. 36.

from Lentulus a written agreement. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius sealed with their seals the letters demanded, and gave full powers to Volturcius, who set out at the same time as the deputies. The Milvian Bridge, over which they must pass, was surrounded; they and their despatches were seized, and before the news had spread, Cicero summoned before him the principal conspirators, who having no suspicion, answered his call. Without questioning them, without opening their letters, he led them to the temple of Concord, where the senate was assembled to hear the case against them. Overwhelmed by the depositions of Volturcius and the Allobroges, the accused acknowledged their seals, not daring to avow or deny anything. Lentulus was so completely prostrated¹ that he resigned his prætorship before the meeting was over; he was placed in the custody of the ædile Spinther, Statilius was assigned to Cæsar, Gabinius to Crassus, Cethegus to Corinfcus, Ceparius to Cn. Terentius. Before separating, the senate passed a vote of thanks to the consul whose vigilance had saved the Republic, and decreed that solemn supplications should be offered to the gods as they were for victories won by the armies. Cicero was the first who had merited that honour without wearing the garb of war.

He hastened to lay these revelations before the people,² and the masses, which had hitherto been indifferent to the dangers that threatened the oligarchy, were indignant at the alliance of the conspirators with a barbarous people, and by the appeal made to Catiline to hasten to Rome even with an army of slaves, while his accomplices set fire to the city and began the massacre. Every man, even the poorest, felt himself threatened, and the consul felt safe in hurrying on matters in the senate. On the 5th of December,³ that day of the nones which he so often celebrated, Cicero opened the debate upon the fate of the conspirators. Attempts were made by many to involve their personal enemies in the coming proscription. Catulus, and in a marked manner Piso, pressed Cicero to make the Allobroges implicate Cæsar. Others raised up accusers against Crassus.⁴ But Cicero knew well that in

¹ A great quantity of arms had been found at his house.

² The *Third Oration against Catiline*, delivered on the 3rd of December.

³ Answering to the 7th of February, 62 B.C.

⁴ We have just seen that Catulus had been Cæsar's unsuccessful rival in the competition for the pontificate, and that Cæsar had brought a criminal charge against Piso. Crassus was named

attacking them the senate would have to deal with too strong a party. It was quite enough to settle with Catiline, to crush a civil war, and to accomplish one illegal execution.

The senate had no judicial power; the right of pronouncing capital sentence was reserved for the assembly of the people alone. The senate was therefore, about to commit an act of usurpation, and the responsibility must fall upon the consul. Accordingly Cicero's conduct was at the same time full of reserve and of boldness. Even while violating the spirit of the constitution he scrupulously followed its forms; he did not have the conspirators arrested in their homes, that the domiciles of citizens might be respected; he did not give Lentulus over to the lictors; he himself led him by the hand into the midst of the senate, because only a consul could *constrain* a prætor; and lastly, he caused the conspirators to be declared public enemies, *perduelles*, that they might be proceeded against as if they were no longer citizens. But he appeared to dread increasing the number of the accused, and from so many guilty he demanded the condemnation of five only. If in the curia he proudly declared that he took all upon himself, he did not forget to display the solidarity of the senate and its consul. For nearly two months he had left unemployed the decree giving him absolute power; even now he was anxious that the sentence should be pronounced by that assembly, that he might appear only as its instrument, and that his cause might become that of the senate.

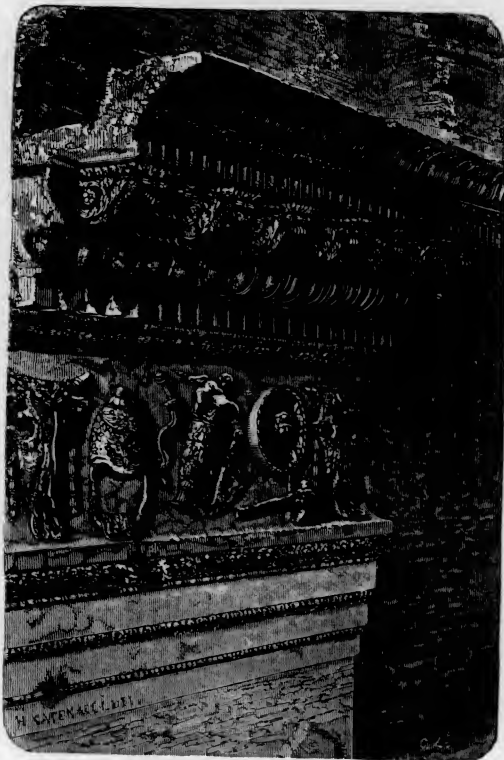
He had moreover, neglected no means of reassuring the senators by an exceptional display of power. All the citizens had taken the military oath the day before;¹ many were enrolled and stood in arms to guard the Capitol; strong patrols paraded the streets, and the consul's ordinary escort of young knights surrounded the temple of Concord, where the Fathers had assembled. Silanus, the consul-elect, was asked first, and voted for the extreme penalty,²

in full senate by one of the conspirators. Sallust (*Cat.*, 48) asserts that he had heard it said by Crassus that it was to Cicero he owed this insult.

¹ In the preceding year Rabirius, when condemned as a *perduellis*, had appealed to the people, and Cicero had declared that, since the passing of the law of *majestas*, the *crimen perduellionis* could no longer be recognized. In his *pro Rabirio* he had recalled the law of Caius Gracchus; *Ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro judicaretur*, and in the *de Leg.*, iii. 2, *de capite civis*, he repeats; *nisi per maximum comitatum . . . ne ferunto*.

² Τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην (Plut., *Cic.*, 27); Dion., xxxvii. 35.

and all the *consulares* followed his lead. Cæsar, who was then prætor-elect, dared to support a milder opinion; he voted for perpetual detention in a *municipium* and confiscation of their property. As leader of the popular party it was part of his policy to invoke the laws in opposing the violence of a frightened



Frieze of the Temple of Concord.¹

and angry oligarchy. Moreover, the people did not look upon the conspiracy with the same eyes as the higher classes did. The manifesto published a few days previously by Mallius seemed to be such as every poor man in Rome might issue. To speak in favour of the conspirators was therefore to brave the oligarchy in the very moment of victory and to win favour with the people,

¹ Wey, *Rome*, p. 30.

who, as Cæsar said, so soon forget the crimes of great criminals and to pity their sufferings.¹

Already the greater part of the senate, including Quintus, the consul's brother, shaken in their determination, were coming over to his views, and Silanus explained his own words in the same sense as Cæsar's. Then Cicero rose and pointed out the danger of stopping after having gone so far; but although he had again in this speech courageously assumed the sole responsibility, yet by making



The Palatine.²

it appear terrible and threatening, in order to magnify the greatness of his own part, he had frightened his colleagues, who would perhaps have abandoned him had not Cato come to his aid with

¹ See his speech in Sallust (*Cat.*, 51). It is in this speech that he, the high pontiff, declares that death is the end of all pain, that beyond it there is neither joy nor grief.

² Remains of the wall of *Roma Quadrata*, beneath the temple of Jupiter Victor, from a photograph by Parker.

his rough eloquence and bitter recriminations against Cæsar.¹ The assembly was carried away and voted for death.² Cicero attempted, in order to compromise Cæsar, to add thereto the confiscation of property which he had proposed; thus the discussion began again, this time full of anger and violence. "It is odious," said Cæsar, "to reject what was humane in my advice, and to adopt only its rigorous provisions." The consul, who was anxious to bring the affair to a close, consented to omit confiscation in the *senatus-consultum*. At one moment the tumult had been so great that the knights who surrounded the temple had invaded the curia and threatened to slay Cæsar.³

Cicero lost not a moment in order that Cæsar might not have time to rouse the tribunes, or the senate time to retract. He himself went and fetched Lentulus from the house in the Palatine in which he was detained, and led him to the Tullianum, whither the prætors brought the other conspirators. The *triumviri capitales* were awaiting them. Lentulus was strangled first. Over his corpse Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparius suffered the same death. When the consul crossed the Forum for the second time, as he came down from the prison he uttered these words only: "They have lived;" and the crowd dispersed in silence (December 5, 63 B.C.). No one at the time reflected that the Fathers and their consul had just effected a revolution by usurping a judicial power which the law did not allow them. But Clodius was soon to demand an account from Cicero, and Cæsar from the senate. Sooner or later political mistakes are expiated.

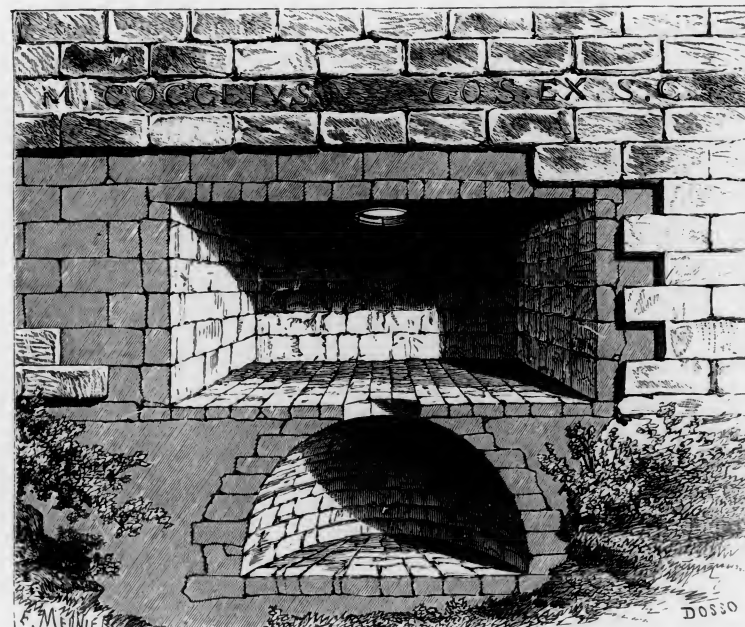
The success of the senate's generals had no doubt given Cicero confidence to accomplish what he looked upon as the feature of his consulship and a great service rendered to his country. Everywhere the movement had been suppressed by the mere presence of the troops. There had been no serious resistance except in Etruria. Cicero, who had bought the co-operation of his

¹ See in Plutarch (*Cat.*, 24) an incident which shows at once both the suspicious character of Cato and the manners of Cæsar on the occasion of the note of Servilia, Cato's sister, which note the latter took for a conspirator's letter.

² Suet., *Cæsar*, 14.

³ Eighteen years later Cicero still boasted of having pronounced the sentence before collecting the votes: *ante quam consulerem, ipse judicaverim*. (*ad Att.*, xii, 21.)—"The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation." (Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. i. p. 190, note 2.)

colleague Antonius by ceding to him the lucrative government of Macedonia, had placed him at the head of the troops directed against Catiline, but he had all his movements watched by one of his most devoted friends, the quæstor Sextius. This army protected Rome, while another, under the orders of Metellus, occupied Gallia Cisalpina and threatened Catiline's rear. The latter had collected



Tullianum: Section of the Prison where Death Sentences were carried out¹ (p. 32).

20,000 men, of whom only a fourth part were armed. Instead of attacking suddenly he lost precious time in negotiating for the

¹ The prison in which Rome executed her guilty, kings and heroes, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, was made up of two dungeons, one beneath the other, the *Mamertinum*, which we shall give later, and the *Tullianum*, which is represented in vol. ii. p. 480. We here give a section of the two dungeons. The *Mamertinum*, twenty feet long, sixteen feet broad, and formed of large blocks of peperino, had no door, but communicated by a narrow opening with the *Tullianum*, or lower dungeon, which was smaller and almost circular in shape. There the condemned were strangled. The corpses were drawn up to be exposed on the Gemoniæ, whence they were dragged with hooks down to the Tiber; this bitter people were not content with the death of their enemies, they must also have an opportunity of insulting their remains and persecuting them even in death by refusing them a tomb. Christian tradition makes St. Peter a prisoner in the *Tullianum*, which has now become the chapel of *San Pietro in Carcere*.

defection of Antonius. But on receipt of the news of the execution of Lentulus, the consul felt that the cause of the conspirators was lost, and he finally set his army in motion. Desertion immediately set in among Catiline's troops; at the end of a few days he had not more than 3,000 or 4,000 men left. He tried to beat a retreat, cross the Apennines, and reach the Alps and Gaul in order to play Sertorius over again. Behind him Metellus held all the passes; in desperation he turned back on the consular army, which Antonius had placed under the orders of an old and able soldier named Petreius, and he met it not far from Pistoia. Before the battle Catiline sent away his horse, like Spartacus, and placed himself in the centre with a picked body of men. The action was desperate;¹ not one of his soldiers gave way or asked for quarter; he himself was found, far in front of his men, amid a heap of slain, still breathing. His head was cut off and sent to Rome. History, even while it condemns them, retains some pity for these great insurgents who could die so gallantly, and popular imagination goes farther than history: at Rome his tomb was covered with flowers,² as Nero's was later on, and in the most ancient chronicles of Florence, Catiline plays the character of a national hero.³

When we see this easy success and the little blood it was necessary to shed, at Rome only that of five obscure and disreputable persons, on the battlefield that of a troop, rather than an army, of old soldiers abandoned by everyone, we are led to suspect that Cicero's eloquence has misled us as to the true importance of this affair. He thought he had stifled a great faction, whereas he had only put down a common conspiracy. The poisonous elements that Catiline collected had not, in fact, been able to assume the consistency of a political party. From these

¹ This battle took place a few days after the new consuls entered upon office: 'Εν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἤρξαν, and consequently at the beginning of 62 B.C. (the middle of March of the true year). (Dion., xxxvii. 39; Livy, *Epit.*, ciii.) The matter did not end there; for nearly a year there were accusations and exiles. (Cf. Cic., *pro Sulla*, and Dion., xxxvii. 41.) As for the victor, Antonius, he was governor of Macedonia in the following year, and got into such disgrace by his exactions that he was exiled, and in 49 Cæsar refused to recall him.

² Cic., *pro Flacco*, 38.

³ Malespini, *Istor. Fiorent.*, cc. 13-21. Coins have been found near Fiesole, the most recent of which dates from the consulship of Cicero. Some peasant, frightened by the civil war, had hidden his treasure there and could never get back to recover it.

meetings there might easily spring murder and incendiarism, but not a revolution, for revolutions are brought about by the opinions and needs of a numerous class which is or may be the majority. Selfish passions bring forth only fruitless plots.

III.—TROUBLES AT ROME UP TO THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (62—60 B.C.).

This bold blow aimed at society seemed for a time however, to have saved the government. The senate had given proof of vigilance and energy; people believed in its power. It caught up this pleasant illusion. Pompey appeared less great, Cæsar less formidable, and it forgot the indignation it had displayed on the day when Tarquinius accused Crassus of complicity with Catiline. Cicero especially flattered himself that he had frightened and permanently cowed ambitious men and factions. "Let arms give place to the toga," cried the dazzled *consularis*. And in order that he might still remain the hero of peace and of the city, he would not even take up his province of Gallia Cisalpina. He was quickly undeceived. He had written to Pompey as an equal, as a conqueror; the general did not deign a reply. Pompey moreover, had despatched to Rome one of his officers, Metellus Nepos, who easily obtained the tribuneship, and declared himself the consul's enemy. On laying down the fasces Cicero proposed to address the people in laudation of his "immortal consulship," which however, if we except the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices, had not been marked by any event but the passing of two unimportant laws. "The man who did not allow the accused to defend themselves shall not defend himself," said the tribune, and he ordered him to confine himself to the customary oath, that he had done nothing against the laws. "I swear," cried Cicero, "that I have saved the Republic!" To this appeal Cato and the senators replied by greeting him with the name of Father of his Country, which the people confirmed by their applause.

But when the intoxication of this last triumph had passed, and Cicero had become calm again, he saw the situation better. Pompey was withdrawing himself from both him and the senate;

Crassus accused Cicero of having calumniated him, and nourished a mortal hatred against him; and finally, one of the tribunes seemed to threaten him with a capital accusation, in spite of the *senatus-consultum*, by which all proceedings were forbidden against those who had assisted in punishing the conspirators. The prudent *consularis* set himself to calm all this resentment; he tried to appease Crassus;¹ he loudly proclaimed the zeal shown by Cæsar, and he humbled himself before Pompey, whom he placed above Scipio, by asking for the place of Lælius beside him.² He even sought friends from among Catiline's accomplices. Publ. Sylla, one of the conspirators, was defended by him and acquitted, in spite of the clear proofs against him. Are we to believe Aulus Gellius, who affirms that the accused had lent his advocate 2,000,000 sesterces, with which he bought himself a magnificent house?

As for Metellus Nepos, he had as his colleague in the tribuneship a citizen on whom Cicero and the senate could count, M. Porcius Cato. A man of perfect integrity, never compromising even with himself, Cato was perhaps of all the famous personages of antiquity the one who possessed the highest idea of duty.³ Like his ancestor, whose bluntness he inherited, he made himself censor of the men of his time; ceaselessly and without stint he fought for what he believed to be the right, and when he thought he owed his cause a last example, he killed himself, that his blood might stain the triumphal crown of the victor and remain the last protest of liberty.

Unhappily this man of worth, who, as prætor, came to preside at his court bare-footed and with no tunic under his toga, made himself ridiculous by his affectation of rusticity, and he understood neither the things nor the men among whom he lived.⁴ He was

¹ Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 14. Crassus only praised him after Pompey's return, and in order to match the latter by extolling another man's services.

² *Ad Fam.*, v. 7; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xii. 12. The great advocates of Rome proclaimed that they received nothing from their clients; they were only friends, to whom they lent the assistance of their eloquence. Cicero says so in twenty places, and makes it a reproach against Hortensius in the *Verrine Orations*, for instance, that his zeal is not disinterested. But the clients had to pay on election days; moreover, presents replaced fees.

³ [This estimate of Cato is surely far above the truth. To put him on a level with Socrates or with M. Aurelius is unjust to both these men.—Ed.]

⁴ There is still in existence, however, a letter addressed to Cicero which we should not have expected to see signed with his name, and in which he shows himself a match for the great wit. (*ad Fam.*, xv. 5.)

one of those extreme conservatives who would fain arrest time and bring back the dead. The elder Cato, a man of original and sound mind, exercised a great influence; his great grandson had none whatever; he did not even attain the consulship, and only lived in the memory of posterity by his death.

He had already been quæstor; his predecessors, all young nobles, who quickly grew tired of figures and financial affairs, left these fatiguing duties to the clerks of the treasury, while they betook themselves to their own pleasures. Hence came a fearful waste of public funds, the admission of false credits, and debts to the treasury that remained unpaid. Cato had watched these officials, and, in spite of their clamour and the interested protection of a few important people, had succeeded in bringing them back to order and duty. The murderers of the proscribed had received as much as two talents for each head they brought in. Cato had prosecuted them as misappropriating public funds, and compelled restitution.

The senators feared him because he spared no one; but the senate loved him because their body had in him an intrepid champion. We have seen how he behaved at the condemnation of Lentulus. A short time before, he had been on the road to Lucania, whither he was going to visit his property, when he met a long train of beasts of burden carrying baggage. He inquired to whom all this belonged, and on being answered that it belonged to Metellus Nepos, who was returning to Rome to canvass the tribuneship, said, "This is no longer a time to go to the country and rest oneself; this agent of Pompey's will fall on the government like a thunderbolt;" and forthwith he turned back and claimed the tribuneship for himself. The people had just sold the consular fasces to Murena; Cicero knew this, but in the face of Catiline, who was not yet vanquished, he thought it dangerous to condemn a noble, to recommence the election, and, in spite of the *lex Tullia*, he undertook the defence of Murena, whom Cato, a stranger to all interested prudence, accused. In order to destroy the ascendancy of such a name, Cicero attacked his too rigid virtue with sarcasms. "Would you know, judges, what a sage of the Porch is? He yields nothing by favour, he never pardons. He alone is handsome, were he a cripple, bandy-legged, and crooked;

he alone is rich, though he be a beggar; he is king, though he be a slave. We, the rest, who do not possess wisdom, are fugitives, exiles, enemies, fools. All faults are equal, every offence is a crime. To strangle a father or to wring the neck of a chicken needlessly is one and the same thing. The sage never doubts, never repents, is never mistaken, and never changes his mind." In this strain he continued for some time. "We have," said Cato, "a most humorous consul."¹ He did not however, retain any ill-feeling against him, but supported him against Cæsar, and was the first to salute him with the name of Father of his Country.

Cicero had hoped to unite in one party those whom he called honest men, that is to say, the wealthy, and the knights had rallied round him. The object of this party was to be the defence of the preponderating power of the senate, the preservation to the nobles of their privileges, and to the knights of the sources of their fortunes, in one word, the maintenance of the established order, without any desire of ameliorating and justifying this form of government. In order to preserve this union Cicero lent himself to anything, even to throwing a veil over the faults of the nobles. Cato alone boldly unmasked the guilty among the people as well as among the nobles; but everywhere too, he found a noble to stay his hand: Cicero saved Murena from him, and Catulus even resorted to violence in order to save an obscure government-clerk. Cato tried, nevertheless, to gain some popularity for his party by obtaining a decree from the senate for a distribution of corn to the poor, which cost the State 1,250 talents a year.²

To this measure the popular leaders replied, in spite of the opposition of the Fathers, by the suppression, in favour of the merchants, of the export and import dues throughout Italy,³ and Cæsar was shortly to propose to part with the last remnants of the Public Domain in Campania for the benefit of the poor. Thus

¹ Plut., *Cato Minor*, 21; 'Ὁς γελοῖον ἔπαρον ἔχουσιν. [See how splendidly Cicero himself, at the end of the third book *de Finibus*, draws in very similar words, but in serious earnest, the picture of the Stoic sage. (Cf. Mr. Reid's *Trans.*, p. 110.)—*Ed.*]

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 26. In his *Life of Cæsar* he only estimates this expenditure at 5,500,000 drachmæ or 917 talents.

³ Proposed in 60 by the prætor Metellus Nepos. (Dion., xxxvii. 51.)

did each, even Cato in the interest of his party, augment the State expenditure and diminish the revenue, tactics which have not yet fallen into disuse. The measures of Metellus and Cicero would at least be an encouragement to commerce and agriculture, whereas Cato's frumentary law would increase the idle crowd in the Forum, which the vanquisher of the nobles was obliged to reduce during his dictatorship.

Catulus, the leader of the senate, had commenced the rebuilding of the Capitol, and had hastened to secure the honour, to which a Roman attached so much importance, of inscribing his name on the monument. From the first day of his prætorship Cæsar proposed to entrust to Pompey the charge of finishing the new temple, which would give him the right to put his name in place of that of Catulus.

The matter was of little consequence, for it was only a question of vanity, but it showed the persistence of Cæsar in his policy with respect to Pompey and the growing opposition between the *populares* and the nobles (*optimates*). The latter, on hearing of Cæsar's proposition, hastened in such numbers to the Forum that the prætor, satisfied with having once more made his intentions clear, let the affair drop.²

Metellus went further; he demanded that the proconsul of Asia should be recalled with all his forces and charged with the re-establishment of order in the city. The *rogatio* appeared to threaten Catiline alone, who still held out; in reality it was directed against Cicero and the oligarchy; and Cato swore that as long as he lived the proposal should not pass.³

On the morning of the day when the tribes were to vote, Metellus caused the adjoining temple of Castor to be occupied by gladiators, and seated himself at the top of the steps by Cæsar's side. Cato passed boldly through the armed crowd, and placed himself between the tribune and the prætor to prevent them holding communications. When the clerk began to read the text

¹ Terra-cotta from the Borgian Museum at Velletri. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 886 No. 2201.)

² Suet., *Cæsar*, 15; Dion., xxxvii. 44. Catulus, having been entrusted with the rebuilding of the temple burnt down in the month of July, 83, had dedicated it in 69, although it was far from being finished, and he continued to superintend the reconstruction.

³ Plut., *Cato Minor*, 26.

of the *rogatio* he prevented him; when Metellus took the tablets he snatched them from him and broke them; the tribune tried to repeat them from memory; one of Cato's friends silenced him. The people clapped their hands, but at a sign from Metellus the gladiators drove away the crowd; Cato, who would not draw back, was with great difficulty saved by Murena. After some time the nobles returned in force, and Metellus in his turn fled from the city to his patron's camp.

The senators, deceived as to their real strength by this fresh victory, and growing accustomed to revolutions, declared the tribune and Caesar suspended from their functions.¹ Caesar at first paid no heed to this decree, desiring to lead on the nobles to some violent measure, which would allow him to present himself before the people as a victim of the senate. When the nobles threatened to employ force if he did not obey, he sent away his lictors; but the effect he had hoped for was already produced; crowds hastened to him and offered to maintain him against everyone in the office which the people had conferred upon him, and the senate, in order to avoid putting this apparent abnegation too seriously to proof, cancelled its decree.

Some time afterwards Vettius, one of the spies whom Cicero had employed to discover the threads of the conspiracy, and who since that time had denunciations ready for all who would pay for them, cited Caesar before the prætor, Novius Niger, as an accomplice of Catiline; another man accused him in full senate of having been a party to the plot; he knew it, he said, from Catiline himself. When this report spread through the city the people once more hastened to save their chief, and uttered threats around the curia. The accusation was hurriedly declared to be calumnious; Cicero spoke against it, and Vettius, being delivered over to Caesar, was almost torn in pieces by the angry crowd.² As for the quæstor, who had received in his court a summons against a prætor, his superior magistrate, Caesar had him dragged to prison, to teach him to respect the gradations of official rank.

Caesar had that gift of great politicians which makes even their rivals further their designs. He had made use of Pompey's

¹ Suet., *Caesar*, 16.

² Suet., *Caesar*, 17; Dion., xxxvii. 41.

help in undoing the work of Sylla; he employed Crassus to reduce to ruins the work of Cicero, that second revival of the senatorial power. Crassus has, more than any other of Caesar's contemporaries, been sacrificed to him; he has been made a ridiculous personage, a kind of dummy in that terrible game played by the other triumvirs. We often forget that as a general he might rank with Pompey and Lucullus, and that if his victories made less stir, they were more honourable, for they had twice saved the existence of Rome, once against the gladiators and once against Telesinus. While Pompey went over to the people, Crassus had remained faithful to the Cornelian constitution, and for seven years he was, with Catulus, the leader of the senate. His immense wealth, the spoils of the Civil war, gave him clients even in that assembly, and his slaves, of whom he might have formed an army, his freedmen, his debtors, and his tenants,—for he owned several districts in Rome,—rendered his support valuable in promoting or arresting a movement. The nobles made the mistake of alienating him from them, and they showed him who ought to be his ally, when they classed him and Caesar together in vague suspicions of complicity with Catiline. In the senate no attention could be paid to any one but Cicero, Cato, and Lucullus,² and the impending return of the Pompeian legions. Against this oligarchy, which had now regained its confidences and haughtiness, and his old enemy, the proconsul of Asia, Crassus was forced to join the man whom the oligarchy also persecuted. Caesar hastened to profit by his close connexion with the wealthy capitalist, but not at first for himself.

Clodius, a patrician of a petulant and ambitious nature, like all his race, and steeped, while still a youth, in debts and



*Bona Dea.*¹

¹ Bronze statuette found in the neighbourhood of Naples; the Good Goddess, protectress of fruitful matrons, holds a child in swaddling bands, and bears in her left hand a sucking-pig, the victim which was usually sacrificed to the *Bona Dea*, as it was to Ceres and Proserpine. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, fig. 868, p. 726.)

² Sallust asserts that he had often heard Crassus complain bitterly of Cicero. Velleius Paterculus pays a tribute to the manners of Crassus: *vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus*. (ii. 46.)

vices,¹ had gained an entrance into Caesar's house in woman's dress during the celebration of the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, which had never been profaned by the gaze of a man. Scarcely had he entered when he was discovered; the pious women cried out, and



Roman Pontiff.²

the pontiffs caused the desecrated mysteries to be begun over again. By his relations with the popular party, Clodius had separated himself from the nobles, and they seized this opportunity of ruining their new enemy, and embarrassing Caesar, whose wife he had compromised; they had an accusation of sacrilege brought against him. Cicero and the quiet members of his party hesitated, but Cato insisted, and the matrons, who considered themselves insulted, piously set the whole town in a ferment. Caesar's conduct was especially observed. He surprised every one. In order to

reconcile his honour and his interests, he repudiated his wife; not that she was guilty, but because Caesar's wife, said he, must be above suspicion, and he saved Clodius by getting Crassus to lend him the money with which to bribe his judges. Cicero, urged on

¹ We have seen (vol. ii. p. 820) how he behaved in the army of Lucullus, his brother-in-law. For the following years, see his biography in Cicero (*de Har. resp.*, 20), who naturally paints him in the blackest colours.

² *Museo Pio-Clementino* vol. iii. pl. 19.

by his wife Terentia, who interfered in everything, and who was at that time desirous of engaging him in a quarrel with the Clodii, ruined by his evidence Clodius' plea of *alibi*, a step for which he afterwards cruelly suffered. The senate thought the suit was won; they had at the judges' own request provided them with a guard, and confided to the magistrates the duty of watching over their safety; but in the urn there were found thirty-one acquitting votes against twenty-five condemnatory. "It was to keep your money, then," said Catulus to one of the judges, "that you asked us for a guard." "You know that bald-pate (Crassus)," writes Cicero; "it was he who arranged it all. He promised, guaranteed, made presents; bands of his slaves invaded the Forum, and the honest folk retreated in a body."¹ Accordingly, the tribunal which pronounced the acquittal was in his eyes only "a house of ill-resort which had never held such a set of rascals—dishonoured senators, tattered knights, and tribunes of the treasury as rich in debts as they were poor in cash."

Caesar, who had just repudiated his wife on the shadow of a suspicion, allowed himself a great deal of license, but he made pleasure subservient to politics. It is not by mere chance that we find his mistresses in those houses where they could best help his designs: Tertulla, the wife of Crassus; Mucia, the wife of Pompey; Postumia, the wife of Sulpicius, whom she brought into friendship with Caesar; there were many others besides, and, above all, Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, the tyrannicide. The last-mentioned, who was a widow, entertained a strong and lasting affection for him, but unfortunately she had not the same influence over her brother and son as Postumia had over her husband. The women then, took part in politics; this was a new state of things, which has been noticed previously, and which, with many other symptoms, marks the close of the old order of society, wherein a woman was never spoken of but to say of her, "she stays at home and spins wool."

The check sustained by the nobles in the trial of Clodius was a severe one, for it must be measured by the importance attached to the affair by both parties, and to this must be added the effects

¹ *Ad Att.*, i. 16.

it produced. In the senate it was asserted that the judges had been bribed, and an inquiry was opened. The equestrian order was hurt at this, seeing in it an attempt to drive their members from their courts, and the irritation was increased when, some time afterwards, Crassus stirred up the *publicani* to demand a reduction in the price of the farms in Asia, which the Fathers refused. Being already dissatisfied at the disgrace inflicted on the judges of Clodius, the knights haughtily separated themselves from the senate, and the union of the orders—Cicero's pet project, was gone.

Before the conclusion of the trial of Clodius, Cæsar had set out for his government in Further Spain. He left Crassus engaged with Clodius and in open rupture with the oligarchy; he had attached the opulent *consularis* to himself by getting him to go surety for him to his creditors for the sum of 850 talents (£200,000), and the knights looked with complacency on these men who defended their interest and their honour. At length the proconsul of Asia arrived. He was coming, it was said, at the head of his legions to make an end of the Republic. But Pompey had neither the ambition nor the daring for this; not knowing what to put in the place of the present government, he only intended taking his seat at the head of it, and for this he did not at the time think he should need soldiers; his glory would suffice; the moment he landed at Brindisi he dismissed his army.

This proceeding completely blinded the nobles; they imagined themselves masters of the situation, and when Pompey demanded that the consular comitia should be delayed in order that he might solicit votes in favour of one of his friends, Cato caused the refusal of the permission. Some time previously (63 B.C.) the senate had granted Lucullus the triumph which he had for three years solicited in vain; they had also lately authorized that of Metellus Creticus; it was as much as to say to the people, "These are the true conquerors of Mithridates and the pirates."² Pompey was deeply



Pompey,
Vanquisher of the
Pirates.¹

¹ CN. MAGNVS IMP. Pompey on disembarking receives a palm from the hands of Victory. Reverse of a silver coin of the Podician family.

² Pompey only arrived in Rome at the close of the year 62 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, iii. 181.)



Triumphant General (Painting at Pompeii).

wounded at this. Nevertheless, in his first address to the people¹ he spoke without anger and with great consideration for all parties, and he even tried to win over Cato. This moderation, at a time when the Forum was accustomed to violent speech, failed in its effect, and no one took seriously the claim to play the arbitrator among parties, which he seemed to advance. Towards the end of September he celebrated his triumph. Did the senate not wish to grant more than two days? Certainly the ceremony lasted no longer, and enough objects remained to deck another triumph. There were carried in procession the jewels and engraved gems of Mithridates, his statue in silver, his throne and sceptre, thirty crowns of pearls, three golden statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, the golden bed of Darius, son of



Victory (from the Vatican).²

Hystaspes, then the tables on which it was written that Pompey

¹ *Prima concio Pompeii . . . non jucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigeat.* (Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 14.)

² Statue in Grecian marble, with its back against a trophy, which must have served as a pilaster. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 636, No. 1442.) The engraving on p. 45 is taken from Roux (*Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii., 2nd Series, pl. 120), and represents a triumphant general crowned by Victory and seated upon a pile of arms. In the painting he is clothed in a blue tunic held up by a golden girdle; on his shoulders is a purple mantle; his red shoes are edged with gold and ornamented with fur.

had subjugated 12,000,000 of men, taken 800 vessels, 1,000 fortresses and 300 towns, founded or repeopled thirty-nine cities, poured into the treasury 20,000 talents, and almost doubled the public revenue.¹ Medals struck in his name showed the globe encircled with laurel, and above it the golden crown decreed to the conqueror of Africa, Spain, and Asia. He had distributed to each of his legionaries 6,000 sesterces.² The soldiers of the Republic are already the mercenaries of the empire.

But on descending from his chariot, in which he had appeared in the costume of Alexander, Pompey found himself alone in the city which a few moments before had been filled with his glory. Lucullus attacked him; the senate was hostile to him; Cato asserted that he had had only women to fight against; even Cicero found that his hero of former days lacked dignity and elevation.³ Of the two consuls, one, Metellus Celer, was his enemy; the other, Afranius, whose election to office he had paid for, was, Cicero says, a very nonentity, not knowing even the value of the place he had bought.⁴ Pompey soon put his influence to the test. In the East he had disposed of crowns, made and unmade kingdoms, and founded cities, in short, ruled everything with sovereign sway from the Ægean Sea to the Caucasus, and from the Hellespont to the Red Sea. The confirmation of all his acts was a point of honour with him; he demanded of the senate a prompt and general approval. Lucullus, supported by Cato, proposed to deliberate upon each fact separately. This lengthy discussion, in which many checks were inevitable, would have been singularly humiliating to the man who in Asia had lately played the part of a king of kings; he rejected it. At the same time he asked the people, through the tribune Flavius, for lands for his veterans. In the Forum as in the curia he met Cato and the consul Metellus. Things came to

¹ Eighty-five millions of drachmæ instead of 50,000,000, or about £3,000,000 sterling instead of £1,860,000. (Plut., *Pompey*, 47.) The triumph was celebrated on the 28th and the 29th of September, 61 B.C.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 6. After the deliverance of Modena, in 43 B.C., the senate promised 10,000, and the triumvirs gave them. The gratuities under the empire did not usually amount to so much. As for the medal representing a globe wreathed with laurels, no specimen of it is known, and it was not the custom of the Roman monetary triumvirs to strike such types.

³ *Nihil habet amplum, excelsum, nihil non summissum atque popolare.* (*ad Att.*, i. 20.)

⁴ The money paid for his appointment had been distributed in the very gardens of Pompey, and the senate ordered an inquiry. (Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16.)

such a pitch that Flavius had the consul dragged to prison; the whole senate wished to follow him thither. But the tribune's patron was ashamed of this violence; he yielded a second time, with his heart deeply embittered against the nobles, who were dishonouring him in the eyes of his soldiers and of all Asia.

Then, according to one historian,¹ he repented having dismissed his troops; but it was too late. Repulsed by the nobles, it only remained to him to take up once more the part of demagogue, for which he was so little fitted. But on the people's side the first place was already occupied; he must be content to share it with Cæsar who had anticipated him there.

¹ Dion, xxxvii. 50.



Winged Victory crowning a Warrior.

CHAPTER LII.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND THE CONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR.

I.—FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (60 B.C.).

DURING the events recorded at the close of the last chapter, Cæsar was in the heart of Spain, in Hispania Ulterior, which had fallen to him by lot after his prætorship (61 B.C.). As a gift upon his arrival he had brought the Spaniards the remission of the taxes which Metellus Pius had imposed upon them, and he had distinguished himself in civil matters by an arrangement of debts¹ and the pacification of Gades, to which he gave better laws; in military affairs by expeditions against the Lusitanians of the mountains and the Gallæci, whence he returned with the title of *imperator* (June, 60 B.C.). He forthwith solicited a triumph and the consulship. These two demands were irreconcilable. To obtain the one he would have to keep the *imperium*, his lictors, and the military costume, that is to say, he must not enter Rome, for at the city gates this power and magnificence ceased, and to canvass the other he must come in person three *nundine* before the election, give in his name to the president of the comitia, and solicit votes in the Forum. Many a time had the



Cæsar.²

¹ The creditors, who were for the most part Roman citizens, obtained payment by a compulsory attachment of their debtors' property. Cæsar only granted them two-thirds of the income till the debt should be cancelled. (Plut., *Cæsar*; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 19.)

² Laurell-crowned head. We do not know whether Cæsar was authorized by the senate to put his portrait on the coin, or whether he assumed the right himself. In any case, since upon the pieces of money bearing the inscription COS TERT. DICT. ITER. of the year 46, and DIC TER of the year 45, his head does not yet appear, and that with DICT QVART of the year 44 it does not always appear, we are led to the conclusion that it was during the year 44 B.C. that Cæsar obtained or arrogated to himself this right, which has since remained a monarchical privilege.

senate allowed generals to omit these prescribed formalities, but at the instance of Cato they now refused to do so.¹

Between an affair of vanity and a question of power Cæsar quickly made his choice; he gave up the triumph, sent away his lictors, and hastened to the Forum with the white robe of a candidate; Crassus and Pompey accompanied him and canvassed for him. How had this triple alliance been formed?

The crushing of Catiline, the disarming and humiliation of Pompey, the double defeat of the people and their tribunes, the exile of Cæsar 400 leagues away from Rome—such successes had inspired the oligarchy with that confidence which, to their final destruction, endues exhausted parties with a momentary energy. Cicero had already ceased to be their favourite leader. The senate preferred Cato's blind zeal to the reserve and circumspection of the cautious consular. But Cato, by his respect for ancient and obsolete laws, gained nothing and spoiled everything. "With the best intentions," wrote Cicero to Atticus, "our Cato spoils everything; he enunciates opinions like those of Plato's Republic, and we are the dregs of Romulus."² He it was who had driven Metellus Nepos from Rome, stirred up the accusation against Clodius, and made the senate refuse Pompey everything. After the election of Afranius, whose election Pompey had paid for, he had obtained a decree that all who took any part in such bargains should be declared public enemies, and he had energetically supported a new law of the tribune Lureo against canvassing. After the trial of Clodius, and against the advice of Cicero, who was anxious that the equestrian order should be humoured at any price, Cato had brought about an enquiry into the conduct of judges. When the farmers of the taxes in Asia had demanded the cancelling of their agreements, Cato, in spite of Cicero, obliged them to hold to their former contracts.³ Accordingly, in the debates raised by the agrarian law of Pompey, the *publicani* had refused their support to the senate.

This time too, the oligarchy had conquered, but it was only

¹ At least Cato, in order that nothing might be decided upon, spoke till sunset, and obliged the meeting to disperse. (Suet., *Cæsar*, i. 8; Dion., xxxvii. 54; Plut., *Cæsar and Cato*.) Ten years previously the senate had granted to Pompey what it now refused to Cæsar.

² Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 1.

³ *Cato qui miseros publicanos . . . tertium jam mensem verat.* (Cicero, *ad Att.*, i. 18.)

due to the moderation of their foe. Accordingly, while the nobles congratulated themselves on having overcome everything, Cicero saw the storm gathering. "Among all those men," said he, "there is not the shadow of a politician,"¹ and he prudently pulled up, he reefed his sails,² and prepared the way for a return to Pompey's side by supporting the agrarian law of Flavius with reasons which contradicted his speech on that of Rullus.³ It was a fresh recantation. "But," wrote he, "since the acquittal of Clodius I know what dependence can be placed upon justice; I have seen, too, the *publicani* estranged from the senate, and how our momentary victors, those great lovers of fish-ponds, no longer conceal the envy they cherish against me.⁴ Then I sought some more solid support." And Pompey had welcomed him; Pompey, whom he describes above, solemnly draped in his triumphal robe, had at length spoken of and praised the famous consulship. Then he begins to scout his former friends, Lucullus, Hortensius, and all those great personages "who imagine themselves in heaven, when they have in their fish-ponds old barbel trained to come and eat out of their hands."

Unless the orator overdraws his portraits in order to excuse his defection, such men were not very formidable, and the zeal and activity of the intractable Cato only increased the illusion as to their real strength. Quite recently a senatus-consultum had failed to become law, and Cicero had seized the opportunity to exclaim, "Of the two things which my consulship had established, the union of the orders and the authority of the senate, one is gone, and every day helps to shatter the other."⁵ Thus Caesar returned opportunely from his province; the senate was at once feeble and threatening, Pompey was exasperated, Cicero discontented, and Crassus in full opposition.

Since the day when Caesar had dared to brave the all-powerful Sylla, he had said nothing and done nothing which was not in

¹ Πολιτικός ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὄναρ quisquam inveniri potest. (*ad Att.*, i. 18.) And elsewhere: *Nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* (*Ibid.*, 13.)

² *Contraxi vela.* (*Ibid.*, i. 16.)

³ *Ad Att.*, i. 19.

⁴ In their eyes Cicero was never anything more than an upstart. See in his letters with what haughtiness Appius, his predecessor in the government of Cilicia, treated him.

⁵ *Ad Att.*, i. 18.

keeping with this first act of his life. The replacing of the trophies of Marius on the Capitol, the dragging of the dictator's *sicarii* to justice, the recall of the proscribed, the prosecution of extortioners, the restoration to the tribuneship of its rights, and the revival of hope in the people by the proposal of agrarian laws, all these things showed his fidelity to the opinions of his youth and his party, and had doubled the power afforded him by his eloquence as an orator, his attractions as a man, and the splendour of his birth. He therefore, held a position at Rome which enabled him to treat as an equal with the most powerful rivals. His first care was to reconcile his old friend and his new, Pompey and Crassus; to the one he promised to obtain for him from the people what he had failed to get from the senate; to the other to dismiss to their villas those leaders of the oligarchy who had relegated him to the second rank, and to restore to him that influence in the State which was due to his services.¹ All three undertook to have their credit and their resources in common, to speak and act in all matters only in conformity with the interests of the association. The military glory of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Caesar contributed to make this three-headed monster, as the triumvirate was called, a power which ruled the people, the senate, and the whole government.² But each of the three triumvirs retained his own special schemes. Pompey saw in the union only a combination of influences, by which he must certainly be raised without any disturbance or revolution to the first place. Crassus foresaw the rivalry between his colleagues and the facilities it would afford him for raising himself above them by making his support necessary to each. Caesar too, thought of presently claiming that highest place which all three desired, but he wished first, by the united force of the triumvirate, to overthrow the aristocracy, which was a party, thinking that he would afterwards be easily able to deal with Pompey and Crassus, who were only individuals. Then as master of the Republic he would undertake the reforms of which his great

¹ *Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat . . . , viribus teneret Caesaris.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 44.)

² Τρικράνας. (App., *Bell. cir.*, ii. 9.) [This title was originally given to a scurrilous libel on Theopompus by Anaximenes of Lampsacus. (Cf. Mahaffy's *Hist. of Greek Literature* ii. 248.)—*Ed.*]

mind saw the necessity, and which he commenced from the time of his first accession to the consulship (60 B.C.).

His two associates had undertaken to support his candidature. The nobles did all in their power to defeat it. They clubbed together to buy up the votes; even Cato thought that for this once the end justified the means, and furnished his share. When they saw that their efforts would be useless, they took their revenge in advance for the election which they could not avoid, by assigning as consular provinces nothing but the care of woods and pasture-lands.¹ They hoped thus to shackle the future consul at the expiration of his consulship. But it was only an imprudent and useless measure, which enabled Cæsar to ask the people for reparation for the insult offered to the people's choice. Cæsar was elected, but the nobles succeeded in giving him as a colleague Bibulus, who had long been his enemy.

II.—CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP (59 B.C.).

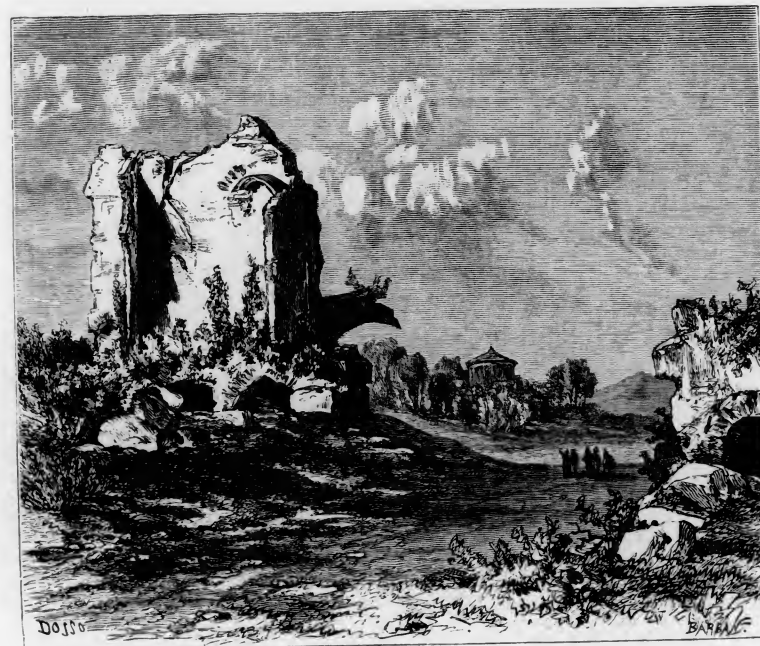
The new consul's first words however, were conciliatory; he promised the senate to propose nothing against its prerogatives; he tried to effect a reconciliation with Bibulus, and he asked Cicero's advice. On taking possession of his dignity he ordained that the daily record of all the acts of the senate should be regularly kept and published, in order to check secret intrigues by submitting the government to the control of public opinion.² A few days later he read the following law to the senate;³ "In order to restore agriculture and re-people the solitudes of Italy, the lands of the Public Domain shall be distributed among the poor. Those in Campania, where 20,000 colonists shall be established, are to be

¹ *Provincie minimi negotii, id est silvæ callesque.* (Suet., *Cæsar*, 19.) These absurd provinces, however, suggest the idea that the Romans already concerned themselves about the preservation of forests.

² Suet., *Cæsar*, 20. See Leclerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*.

³ Cicero, who had supported, with modifications, the law of Flavius, which was not so well put together, and by which, said he, it was possible for *sentina urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudo frequentari* (*ad Att.*, i. 19), offers but poor reasons against Cæsar's proposal. (*ad Att.*, ii. 16.) According to him the treasury would be ruined; *portoris Italiae sublati, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum, præter vicesimum*, but he forgot the tributes of the provinces, which Cæsar's law did not touch. He forgot too, that the expenditure for the distributions of wheat to the people would be diminished if the famished masses at Rome became less numerous.

given to citizens who have at least three children, and a rent shall be paid to the treasury for these concessions. If the public lands do not suffice, the money brought home by Pompey shall be employed to purchase private domains with the proprietors' consent at the price with which they were marked on the registers at the last census. Twenty commissioners shall direct the execution of this law." There was nothing to object to in this proposal,



Remains of Cicero's Villa at Tusculum¹ (p. 58).

the wisdom and opportuneness of which recalled the first law of Tiberius Gracchus, with this difference, that Cæsar declared he did not desire to be among the commissioners. In the time of the Gracchi the aristocracy was all-powerful; it crushed both the law and the tribune. Now it was from the consulship, as in the days of Spurius Cassius, that the blow came, and the nobility had only Cato to defend them, for Cicero remained at his villas, that he might not be obliged to praise in Cæsar what he had blamed in

¹ From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Rullus; fearing to speak, fearing to keep silent, he had fled far from the field of battle. "It is not the law I dread," said Cato, "but the price the people will have to pay for it," and he spoke so violently that Caesar, giving way to impatience, had him seized and dragged to prison, the door of which was not shut upon him. Then the consul dismissed the Fathers, saying, "I had made you the judges and supreme arbiters of this law, in order that if any of its provisions displeased you, it might not be brought before the people till it had been discussed by you; but since you were not willing to proceed to a preliminary deliberation, the people alone shall decide." It was a return to the *Hortensian Law*, which the Cornelian legislation had suppressed.¹ Driven by this refusal of co-operation to bring everything before the popular assembly, he rarely summoned the senate.² The comitia, it is true, represented the national sovereignty, of which the senate was but the high council; but to make the comitia everything was to change the whole balance of government. Hitherto it had been in the curia; Caesar removed it to the Forum. And yet it was scarcely twenty years since Sylla had deprived the tribes of their legislative power!

On the day that he brought his law before the people, the old scene between Tiberius and Octavius began again, but Caesar carefully avoided the excess which had ruined the son of Cornelia. For a long time he begged his colleague not to oppose this act of justice, and in order to make the nobles detested, he prevailed upon the people to add their entreaties to his own. "If you should all clamour for this law you should not have it," said Bibulus. Then Caesar, turning towards Pompey and Crassus, asked them what they thought of the proposal. Both praised it highly. "But in case it is rejected by force, what will you do?" said he to Pompey. "If it is attacked with the sword, I will defend it with sword and buckler."³ On hearing him speak thus, the nobles understood why it was they had seen the town filling with Pompeian veterans.⁴

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 3. For the *Hortensian Law*, see vol. i. p. 294.

² Appian and Dion are wrong in affirming that he ceased to assemble the senate, for he called them together several times, among other things, to make them swear to observe his law, and to declare Ptolemy and Ariovistus friends of the Roman people, etc.

³ Dion, xxxviii. 45; Plut., *Caesar*, 14.

⁴ Plut., *Pompey*, 49.

Bibulus, a man of narrow and stubborn mind, resisted to the last. On the election day, in spite of the threatening aspect of the Forum, which was filled with armed men, he came with Cato and Lucullus, and took his place near his colleague to declare that he "was observing the heavens," and that consequently all business must be suspended. But as soon as he attempted to speak he was set upon, precipitated from the top of the steps of the temple of Castor, and forced to seek shelter in a neighbouring house. Lucullus too, nearly perished. Two tribunes were wounded; Cato was twice driven from the platform. The law passed, and a plebiscitum compelled the senators, magistrates, and all who should in future canvass an office to swear to observe it literally. Men remembered Metellus, and everyone took the oath, even Cato; one man only, Laterensis, chose rather to give up his candidature for the tribuneship. "He is highly appreciated," writes Cicero, who praises, but did not imitate him.¹

This agrarian law was the first which had succeeded in passing for the last sixty years. Caesar, already heir of the popularity of Marius, was now to succeed to that of the Gracchi also. And yet the two other triumvirs had no right to take alarm, for he appeared to act only in the common interest. When he diminished by one-third the price of the taxing contracts in Asia, where the *publicani* had lost greatly during the war against Mithridates, it was, he said, to reconcile to the triumvirs the whole equestrian order,² now that the people were already won over. When he obtained the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East,³ it was the pledge given by his colleague to the kings and peoples of Asia that he redeemed, as he had just fulfilled by the agrarian law Pompey's promises to his veterans. And finally, when he sold the alliance of Rome to Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, for 6,000

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 12; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 18. I do not speak of the pretended plot against Pompey's life which Vettius denounced, and in which he implicated several important persons. It was doubtless an attempt to extort money, which was disposed of by strangling Vettius in prison. Dion (xxxviii. 9) does not hesitate to say that he had been paid by Cicero and Lucullus to kill Caesar and Pompey; but Dion is fond of tragic stories, and changes doubt into certainty with great facility. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 12) does not believe it.

² Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 16; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13.

³ Lucullus attempted to offer opposition, but he was threatened with an accusation on the subject of his immense property, and he became silent. (Dion, xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Plut., *Pompey*, 13.)

talents,¹ it was again in order that that prince might owe his crown to the triumvirate. He was only faithfully carrying out the treaty of alliance, but he that gives is much better remembered than he that promises, and Caesar, accomplishing what his colleague had not been able to do, reaped gratitude, or at least raised himself in public opinion. Pompey was under obligations to him. He even consented to become Caesar's son-in-law. This marriage added the bonds of relationship to those of politics; but in the family, as in the State, Pompey accepted the inferior place.² He did not perceive it, for he could not suppose that anyone would presume to claim equality with him,³ and Caesar avoided dispelling the idea. It was the custom that at the meetings of the senate he whose opinion the consul had first asked should retain this privilege throughout the year. Caesar had first paid this honour to Crassus, but after Julia's marriage he entrusted Pompey with the opening of the debate, a trifle which suited the vanity of a man who desired to have the pre-eminence in everything.

Two laws of Caesar's consulship, *de Provinciis ordinandis* and *de Pecuniis repetundis*, which supplemented one another, remained the basis of legislation until the last days of the Empire.⁴ Their object was the good administration of the provinces by the repression of extortion. Like all young nobles, he had made his first appearance in the Forum as the accuser of guilty governors, but he always remained faithful to the patronage of provincials, which others forgot as soon as they attained office. He had seen that the time was come for rising above the narrow prejudices of the city, and that Rome had other duties to the world than everlasting pillage.

The second of these laws had more than a hundred chapters,⁵ and it differed from similar earlier laws by greater detail and stringency.⁶ It applied to all sorts of bribery at home or abroad.

¹ Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, iii. 107; Suet., *Caesar*, 54; Dion., xxxix. 12.

² Julia was only twenty-three years of age and Pompey was forty-eight. At the same time Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso. (Suet., *Caesar*, 21; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 11.)

³ . . . *Et quod neminem secum dignitate exaequari volebat.* (Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 4.) *Nequē . . . quemquam aequo animo parem tulit.* (Vell. Patere., i. 33.)

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii., the whole of section ii.; *id.*, *ibid.*, L. 5, 3; and *Code*, book ix. section xxvii.)

⁵ Caelius (Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8) cites Article 101 of it.

⁶ *Calpurnia* (149), *Junia* (126?), *Acilia* (101?), *Servilia* (100), *Cornelia* (81).

Accordingly, Cicero calls it "a law as wise as it is just, by which free nations at length truly enjoyed their liberty."¹ It regulated the expenditure of cities for the proconsul, his legates, and his quaestor, and it forbade all voluntary gifts.² It increased the penalty against extortioners, who were declared incapable of sitting in the senate or of appearing in court as accusers or witnesses.³ In order that proof against them might be easy, governors were obliged to leave a copy of their accounts in two of the most important towns of their provinces, and to deposit a third in the public treasury at Rome.⁴ When an extortioner was prosecuted he had been able to save his property by going into exile before the trial, and so put an end to the case. The *Julian Law* decreed that even in this case the property should be seized, even if it were already in the hands of the heirs, and be applied to compensate the injured parties. If it did not suffice, those who had profited by the abuse were condemned to complete the restitution. Finally it decreed that a governor should only remain two years in the consular and one year in the praetorian provinces. Sylla had not allowed knights or plebeians to challenge more than three judges in their suits. The tribune Vatinius, one of Caesar's friends, obtained by his law an equal right of challenge to accused and accuser, whatever their condition might be.

Lands for the poor of Rome, justice for the provinces, severity for the twofold evil which was sapping the Republic—venality and extortion—such were the principal acts of Caesar during his magistracy.

What were the nobles doing during this consulship, so full of wise reforms? Cato was protesting in favour of abuses of which he took no advantage; Favonius imitated his complaints and even his gestures, and was the last to swear to observe the agrarian

¹ *In Pison.*, 16, and *pro Sextio*, 64.

² Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 10, 16, 21; *in Pison.*, 37. Caesar also occupied himself with the *liberae legationes*, one of the most crying abuses, but we do not know in what particular he modified preceding regulations on the point. (Cic., *ad Att.*, xv. 11; Cf. Dion., xliii. 25; Cic., *Phil.*, i. 8; *in Pison.*, 86.)

³ Suet., *Caesar*, 43; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 77.

⁴ Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 7; *ad Fam.*, ii. 17; v. 20. Gabinius, one of the most severe pro-consuls towards his subjects, had already, in 71 B.C., carried that all the sittings of the senate during the month of February should be devoted to the examination of complaints brought to Rome by deputies from the provinces. (Cic., *ad Quintum*, ii. 13.)

law. Lucullus had joined in the opposition to the consul, but a few words from Caesar upon his immense wealth which, as spoil of war, belonged to the State, sent him back into silence. Hortensius had quitted politics and devoted himself to the care of his lampreys. Cicero, who had been led away for a time by Pompey's advances and Caesar's smiles,¹ had soon retraced his steps. He was anxious to return to literature, to flee "to his paternal mountains and the cradle of his infancy."² "Where shall we live?" he exclaimed, and he invited Atticus to come and philosophize with him "under the shadow of Aristotle's statue." But he could not stay quiet; he travelled from Formiæ to Antium, from Antium to Tusculum, restless, nervous, eager for news, circling round Rome without daring to enter it, and trying by partial overtures, by cautious confidences, to get the augurship offered to him, in order to furnish himself with a pretext for reappearing on the scene. It is the sad spectacle of a noble mind unable, when its hour is past, to give up either power or the applause of the multitude.³

As for the senate, it seemed no longer to exist, for one of the consuls summoned it but rarely, and the other had forbidden it to assemble by the proclamation of a *justitium*. Bibulus, in order to taint the acts of his colleague with illegality, had declared all the days of his consulship to be *feriæ*. But religion was a worn-out weapon, and this opposition in the name of long-lost beliefs only caused a smile; the wits named this year the consulship of Julius and of Caesar.

In default of a serious war, they waged a war of epigrams against him. Bibulus, shut up in his house, launched against his colleague edicts "in the style of Archilochus," in which the accusation of having been the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline were among the least insults.⁴ The nobles

¹ Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16.

² *Ad Att.*, ii. 15.

³ Dion., xxxviii. 8; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Suet., *Cæsar*, 20. I do not, in 1880, strike out this phrase which I wrote in 1843, and which is true for certain men. I content myself with adding that Cicero could, better than any man, find in his rare literary faculties the means of forgetting the attractions or disappointments of political life by fixing his gaze on things both higher and more remote.

⁴ Suet., *Cæsar*, 49; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 19, 20, 21, and 22. Cicero did not talk openly of these calumnies, but he propagated them quietly in his private letters. At Rome indeed, men readily

extolled their champion to the skies; but Cicero, jealous of the stir made about an inactive consul, maliciously remarked that this was a new method of attaining glory. As for Caesar, he left his foes this last consolation of the vanquished. Pompey played his part less easily; on the 25th of July he ascended the rostra to speak against the edicts of Bibulus. "How humble and downcast he was," writes Cicero, "how well one could see that he was no better satisfied with himself than were those who listened to him!" And with a naïve pride the orator adds; "I was tormented with fear lest Pompey's services should appear to posterity greater than my own. That anxiety is gone; he has fallen so low!"¹

Caesar's laws were excellent. By refusing to co-operate with him and to associate themselves with his plans the oligarchy had committed the last capital mistake which precedes and causes great catastrophes. Caesar then desired reforms, not a revolution, and his reforms might perhaps have saved the Republic. Ten years afterwards it was too late. The nobles counted upon their idle *senatus-consultum* concerning the province set apart for the popular consul for getting rid of him quickly. But the people, whose affection he had retained² by an uninterrupted succession of games, spectacles, and largesses,³ did for him what they had already done for Marius, Lucullus, and Pompey. On the proposal of the tribune Vatinius, they replied to the derisive *senatus-consultum* respecting the proconsular provinces by bestowing upon him, by the Vatinian plebiscitum, the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for five

cast in their enemies' teeth the accusation of being publicly and gratuitously immoral. Suetonius, who collected all these tales, says that Caesar stole 3,000 lbs. of gold from the Capitol and replaced them with gilded copper. But we possess a proof of the falseness of this accusation; Cicero does not mention it, and he would not have failed to do so frequently, if the thing, incredible in itself, had really taken place.

¹ Cic., *ibid.*, ii. 21.

² The "unpopularity of popular men," as Cicero calls it, has been too easily credited; it was Curio and the young nobles, not the people, who launched forth the sarcasms of which Cicero speaks, and the latter is even driven to confess that there was much more spite than force in it all; *Magis odio quam præsidio*. (*ad Att.*, ii. 19.) It must be noticed too, that it was Pompey, not Caesar, who was scoffed at and insulted.

³ *Σκωδός* est, ut suspicor, illis qui tenent nullam cuiquam largitionem relinquere. (Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 18.) Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 20) says almost the same, and they both talk nonsense, for Crassus, Lucullus, and Pompey had given many [games and largesses] like them; it was an obligation on men of power to do so, and nothing particularly out of the way has been remarked in these festivals of Caesar's consulship.

years, with three legions.¹ This law was most skilfully put together in the interests of Caesar, for it gave him, in addition to a considerable army, a province of which he had constituted himself patron,² and which, being in proximity to Rome, daily received the news of the Forum and the curia; but it was also most useful to the Republic, which was threatened by a formidable war on the



Theatrical Token (Tessera).

Theatrical Token (Tessera).³

other side of the Alps. Cato paid no heed to this danger. In his great Republican fervour and his hatred against Caesar, he had exclaimed; "It is tyranny you are arming, and you are placing it in a fort above your heads." But the senatorial majority, more patriotic in the face of the State's peril than the oligarchic faction, at Pompey's solicitation added to the popular gift a fourth legion and a third province, Gallia Narbonensis, which was at that time in great danger.

These prolonged commands were in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution; the proconsulship had only been called into existence three centuries before with the object of securing for a consul the time to complete his military operations. Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompey had recently held it longer than the period granted to Caesar, and the people and senate were quite right in resorting to a precaution customary in times of danger. The

¹ Pompey's veterans had come to vote for this *Vatinian Law*. (Suet., *Caesar*, 22.) Pompey himself insisted on having Transalpine Gaul given to Caesar (Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3); *Ille Gallie ulterioris adiunctor*. With Caesar gone he thought he would be left master.

² He had just sent thither with the title of citizens 5,000 colonists, who established themselves at Como. (Strabo, V. i. 6; Suet., *Caesar*, 28.) The southern boundaries of Cisalpine Gaul passed to the south of Lucca and Ravenna. Ariminum, a short distance from the Rubicon, was only 1,350 stadia from Rome, and Lucca scarcely further.

³ The theatrical *tesserae* were tokens answering to our tickets. Those here given are of ivory and artistically worked; the one represents an amphitheatre with its *vomitoria*, and in the middle a *pegma*, a kind of tower on which combatants were placed. The inscription on the reverse denotes the place assigned to the bearer of the *tessera* (IA, eleventh hemicycle). The place assigned by the other ticket, AICX, denotes perhaps, the last place (*αισχρον* or *αισχιστρον*), the one furthest removed from the places of honour, and reserved for the lowest class and slaves. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii., 2nd Series, pl. 134.) [This interpretation is most improbable.—*Ed.*]

Allobroges, who had not been rewarded at all to their liking for the conduct of their ambassadors in Catiline's conspiracy, had just ravaged Gallia Narbonensis. This rising had caused little uneasiness, but the Germanic invasion, which had been arrested forty years before by Marius, was recommencing. The mass of tribes settled in the upper basins of the Danube and Rhine and in the valleys of the Alps were in a state of confused restlessness. Already the most dreaded people of all Germany, the Suevi, to the number of 120,000, had forced their way into Gaul, north of the Roman province, the frontier of which they touched, and 400,000 Helvetii were preparing to traverse it in arms, so that southern Gaul, and consequently Italy, lay exposed to an invasion as dangerous as that which had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ.¹ The Suevi were in fact, only the vanguard of that barbarous world which was ceaselessly attracted towards the civilized world, and the country abandoned by the Helvetii was soon to be occupied by warlike tribes, which from the heights of the Alps would cast longing looks upon the rich plains of Gallia Cisalpina. The Vatinian plebiscitum was not therefore one of those thoughtless favours sometimes bestowed by the people upon their leaders; it was desirable for the public interest that the guarding of the whole northern frontier should be confided to one general, and that that general should have time enough before him to prepare his plan of defence, as his uncle Marius had done, and to carry it into execution. The alliances concluded by Caesar in Noricum² prove that he fully realized the importance of his commission. He took precautions on that side to protect the eastern gate of Italy against an attack from the Pannonians, whilst he defended the outposts in the west against their brethren of Gaul.

The equal duration of the two governorships has been disputed; that of Narbonensian Gaul should have been shorter, it is said, than that of Cisalpine, but the practical sense of the Romans did not understand any difference, especially when the true danger was on the banks of the Rhone; the senate, which

¹ Caesar says so (*de Bello Gallico*, i. 33); . . . *quum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent*. A *senatus-consultum* of 61, of which we shall speak further on, shows by the precautions taken in Gallia Narbonensis that the senate was very uneasy about that quarter.

² Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 18.

was then in a fair way to a reconciliation with Caesar, could not insist on it, and Pompey, who upheld the plebiscitum for Cisalpine Gaul in the Forum, and gave his utmost support in the curia to the senatus-consultum for the Narbonensis, no doubt demanded that the conditions should be alike. Indeed, Velleius Patereulus, Appian, and Plutarch affirm that they were so.¹

We have another proof that the senators were swayed by the energetic and far-seeing will of Caesar, even after his consulship. As soon as he had resigned the fasces, two prætors attempted to invalidate his acts; he demanded that the question should be at once discussed in the curia. Cato's friends made a great disturbance, and for three days there were lively altercations; but the senate refused to allow the institution of a regular debate.² One of the tribunes also proposed to summon him before a court of justice, but his colleagues opposed their veto, a double intrigue doubly illegal, for the senators had been compelled by a plebiscitum to swear to observe his principal law, and no action could be brought against a magistrate while he was in office, so that Caesar, who was a proconsul at the expiration of his consulship, enjoyed this immunity.

Warned by these ill-timed attacks, he resolved to avert their repetition and their effects by causing the urban magistracies to be given every year to friends disposed to guard him against a surprise. "Several swore an oath to him," says Suetonius, "to prevent his being accused during his absence, and some renewed the engagement in writing."

Among the senators so apparently well disposed towards Caesar, there were most assuredly some who counted upon the barbarians' sword to free them from their formidable adversary. Pompey, without any evil purpose, thought that Caesar's absence from Rome for five years would leave him most of the real profits of their partnership, a preponderating influence in Rome, and that place of arbitrator which was sufficient for a man who had more of the vanity than the ambition of power. Caesar reckoned otherwise.

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 44; . . . tum Cesari decreta in quinquennium Gallie. App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 13; Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὺς Ἀλπεων καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλπεὺς ἐπὶ πενταετὶς ἀρχὴν. Plut., *Cato*, 33; . . . ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τίσσορα τῶν στρατιᾶς εἰς πενταετίαν.

² Nec illo suscipiente. (Suet., *Cesar*, 23.)

Two opposite examples, the sad end of the Gracchi and the success of Sylla, had shown that nothing could be done without an army. In order to have an army he needed a province, a successful war, and spoil. Now, Gaul was rich; it was formidable; it lay at the very gates of Italy; successes would re-echo there as if it were but a few steps from the field of battle. He thought that after gaining as much military glory as Marius, Sylla, and Pompey, he would know how to make a better use of it, by giving the Republic that organization which for the last century she had been seeking amid civil wars and proscriptions. Was there more ambition than patriotism in these ideas? Many see only the former motive in Caesar's conduct; I firmly believe that the latter must also be admitted.

III.—CLODIUS, EXILE OF CICERO (58 B.C.).

Before his departure, Caesar secured the consulship of the year 58 for Piso, his father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of Pompey's friends, with the rich governments of Macedonia and Syria for their proconsular year. He had settled the list of consuls who were to succeed them and to keep watch with his two partners over the maintenance of the *Julian Laws* during his absence. Finally Pompey, placed at the head of the commission for the agrarian law, remained at Rome with an indefinite authority which could not but appear formidable to the enemies of the triumvirate.

Among the dismayed aristocracy there were now but two men who caused any uneasiness. Cato was in the way, because the masses loved the rough virtues they did not possess, and the demands for a liberty about which they no longer exerted themselves. He was more popular in Rome than Pompey, almost as popular as Caesar, but it was a popularity far more dependent upon curiosity than upon confidence. His dress, his language, his life were interesting, like a picture of past ages, though none ever dreamed of imitating him. There was no fear of such a man ever leading the people to any act of violence against their present masters. Yet his opposition was wearying, and it was resolved to get rid of it. Cicero was more dangerous, because, living more in the present than Cato, and knowing it better, he

demanding less and ran a chance of obtaining more. His eloquence too, might bring about unexpected results, and he had lately, on his return to Rome, completely broken with the triumvirs. "If I am driven too far," he had said, "I shall be quite able to hold my own against the oppressors." Moreover, Clodius claimed him as a victim, and Cæsar reckoned on Clodius to keep Pompey and the senate in check during his absence.

The law required a man to be forty-three for the consulate, but through the tribuneship a position of influence was much more quickly attainable; Clodius was therefore desirous of becoming a tribune. But he was a patrician, and adoption by a man of another order would deprive him of his nobility; yet he had not hesitated, but had brought forward as his adopting father an obscure plebeian, younger than himself. Pompey, and Cæsar too, had at first given themselves very little trouble to support this turbulent and ambitious man, whom they could not control, like Vatinius, according to their fancy. But in an action brought against C. Antonius, Cicero had taken it into his head to speak ill of the triumvirs.¹ That very day the adoption had been decided upon, and Pompey had officiated there as augur.² Cicero took fright and set out for his estate, hoping by silence to make up for the energy of his words; his manœuvre had been successful, and the triumvirs had made fresh advances to him. Among several means of attaining an object, Cæsar always chose that which agreed best with the kindness of his nature. Being desirous of removing Cicero from Rome, or else of attaching him to his own cause, he had successively offered him a free legation, one among the twenty places of land commissioner, and lastly, the rank of lieutenant in his Gallic army. After long hesitation Cicero had refused them all; Cæsar, though with regret, abandoned him to the resentment of Clodius.

On the 10th of December, 59 B.C., this scion of the Claudii took his seat on the bench of the plebeian magistrates. As usual, the public treasury bore the cost of the new tribune's popularity; a *lex frumentaria* abolished the moderate price which the poor paid

¹ Cic., *pro Domo*, 16; Suet., *Cæsar*, 20.

² Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3. Pompey was unfortunate in the choice of his friends. Thus he raised up Clodius, who did him so much harm, just as he had helped on Cæsar's fortunes, *quem in rempublicam abuit, auxit, armavit*.

for the wheat supplied from the public granaries.¹ A second law forbade any magistrate to break up the comitia on pretence of consulting the heavens, but anyone might be tempted to renew the strange opposition of Bibulus.² A third law re-established the ancient corporations³ which the senate had recently suppressed (in 64?), and which the tribune hoped to make use of; and finally, he diminished the power of the censorate, which had so often been a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy. For a name to be erased from the roll of the senate or the equestrian order it was henceforth necessary to have a formal accusation, an examination, a defence of the accused offered in person or by an advocate, and lastly, the agreement of both censors in pronouncing a verdict.⁴ It was the substitution of a trial with regular formalities for a sentence



Minerva with the Necklace.⁴

¹ This bounty diminished the receipts of the treasury by a fifth, says Cicero. (*pro Sextio*, 25.)

² This was the reversal of the *lex Ælia Fufia*. (Cic., *pro Sextio*, 15.) In point of fact the conduct of Bibulus had been only a scandalous abuse of a right formerly useful.

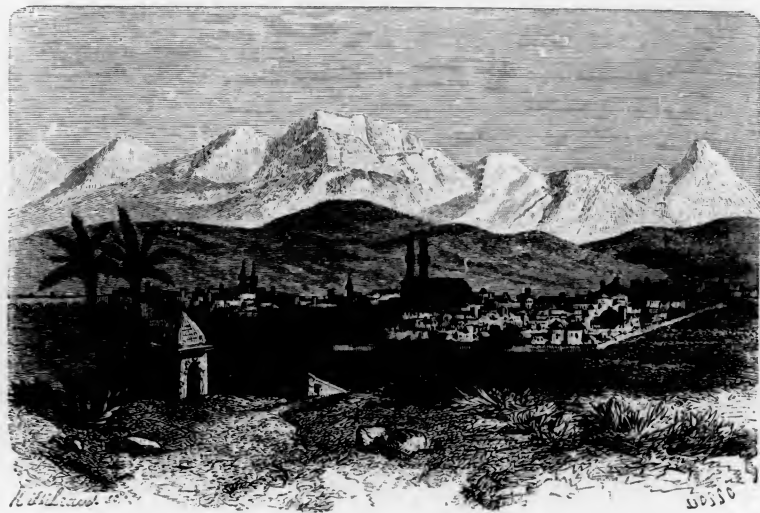
³ *Collegia restituit*. (Cic., *in Pison.*, 4; *pro Sextio*, 25; xxxviii. 13.)

⁴ Statue from the Louvre Museum. (Clarac, *Descript. des Ant.*, No. 522.) Necklaces are very rare in ancient sculptural monuments, and this example is perhaps unique among good statues. Phidias had put a necklace on his Athene, of which our Minerva may be an imitation.

⁵ Ascon., *in Pison.*, 4.

without any argument in court, and since party-spirit had replaced the true spirit of government in the senate, the measure was a good one. It will be remembered that Catiline's principal accomplices were senators and knights degraded by the censors; it may be that many were driven to opposition, and thence to sedition, by unmerited disgrace.

All these preparations had but one object, to render the tribune master of the field whereon the true question was to be decided—that of exile of the leaders of the aristocratic party. He began with Cicero and proposed this law: "Fire and water



Cyprus (View of Nicosia and the Cerinian Chain).¹

shall be forbidden to anyone who shall have caused the death of a citizen without trial." Cicero was protected by a *senatus-consultum*, and in delivering up Lentulus to the executioners he had only carried out an order of the senate. But in those unhappy times laws had no force but what they borrowed from the man or party whose work they were. Cicero did not even think of bringing forward these decrees in his defence; he put on mourning, he implored the assistance of the triumvirs and consuls, and a number of knights and senators entreated the people to save

¹ A. Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, in the *Mém. de la Soc. de Géologie*, 2nd Series, vol. vii. pl. 149.

the man whom the people had named Father of his Country. All was in vain. Before the votes were given Cicero quitted the city. He hoped by this voluntary exile to disarm his enemies and prevent a condemnation; but on the morrow Clodius caused sentence to be declared; Cicero was not to approach nearer Rome than 400 miles (April, 58 B.C.). At the moment of his departure he had caused his most beautiful statue of Minerva to be carried to the Capitol, and had there consecrated it in the temple of Jupiter with this inscription; "To Minerva, Guardian of the City."

Cicero was a victim of the breach of prerogative accomplished by the senators in 63 B.C., and the law which struck him down had that retrospective character which sound politics disapprove, but which is not always displeasing to factions. The second of the Gracchi had set the example,¹ and he had commenced the era of revolutions; Pompey afterwards imitated Clodius, and his law was one of the causes of the Civil war.

Cato gave no handle for an accusation. But Clodius induced the people to order him to go and reduce Cyprus to a province, and to bring back the treasures of the king of that island.² In order to prolong his exile he gave him in addition to the mission in Cyprus that of repairing to the heart of Thrace, to reinstate the exiles to Byzantium.³ Cato obeyed; Caesar was now free to set out.

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 423-424.

² Dion., xxxviii. 30; Plut., *Cato*, 39. "The Romans appropriated the inheritance of a living man and the confiscation of a prince in alliance with them." (Montesquien, *Gr. et décad.*) But this prince had formerly offended the all-powerful tribune by sending Clodius only two talents for his ransom when he had been taken by pirates. Cato carried out his commission with such rigour that he boasted on his return of having brought back more gold than Pompey. He poured the whole of it into the treasury, and did not retain a single drachme. (Plut., *Cato Minor*, 45.)

³ Cic., *pro Domo*, 20.

⁴ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ("the polity of the Cypriotes"). The temple of Venus at Paphos with her emblem (the conical stone) and the doves of the goddess. Coin of the island of Cyprus.



Coin of Cyprus.⁴

CHAPTER LIII.

GAUL BEFORE CÆSAR.

I.—PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

IN all ages man inquires whence he comes and whither he is going. Philosophy and religion undertake to answer the second of these questions; history attempts to elucidate the first by clearing away the darkness which envelopes his origin. Since the course of our narrative leads us into ancient Gaul, let us pause for a moment to study the nations which first began its civilization. We have done so for Italy; we may fairly undertake to do the same for France.

In the geological ages Gaul had experienced all kinds of climates, from intense colds to torrid heats, and possessed all kinds of fauna. The giant mammoth, the great elk with its enormous horns, the reindeer, and the great cave-bear inhabited it, when the Alpine glaciers, passing beyond the Jura, stretched to the Rhone, and those of the Pyrenees spread far into the lower valleys. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the ape, the lion had lived there in the time when it had an African temperature.

But five or six thousand years ago, when Babylon was building her temples and Egypt her pyramids, Gaul had the temperate climate which it still retains, and was nothing but one immense dome of verdure.¹ From the higher regions of the mountains descended the dark army of pines; on the slopes and in the valleys, the oak, the elm, the beech, the maple, and the birch; in the damp plains, the willow; in gloomy spots, the

¹ Before the Roman invasion, says M. Belgrand. (*Le Bassin parisien aux âges pré-historiques*, p. 139.) France was covered with thick forests, and even the soil of Champagne was carpeted with brushwood.

gigantic box and the yew with its poisonous juice¹ were crowded together. The granite soil of Auvergne² was covered with alders, and the hills of the Limousin country with chestnut trees.³

In the shadow of these vast woods wandered the wild ox,⁴ which no longer exists except in the forests of Lithuania, and numberless herds of wild-boars, which fed on the acorns of the



Elk *Magaceros* (Museum of Saint-Germain).⁵

oak forests. On the banks of the overflowing rivers, which were more rapid then than they now are, the beaver built his dams,

¹ At least the Gauls regarded it as a poison. [It is so for cattle.—*Ed.*]

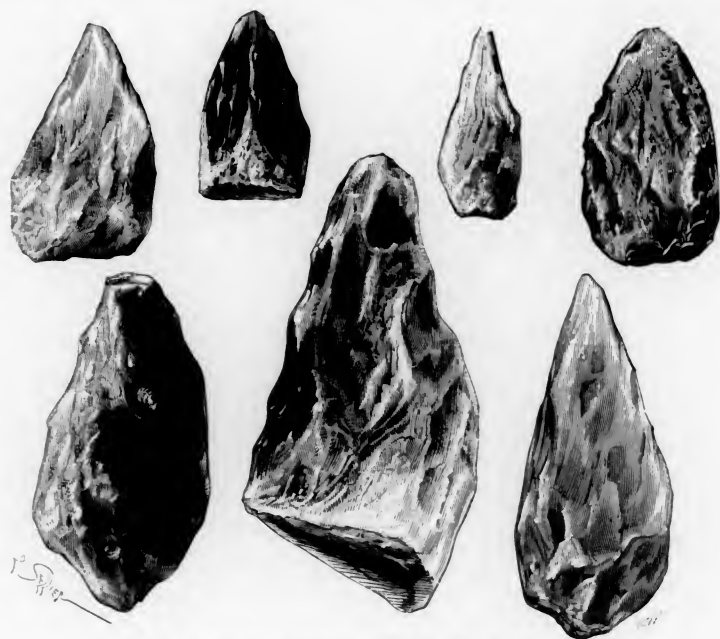
² Arvernia, from the Gaelic *ar*, the, and *vern*, alder. (Cf. A. Maury, *Anciennes forêts de France*.)

³ Among the exotic plants of Gaul, Pliny mentions the chestnut-tree; but this tree is indigenous in the temperate regions of Europe.

⁴ The urus or bison of Europe still exists in the Caucasus (?) and Livonia, where they are provided with food during the winter. [The *bos primigenius*, on the other hand, the short-horned ancestor of the domestic cow, is preserved in Lord Tankerville's park at Chillingham, on the Scottish Border, where there is still a herd of about seventy in a wild state.—*Ed.*]

⁵ [The cut hardly exaggerates the horns, which might be twelve to fifteen feet from point to point. Many specimens are found in the Irish bogs. These specimens have the reindeer shovel at the root of the horn, showing the climate to which the animal was suited.—*Ed.*]

and the bees made their combs in the hollow trees in peace.¹ In the mountains, the bear, in the plain the wolf and the lynx, were the real masters of the country. Man however, had long since appeared there,² and the caves have preserved his remains, his arms, and even his arts—spear-heads of split flint and quartz (the



Very ancient stone axes, found at Saint-Acheul.

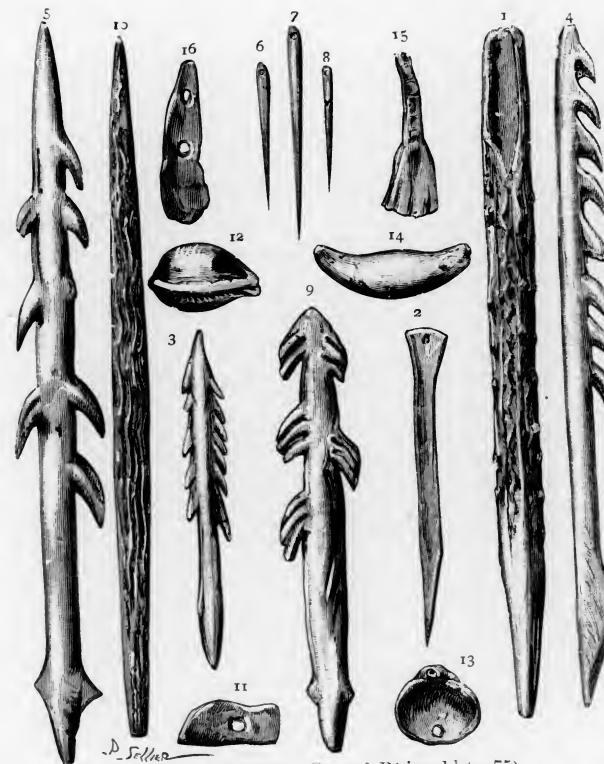
axes of Saint-Acheul), tools and hunting implements, carved bones, other bones pierced to serve as instruments of music, reindeer horns bearing scratched designs, etc. (See pp. 76, 77, 78, and 79.) This was the stone age. Of these first-born of Gaul we know nothing.³ The men who were to be our ancestors were wandering far away in another continent.

¹ Hydromel, made with water and honey, was one of the favourite beverages of the Gauls. (Diod., v. 26.)

² He inhabited Gaul during the whole quaternary [post-tertiary] period, and "probably lived on the borders of the tertiary deposits." (De Quatrefages, *l'Espèce humaine*.)

³ A new science, anthropology, the generalizations of which are premature, ventures to insist that the skulls found in the most ancient deposits are brachycephalous, or almost round (ratio of 85 to 100 between the two diameters, transverse and longitudinal), whereas the

Up to these last few years, it was only through the writers of Rome and Greece that we knew anything of our origin.



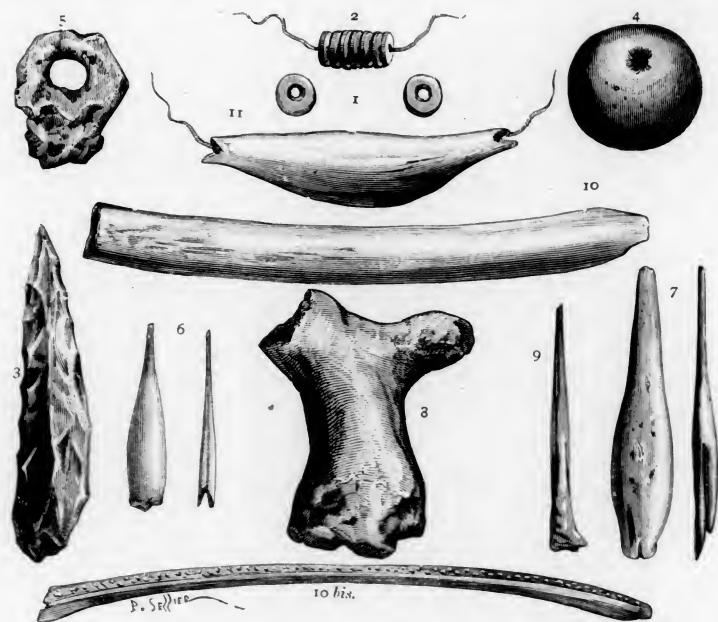
Manufactured Objects: Cave of Périgord¹ (p. 75).

When the Romans arrived in Gaul they found there three or four hundred tribes, divided into three great families—the Celts, or

more modern, or Aryan skulls, are dolichocephalous, that is to say, elongated (ratio between the same diameters, less than 75 to 100).

¹ 1. Fragment of reindeer horn carved in relief, hollowed out at the extremity to serve as a spoon for marrow. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 2. Bone bodkin. (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*.) 3. Head of arrow or harpoon of reindeer horn. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 4. Harpoon of reindeer horn, cave of Bruniquel (Tarn-et-Garonne). (*Ibid.*) 5. Harpoon of reindeer horn, very prominent barb. (*Ibid.*) 6. Bone needles. (*Ibid.*) 7 and 8. Bone needles. (*Ibid.*) 9. Harpoon of reindeer horn. (*Dict. arch.*) 10. Spear-head of reindeer horn. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 11. Canine-tooth of reindeer bored artificially to serve as an ornament. 12. Cowrie shell bored artificially to serve as an ornament. (*Dict. arch.*) 13. Scallop shell artificially bored. (*Dict. arch.*) 14. Canine-tooth of wolf artificially bored. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 15 and 16. Incisor of ox bored and ornamented with light intaglios artificially. (*Ibid.*)

Gauls, the Belgæ, and the Iberi or Vascones. But where had they come from? Rome did not know, and cared very little. In those days the question of origin was easily settled by deciding that nations had sprung from the soil which bore them. The Druids boasted of being the children of Gaul. In modern times

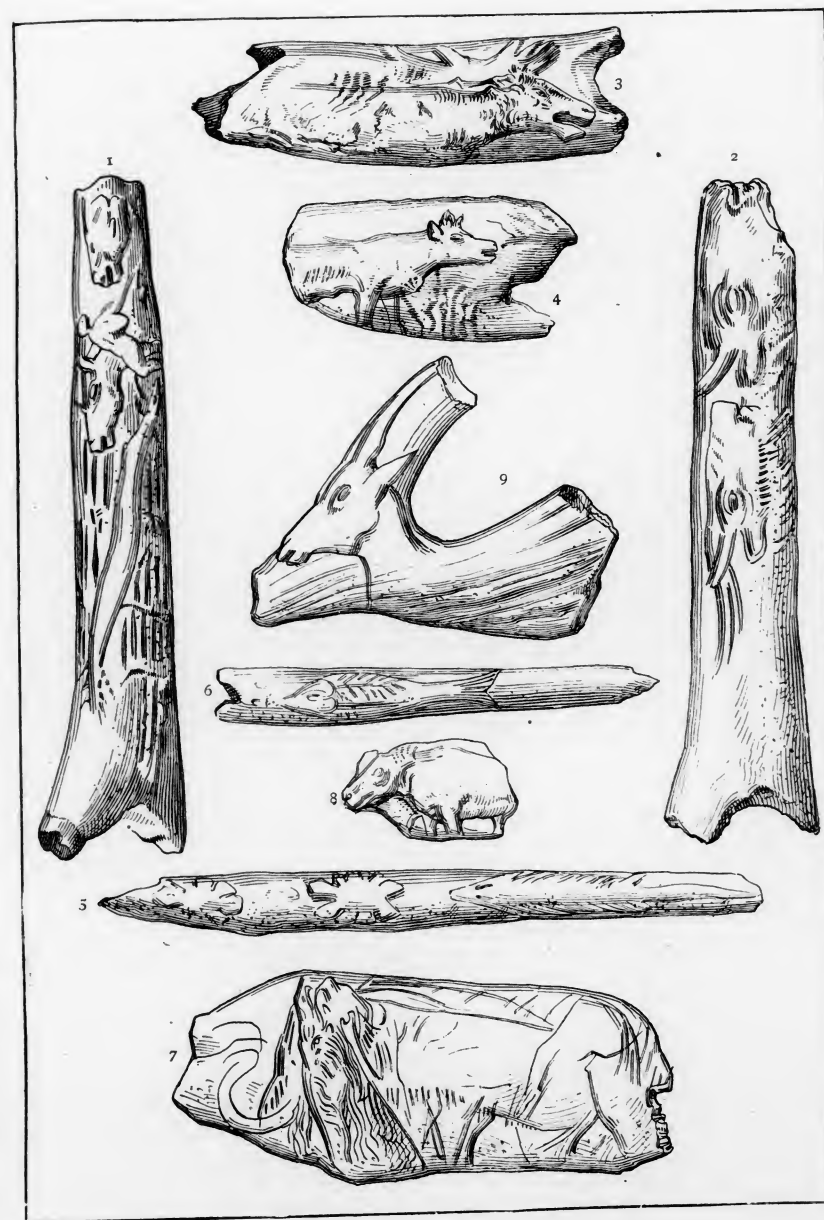


Manufactured Objects in bone, flint, and horn.¹

men have been more curious, but their search was long in vain. The comparative study of languages at length solved the problem.

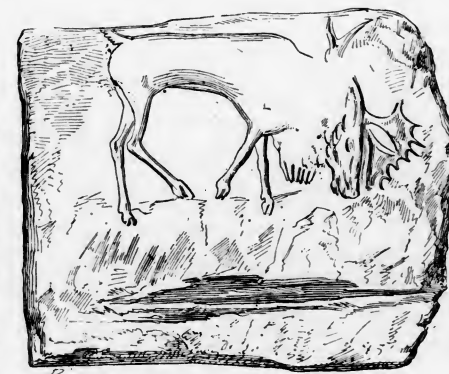
The fathers of our race at first inhabited the plains of upper Asia, along with the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, speaking a common language, and perhaps already possessing the germ of the sacerdotal corporation of Druids, as the other two nations possessed those of the Veda and the Avesta. At some unknown epoch the Greeks, Latins, and Celts separated from their Asiatic brethren; they set forth westward, and went in that direction as long as there was any land to occupy.¹

¹ M. Ad. Pictet of Geneva, in his book on the primitive Aryans, which is a sort of linguistic palæontology, has already settled what was the primitive abode of the Aryans, what were their migrations towards the West, and what relations existed between the Celts, who set out first,



Manufactured Objects: Caves of Périgord (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*).

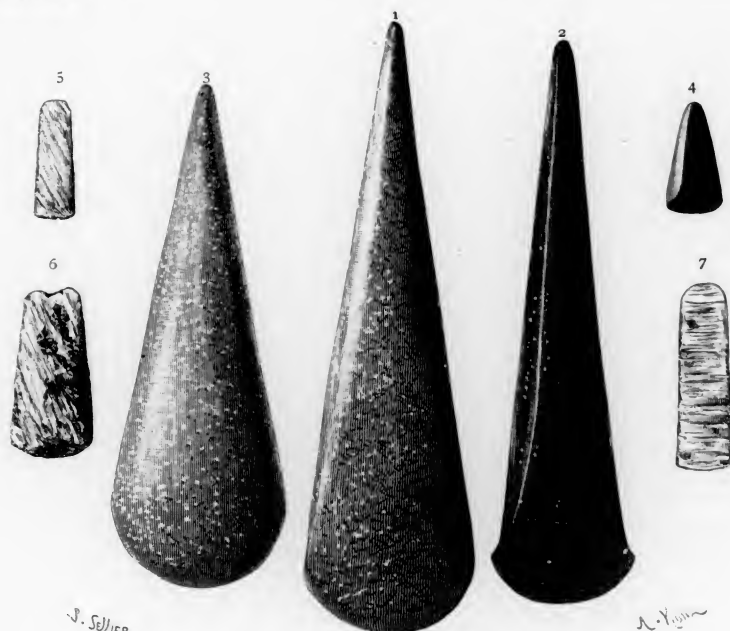
Europe was at that time covered, like Gaul, with virgin forests, wherein, had not full rivers intervened, the squirrel might have passed from the Ural to the Ocean without ever touching the ground. The Celts, when they had left the steppes of upper Asia, frozen and burnt by turns, plunged resolutely into the unfathomable depths of the vast forests, halting perchance in the clear spaces to sow a little rye or oats, which they had brought from Asia, and leading with them the ox and the horse, which the most ancient nations managed to tame, the dog, the sheep, the goat, and the common fowl, which were already reduced to the domestic state, and the pig, the flesh of which, cooked in coarse earthenware pots, continued to be their principal food. In later times



Drawings engraved upon Reindeer horn (Museum of Saint-Germain), p. 75.

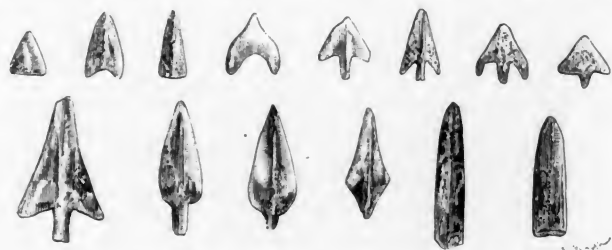
and the Pelasgians or Græco-Latins, the Germans and the Slavs, who followed them. He shows what the state of these Aryan tribes was before their separation, how they already cultivated the plants which form the basis of our agriculture, employed the help of our domestic animals, and were acquainted with the use of metals. He has even made investigations as to what their ideas and social organization may have been. [The theory of the Asiatic origin of the Aryan family, generally accepted a few years ago, is now likely to give way to the newer hypothesis of its origin in some part of north-eastern Europe, though it seems difficult to find a likely region there.—*Ed.*] *Explanation of the Drawings on p. 75:—*Figs. 1 and 2. Front and back of a piece of reindeer horn, on which are engraved a man, some horses' heads, a serpent, and some heads of oxen. Fig. 3. Fragment of reindeer horn having a reindeer engraved on one of its surfaces. Fig. 4. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (These three objects are in the Museum of Saint-Germain, which also possessed a cast of the three following ones.) Fig. 5. Rod of reindeer horn with ornaments and a lizard, or the skin of some animal. (British Museum.) Fig. 6. Fish engraved on a rod of reindeer horn. (British Museum.) Fig. 7. Mammoth, or *Elephas primigenius*, engraved on an ivory plaque. (*Musée d'hist. nat. de Paris.*) Fig. 8. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (British Museum.) Fig. 9. Wild-goat engraved on the fork of a reindeer horn. (Collection of Édouard Lartet.) (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule, époque celtique*, vol. i., *Cavernes.*)

the boar was the symbol and the standard of the Callie nations.



Axes of Polished Stone.¹

With their axes and knives of polished stone, sharpened on a grindstone or polisher, with their flint-headed arrows and spears



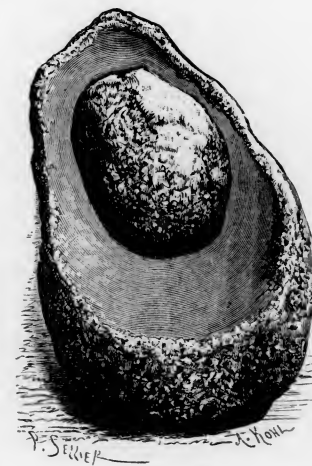
Flint Arrow-heads (Museum of Saint-Germain).

of reindeer horn, they lived by hunting and fishing, like the

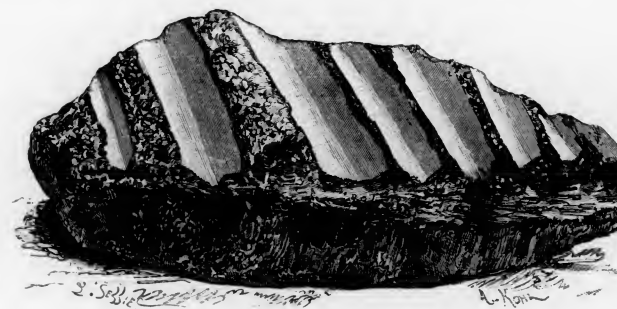
¹ 1, 2, 3. Axes of chloromelanite from the dolmens of Morbihan. (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint-Germain.) 4. Axe of jade. (Museum of Saint-Germain.) 5, 6, 7. Axes of febrolith from the dolmens of Morbihan. (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)

Redskins of America, but they did not, like them, always return to the accustomed wigwam. Their hunting-grounds extended ever wider. They were, in truth, the *men of the forests*, Kelts,¹ as the Greeks called them.

Wandering across rivers and mountains, they ultimately reached the shores of the great sea which bounded the West. From one point on its coasts they saw high cliffs showing white on the horizon, and they wished to reach these also. Thus the great island which flanked Gaul became their domain; they only halted when, from the tops of the furthestmost promontories of Scotland and Ireland, they saw before them nothing but the immensity of the ocean. They could go no further; the long journey begun in Bactriana was at an end.



Grindstone² (p. 81).



Polisher³ (p. 81).

They preserved no memory of it, and thought that they had arisen in Gaul; but in proof of their Asiatic origin they retained

¹ In Gaelic *koilte*, forest.

² Grindstone of glossy sandstone, found in the Gallic cemetery at Chassemy (Aisne). (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

³ Of glossy sandstone with veins of jasper (Department of the Vienne). (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

a language akin to Sanscrit, the sacred language in which the religious books of India are written.

This language of the Celts is not lost. It has a literature, poems, and legends, and is still spoken in the heart of Britany, in Wales, in the north of Scotland, in [the mountains of] Ireland, and [until lately] in the Isle of Man [and in Cornwall]. Those who use it are the last representatives of that ancient people. So also do a few ruins, still standing, attest the greatness of their ancient monuments which have fallen; but even these ruins diminish day by day. In France there are not 300,000 Bas-Bretons who understand and speak the dialect of the Druids. The Celt recedes before the Frenchman; the elementary school, the regimental school and trade wage a deadly war against him.

The Celts do not appear in the Classic authors till towards the close of the fifth century before our era; but this is no proof that the nation had not long existed in Gaul, where it formed the second stratum of the population and the second period of history, the age of polished stone, of megalithic monuments, and pile-constructions, or lake dwellings. From this period date the *dolmens* and *covered passages*, erections for purposes of burial, which have been found in 1,100 communes of France, and have suggested a new science, that of interrogating the dead, or rather their appointments, which the Italians have so well named the Science of the Tombs.

After a long interval there arrived the main body of the Gallic tribes who were related to the Celts, but who had started from Asia much later, and brought with them a more advanced culture. Having first established themselves in the valley of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of rich and civilized countries, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, these Gauls made numerous incursions into them, and from time to time we come upon objects which they had pillaged in those distant expeditions; at Rodenbach, near Speyer, a piece of Etruscan pottery; in other places bronze vases, tripods, and jewels, which may perhaps have been taken at the sack of Clusium.

Pursuing their way westward they crossed the Rhine and the Jura, drove back the first Celts before them, and covered eastern Gaul and the south of Germany with innumerable tumuli. This was the third age, the age of metals.

A distinction has been made between the Celts and the Gauls, or Galatæ.¹ We cannot discuss special questions of ethnology in this rapid summary, which is only intended to show the general physiognomy of the nations which Rome conquered. Gallic archæology, a new science, has made rapid progress, but it is still in course of formation, and the historian can only make use of sciences which are complete or sufficiently advanced to have solved the most important problems. But from the work already accomplished we may conclude that the great antiquity of man in Gaul may be considered beyond doubt; also that of the megalithic monuments, which have long been called Druidic, but which have been proved to exist in very many parts of the globe; also the Aryan origin of the Celts and Gauls and of their language; the succession of different civilizations upon our soil, or rather the progressive development of manufacture, extending from the clumsy flints of Saint-Acheul to the arms and implements of bronze, and still more of iron, of the tumuli; and finally, the long occupation of the Danube valley by the Gauls. For the rest it is best to await the evidence to be derived from the Museum of Saint-Germain,² where the objects found in numberless researches carried on by an army of savants are now accumulating. Meanwhile we may adhere to Cæsar's words about the inhabitants of central Gaul; *Qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur*.³ These words are not true for the whole chronological series, but they were for Cæsar's time, and that is enough for us here.

On arriving in the country which was to retain their name the Gauls found some unknown peoples, whom they exterminated or enslaved, and some Iberian tribes settled between the Loire and Rhone and the Pyrenees. These latter [the Basques] are the despair of modern erudition. No one has ever yet discovered the road by which the Iberi entered Europe, and their language is not an evident derivation from any known language. In Gaul they were called Aquitani, in Spain, Iberi; they called themselves

¹ On this question, see in the *Journal des Savants* of 1875, a study by M. Maury, who does not admit the distinction proposed by M. Alexandre Bertrand.

² [As well as from those of Copenhagen, of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and of Pesth, where so many traces of incoming tribes are collected.—*Ed.*] See, on vol. ii. p. 441, the megalithic monuments at Sigus in Numidia.

³ *De Bell. Gall.*, i. 1.

Eskualdunacs. Did they come through Africa and over the Straits of Gibraltar, or did they traverse the continent from the heart of Asia, leaving some of their race in the Caucasus, which also possesses an Iberia? No one knows. Some authorities have found in the Euskara language certain affinities with the Ougro-Tartar dialects, and particularly with those spoken from the north of Sweden to Kamtschatka. Antiquity already noted in them their brown complexion, spare frame, and short stature, which a long sojourn in sun-scorched lands produces. The Gauls never possessed these physiological characteristics, or else they had lost them beneath the thick, dark vault of the woods. In that damp and cold atmosphere they had assumed the features of the man of the north, his slim figure and light hair, but therewith that lymphatic temperament which will not allow him long to maintain the same effort. Eager at the outset, the Gauls quickly wearied.¹

There were long struggles between the two races. The Eskualdunacs were driven from the banks of the Loire; they could not even hold out against Gallic impetuosity in the central mountains, but recrossed the Garonne. But with the Pyrenees in their rear they offered a resistance over which the invaders were unable to triumph. Leaving to the Iberi the rugged valleys whence they afterwards swept down and won back the plain as far as the Garonne, the Celts crossed the Pyrenean chain and inundated Spain as far as Cadiz, and there was a time when *Celtica* covered the immense territory which extends from the shores of the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube.

When the reaction of the Iberian tribes took place, two Gallic nations, the Tectosages and the Arecomici, held their own in the basins of the Garonne and the Aude. The first entrenched themselves at Toulouse, the second at Nîmes, and these places became two powerful cities.

Some Celts commingled with Germans had remained on the

¹ Anthropologists are disposed to admit that the primitive Aryan type, and consequently the Gallic too, had a dolichocephalous head, light hair, and blue eyes. Our auburn-haired Gauls must be half-breeds, arising from a crossing with the ancient dark-complexioned inhabitants. The excavations which I formerly made in the caves of Périgord brought to light several skeletons belonging to a tall and vigorous race. Among them was one of a young woman, who, having been wounded in the forehead by the stroke of a flint dagger, must have survived the wound for a month, as was proved by the repairs which nature had commenced in the bone.

right bank of the Rhine; they in turn crossed the great river and advanced along the *misty sea* as far as the mouth of the Seine; these were the Belgæ, who ruled between the Marne, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Between Celt and Belgian there was no essential difference; the transition from one of these groups to the other was made insensibly; but the further one went towards the north-east, the more apparent became the German character and barbarism. The great mass of Belgæ were mainly of the Celtic race, and the latter were certainly our ancestors. Nineteen-twentieths of the French are descended from the Gauls.

Two nations, of a very different origin and civilization, the Phœnicians and the Greeks, came and added a little foreign admixture to the Gallic blood. The bold navigators of Tyre and Carthage, who so early travelled along all the Mediterranean coasts, visited also the mouth of the Rhone. At first they contented themselves with a few bartering transactions with the natives, then, obeying the instinct of invasion, which led

them to cover the coasts of Africa, Sicily, and Spain with colonies, they advanced into the interior of the country. The legends of the labours of the Tyrian Hercules represent the real history of the travels and establishments of the Phœnician race in Gaul. The god, it was said, came from Spain to the banks of the Rhone, where he had to fight a terrible combat. His arrows were exhausted, and he was about to succumb when Jupiter succoured him by causing



Tyrian Hercules.

a shower of stones to fall from heaven, which furnished the hero with fresh weapons. These stones may still be seen; they cover the immense plain of the Crau, whither the Durance brought them down from the Alps. The victorious Hercules founded the town of Nîmes, near this spot, and in the heart of Gaul the town of Alesia. The valley of the Rhone being thus conquered for commerce and civilization, the hero resumed his way towards the Alps, and the gods beheld him cleaving the clouds and rending the mountain peaks. It was the pass of Tende that Hercules was opening, and the road from Italy into Spain that he was making across the lower Alps. Thus from the remotest ages have men loved to attribute to the invincible arm of some god or hero the long efforts of many generations.¹

The legend about the Tyrian Hercules goes too far when it asserts the Phœnicians to be the founders of towns in the interior of Gaul, but it does not say enough of the numerous colonies of that nation along the coasts of Languedoc and Provence, nor about the voyages of those daring sailors across the stormy seas of the west. Coasting Spain and then Gaul they reached the island of Albion, and perhaps the Baltic, whither they went in search of amber beads, "those tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon, their brother."²

The Phœnicians had preceded the Greeks in the supremacy of the Mediterranean, but were supplanted by them. The Rhodians established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone, whilst the colonies or factories of the Phœnicians in the interior fell into the hands of the natives. Towards the year 600 there came the Phocæans who founded Marseilles. The Greeks told a graceful legend about the origin of this town. A Phocæan merchant, named

¹ On the Phœnician colonies in Gaul, see E. Desjardins, *Geogr. hist.*, etc., vol. ii. p. 133 *sqq.*

² Apoll., *Argonaut.*, iv. 610. The tragic end of Phaëthon and his sisters is represented on several ancient monuments. In the bas-relief in the Louvre Museum, given on p. 85, the Eridanus, under the figure of an old man, receives the rash youth amid his waves; behind them is Amphitrite holding a dolphin; near her are Jupiter, or Pluto, and Juno, the divinities who presided over air and fire; Earth lies near, holding in her arms three children, the personifications of the three seasons of the ancients; on the left, Cycnus, Phaëthon's friend, is weeping his death; before him is a swan, to call to mind that the son of the Sun was metamorphosed into that bird; finally, the sisters of Phaëthon are changed to poplars, notwithstanding the prayers of their mother, Clymene, who was the cause of her son's death; his horses, escorted by the Dioscuri, occupy the upper part of the picture. (Clarac *Descript. des ant.*, No. 766A.)



Fall and Death of Phaëthon (see p. 84 and note 2).

Euxenus, landed on the Gallic coast at some distance from the mouth of the Rhone. He was on the lands of Nann, the chief of the Segobriges, who received the stranger well and invited him to the feast given on his daughter's betrothal. Custom required that the young virgin should herself go and offer a cup to the man among her father's guests whom she chose for her husband. At the close of the repast she entered, holding a full cup, and went round the table where fair-haired young chiefs tried to arrest her glance. But it was fixed upon the stranger with the dark eyes and the proud and intelligent features. This southern beauty, which was unknown to her, captivated the child of the north, and she handed the cup to the Greek. Nann accepted his daughter's choice: he gave the Phocæan, for her dowry, the bay on which the new-comers had landed. There Euxenus laid the foundation of Marseilles. The story is said to come from Persia, but it was worthy of being repeated by the Greeks and preserved by us.

The new city grew rapidly under the protection of the powerful chief of the Segobriges. But Coman, his successor, felt differently towards it. One day when a great feast was announced, Coman sent word to the Massaliots that he wished to pay honour to their gods and he sent waggons into the town covered with foliage beneath which there were hidden armed men. He himself drew near the gates with his warriors, and there lay in ambush. A woman had founded the town, another woman saved it. The daughter of one of the Segobriges, being in love with a Phocæan, disclosed the plot; the barbarians taken by surprise were slain; Coman himself perished. But from this there resulted continual wars which would at length have exhausted the strength of the Massaliots but for the arrival of unexpected help. An immense horde swept down from the north to cross the Alps. Their leader Bellovesus took the part of Marseilles, and inflicted such losses on the Ligures that they were unable to disturb the Phocæan city for a long time. Moreover in 542 it received numerous reinforcements. When Cyrus and his Persians subdued the Greeks of Asia Minor, the inhabitants of Phocæa, rather than obey him, abandoned their town, and cast into the sea a mass of red hot iron, swearing never to return to Phocæa till that iron should rise burning to the surface of the waters; then they set sail for their

prosperous colony among the Gauls. Marseilles profited by the alliance of the Romans who kept down all rivals of her commerce: in gratitude she opened up Gaul to them, and it was for her protection that they formed their first province.¹

There still remains a curious monument of those distant ages which scarcely suggests the masterpieces that Greek sculpture was already producing. It is a stone which might be taken for a simple pebble but for the inscription it bears, which declares it to be the representation of the son of Venus.² The first idol that Greece raised in the country of Druidic stones is a wave-worn pebble. Like a child who endows with life everything he touches,



The Stone of Antibes.

and takes a piece of wood for a man, the peoples of early times did not require the form to answer to the conception; they embodied an idea in a stone, and it became a god.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 484 *seqq.*

² Heuzey, vol. xxxv. of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1874. This stone, found near Antibes in 1866, and similar to those adored in Asia, is the most ancient monument of Greek civilization in Gaul. M. Heuzey puts it as far back as the fifth century before our era, and translates the inscription thus; "I am Terpon (the local name of Eros or Amor), servant of the august goddess Aphrodite. May Cypris reward with her favour those who placed me here." M. Heuzey continues; "For some time the Greeks had no longer been reduced to adore mere rude stones. But a persistent attachment to the most primitive forms of worship through all the advances of art is, so to say, a law of the history of religions. It was not till after the time of Pericles that the Amor of Praxiteles and that of Lysippus were placed side by side with the coarse pebble to which sacrifices were offered in the temple of Thespie. It was not till the time of Pausanias, that is to say, till the Roman empire was in full sway, that men thought of consecrating in the temple of Orchomenus, along with the three stones that had been adored during the whole Hellenic period, the group of the Graces as it had been conceived by Greek sculpture. And moreover, the creations of art were only offerings, ornaments of the sanctuary, which in no way diminished the religious prestige of the true idols, the shapeless fetishes consecrated by tradition."

II.—THE GAULS.¹

The Gauls have often been pictured as morally a very superior race. They have been praised for "courage and loyalty, religious faith and love of liberty, vivacity and intelligence, an aptitude for literature, keenness for new ideas and new things, and sensibility in regretting the past and sometimes a readiness to give up an unsuccessful struggle." This is a charming sketch, but it is very doubtful whether our warriors of the yellow moustaches and violent and brutal passions would have recognized it. It would have been foolish to trust their loyalty. If it is but justice to own that they were brave and loved independence, these qualities might be found everywhere. The Druids possessed great influence among them; have priests never ruled elsewhere? Their impulse towards new ideas and things may well astonish us, for they long lived near Greek and Roman civilization without adopting anything from it, and the Galatæ, who for six centuries were established in the middle of Asia Minor, still remained true Gauls. The aptitude for letters attributed to them on account of a few rhetoricians, perhaps of Italian origin, whom Gaul sent to Rome is not proven. What is it, compared to the Spaniards who made an epoch in Latin literature by giving it Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, and Martial, or of the African population whence sprang [Terence] Apuleius, Tertullian, and S. Augustin? Regret for the past is one of the common sentiments of human nature, part of the poetry of the heart, just as discouragement after defeat is one of the usual characteristics of savage life. Moreover, perseverance does not seem to have been lacking in the nations and chiefs who maintained the great War of Independence.²

¹ [The following account of the antiquities of Gaul, which is out of proportion in explicitness as a digression in a Roman history, has been here somewhat curtailed, but still requires some apology. The patriotism of the author may well excuse it to French readers. To the English public it has a special interest because Early Britain presented a like aspect. Stonehenge corresponds to Carnac, and everything which M. Duruy says about dolmens, cairns, ornaments, and designs on great stones can be verified in Ireland at present, either in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, or among the many well-known crannogues, dolmens, and raths with which that country abounds. So then, the reader may take what follows as a picture of Early Britain and Ireland, as well as of Gaul.—*Ed.*]

² The idea of *race* has in this century had a brilliant but dangerous success in science,

Let us quit these theories and proceed to facts. Our patriotism is not interested in concealing the fact that our ancestors were true barbarians, very brave, very quarrelsome, great slayers of men, who celebrated Homeric feasts when they could, and who were in the main very similar to barbarians of all ages, because barbarism is much the same everywhere when the geographical conditions are the same,¹ only that our people were indebted to their long travels, and still more to their settlement in a country situated at the extremity of the line of Asiatic migrations, for a particular character. Look at the sea; far out the wave is long and smooth; on the shore, where it ends, it produces a violent surf. Our Gauls, settled on the utmost boundary of the continent, and ceaselessly stirred up by fresh hordes of peoples, underwent a long struggle which rendered them brave, and were sometimes obliged to yield up their lands, which made them to seek others, and gave them a taste for adventures.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote at Rome in the time of Augustus, represents the Gauls as of tall stature, with fair skin, and light hair. This portrait no longer describes us, because our blood is very mixed, and the physical conditions of our country and existence are no longer the same; it would suit the Scandinavians and a great part of the Germans. "Some of them," says the same writer, "shave their beards, others allow it to grow; the nobles wear long moustaches. They take their meals squatting on the skins of wolves and dogs. Beside them, on broad hearths, smoke cauldrons and spits furnished with quarters of meat. The brave are honoured by being offered the choicest morsels. Every stranger who happens to come is invited to the feast, and only after the repast do they ask him who he is and what he wants. Then there follow long stories, for the Gauls are curious to hear as well as to see. But these feasts are often stained with blood; words give rise to quarrels, and as they despise life, they challenge one another to single combat.

politics, and war. Under the various influences of geography and history, and by the union of frequently heterogeneous elements, we have seen *nationalities* take form, grow, and assume a distinctive character, which has rightly been called national spirit. But I acknowledge that I know nothing of the mysterious fairy who, bending over the cradle of new-born races, endowed them with good or bad qualities which they will ever retain.

¹ Sir John Lubbock and Hartmann have found almost identical habits among the savages of Australia and Africa.

"Their aspect is terrifying; they have loud, rough voices, speak little, and express themselves in riddles, affecting in their speech to leave the greater part to be guessed." We have not retained this moderation in words, but it is found among the American Indians, who would think they disgraced themselves if they spoke otherwise. Diodorus adds; "They are fond of employing hyperbole in boasting of themselves or depreciating others." This is another characteristic which applies to very many barbarians and not a few civilized nations.

The ancients had a great dread of the Gauls. "A violent race," said they, "who make war on mankind, nature, and the gods. They shoot arrows against the sky when it thunders; they take arms against the tempest; they march sword in hand upon overflowing rivers, or the ocean in its wrath." Strabo called them a frank and simple people, among whom each feels injuries done to his neighbour, and that so keenly, that all promptly assemble to avenge them. It was an excellent disposition, but one which they shared with all warrior tribes, who have agreed to make common cause in bloodshed and injury.

The Romans, who were southerners, had only the tunic, a simple woollen shirt, and the toga, which enveloped the whole body, leaving the limbs free, and formed a protection against the sun, like the burnous of the Arabs. With its broad folds and the hundred ways of wearing it, the toga is essentially the costume of art. The dress of the Gauls was entirely different; breeches fitting tightly on the legs, which they called *braccæ*; for the upper part of the body a tunic of various colours, and over that a *sagum* or broad band of cloth, which reminds one of the Scotch plaid, and was employed for the same uses; thick in winter, light in summer, it was fastened on the shoulder by a clasp or buckle. The *sagum* might hang loosely, but the rest of the costume, fitting closely to the body, was appropriate to the country; the Roman toga would at once have been torn to tatters in the thickets, and indeed, it would not have been any defence against the dampness and cold of the climate. Their *gallicæ*, or wooden-soled shoes, were in like manner superior on their muddy soil to the sandals made for the solid, dry ground of the great Roman highways.¹

¹ We have retained, with some slight difference, the dress of the Gauls. Our trousers

Their dwellings were at first natural caves, or the *gourbis* of our Algerian population, round huts formed of boughs and covered over with kneaded clay or turf, with a hole in the top for the smoke, and often having the interior dug out below the surface of the soil. These excavations are still to be seen in many places, and the people call them, without being far wrong, *wolf-pits*.¹ They liked to place their dwellings at the confluence of two



The most Ancient stone Axes, found at Saint-Acheul.²

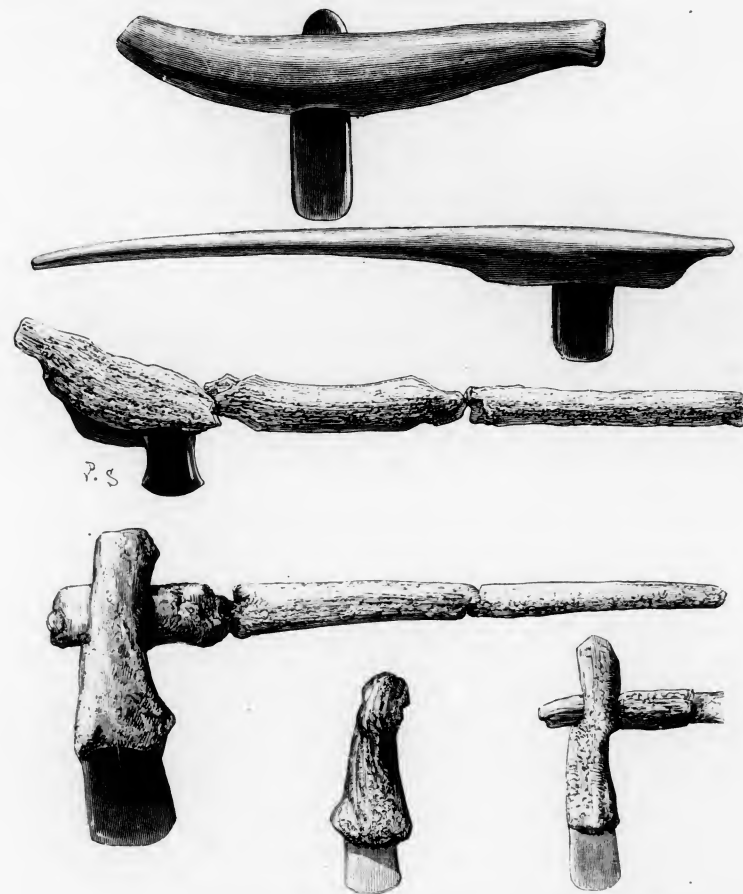
rivers, on islands or peninsulas, near a spring, or in the neighbourhood of forests; but for this they did not require to go far. For greater security, the first Celts, when they found themselves in the vicinity of a lake, erected their huts on piles in the midst of the waters (*palafittes*), and this custom was long preserved. In later times, when they knew how to dig wells,

answer to their *bracca*, our waistcoats to their tunics. The *sagum* has been transformed into a coat for the middle-classes, but it remains in the blouse of French workmen and peasantry, who still wear the Gallic shoe, and have even retained its name, *galoche* (*gallice*). The Gauls sought for the useful, because their climate did not permit of their adopting the beautiful. We have done the same.

¹ The subterranean passages so numerous in the provinces do not all date from the Frankish and Norman invasion, or from the Hundred Years War. Many were no doubt commenced by the Gauls.

² The use of these stone axes is met with among all barbarous nations. The savages of Oceania still have them, as the Mexicans had, and numerous collections of them have been made. The richest of these, to our mind, is that in the Museum of Saint-Germain. The stones earliest made use of were flint, jade, which came from a very long distance, diorite and serpentine. (See Joly, *L'homme avant les métaux*, 1879.)

they established places of refuge (*oppida*) in elevated and strong positions. Each dwelling was surrounded by hedges made of felled trees; several of these enclosures connected by a similar boundary formed a village or town.

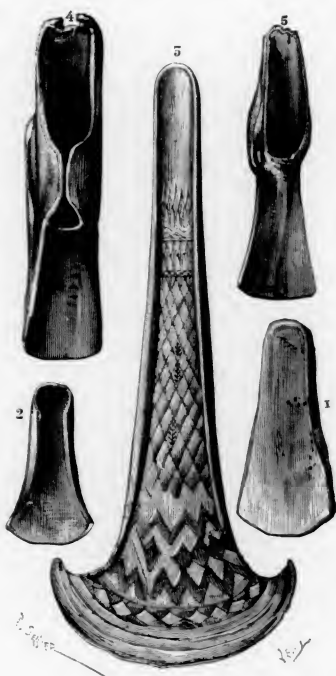


Axes from the *palafittes* (Museum of Saint-Germain: the Stone-Age Room).

For a long time the inhabitants of Gaul had only stone axes bound to their wooden handles with thongs of leather, and flint knives and arrowheads.¹ In a cave near Crécy (Seine-et-Marne),

¹ I found one of these arrow-heads in the sand of the Seine at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, in the spot where it had fallen three or four thousand years ago, perhaps with the man whose

an axe has been found formed of a piece of jade inserted in a stag's horn, and a blade of flint in the rib of an ox. Near



Bronze Axes.²

Périgueux there has been discovered a kind of manufactory of stone arms, where amidst heaps of rubbish are seen, axes cast aside as worthless and others which had been re-cut. This kind of workshop exists in many other places. In one of them, found at Saint-Acheul, near Amiens, these evidences of human industry are mixed with the fossil bones of mastodons, and consequently date from the most ancient times.

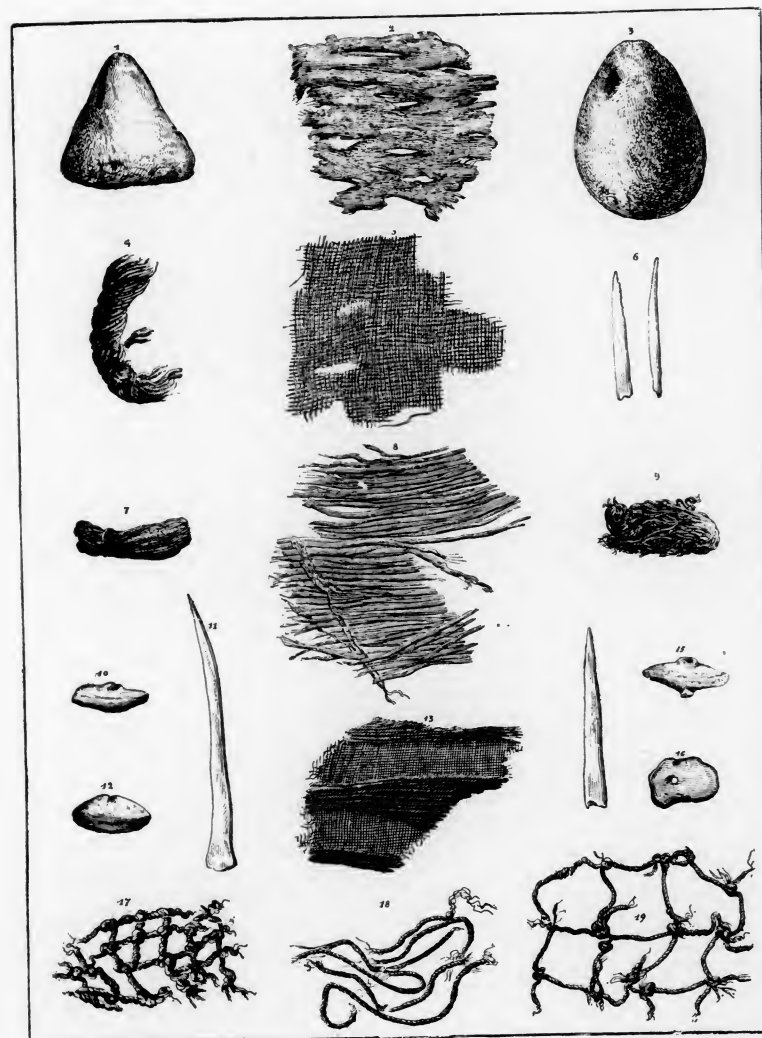
Arms of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, and those of iron, which were more difficult to manufacture,¹ are of a later age, and first belonged to the tribes of eastern Gaul, who were nearest to the north of Italy, where metallurgy had come into use.

These shapeless arms must be handled with respect; they represent the first victory of mind, and a conquest far more valuable at that time than all the wonders of modern science. No man can say how much time and intelligence

breast it had pierced, for its edges were as sharp as the first day it was made; a calcareous paste which had formed all round had protected it. The method of manufacture may still be traced on it; it is quite a lapidary's work. The workman had succeeded in giving the flint the same purity of form that iron would have had by taking off microscopic splinters with the aid of some other hard substance. This arrow-head is still fit for service in the present day, and would now, as then, inflict mortal wounds.

¹ Iron wrought with the hammer did not adapt itself so readily as molten bronze to all the forms of moulding. Hence its rarity in the *palafittes* and tumuli, in which indeed, the exposure to oxydising must have destroyed many iron objects, whereas bronze is almost indestructible.

² *Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.* Figs. 1, 2. Axes found in the Seine at Pas-de-Grigny and Ablon (Seine-et-Oise). (Museum of Saint-Germain.) Fig. 3. Axe ornamented with engraving, found at Mareuil-sur-Ourq (Oise). (Collection of Héricart de Thury.) Fig. 4. Axe with heel piece and lateral ring, Verneuil (Seine-et-Marne). Fig. 5. Axe with lateral flanges and ring. (Museum of Vaumes, and cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)



Objects and Textile Fabrics obtained from the *palafittes* of Lakes Constance and Bourget.¹

¹ 1, 3. Counter weight of loom. 2. Felted cloth made of bark. 4. Carbonized linen cloth. 6, 11, 14. Teeth of flax-carder. 7, 9. Ball of carbonized flax. 5, 8. Carbonized linen cloth. 10, 12, 15. Distaff-pins or spindles for spinning flax. 13. Embroidery on linen, carbonized. 16. Float for nets. 17. Net with small meshes. 18. Linen thread. 19. Net with large meshes.

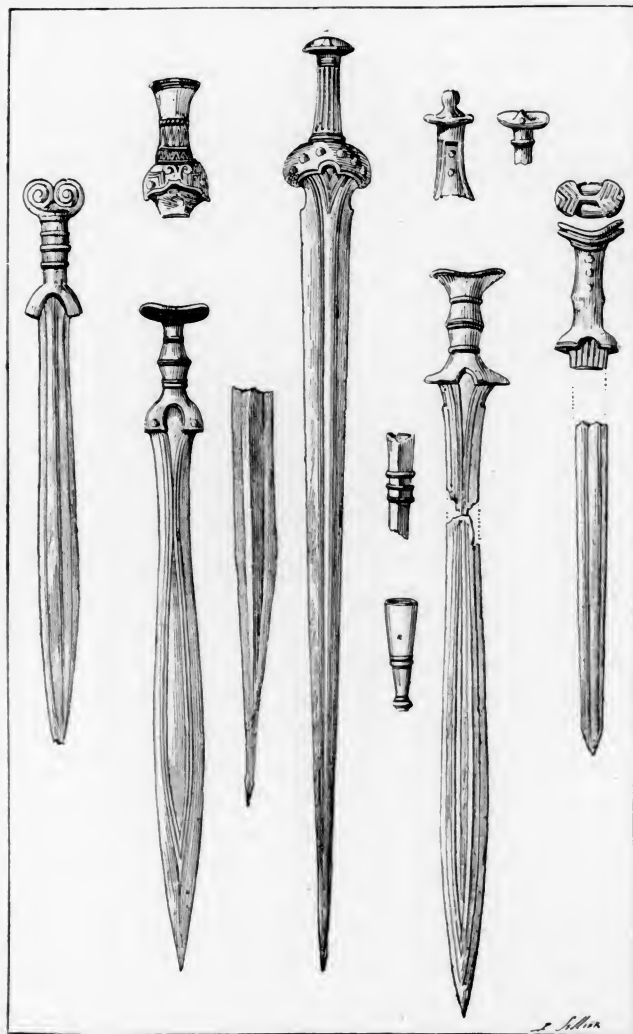
were expended in attaining to the shaping of flint, then the polishing of it upon a grindstone or polisher, or in discovering copper, its fusibility, the mixing of it with tin, or in making moulds in which the metal was melted and run. With what might was he armed who first held in his hands an axe of metal! From that day indeed man was no longer the outcast of creation. He ceased to envy the swiftness of the bird or the strength of the bear, for his arrow flew faster than the hawk, and his axe beat down the wild beast.

There is a famous ballad by Schiller about the bold diver who goes to the bottom of the roaring whirlpool in search of a golden cup which the king has thrown into it. His heart trembles, in spite of his courage, when he finds himself alone beneath the vast waves, amid the monsters of the deep which surround and threaten him. Thus it was for a long time with humanity, unarmed amid ravenous beasts, until it had won the golden cup which contained the early arts, and intelligence could begin its great struggle against brute-force.

In the Scandinavian regions archaeologists have been able to divide pre-historic civilization into three periods—the stone, the bronze, and the iron. The order of sequence was not so regular in Gaul, where bronze and iron seem to have made their appearance at almost the same time, but in different quantities, the former metal furnishing more objects than the latter. Their presence does not mark a spontaneous outcome of Celtic civilization, for these metals arrived in Gaul by means of barter, and furnished the eastern tribes, who first received them, with power to drive into the west the less well-armed representatives of the age of dolmens and polished stone. But as a matter of fact, the ancient history of Gaul is still made up of hypotheses, and we are well acquainted with only the last state of these tribes, that in which Cæsar found them.

The Roman conqueror was curious amid all his fighting, and his *Commentaries*, written in a clear and concise style, furnish valuable details about the manners and dress of ancient Gaul; none knew the Gauls better than he who subdued them. Another writer, a contemporary of Augustus, seems also to have been well acquainted with their customs. "Some of them," says Diodorus, "wear coats of iron-mail, others fight naked. Instead of swords

they have great sabres suspended on their right sides by chains of iron or brass. Some wear gold or silver girdles. They also



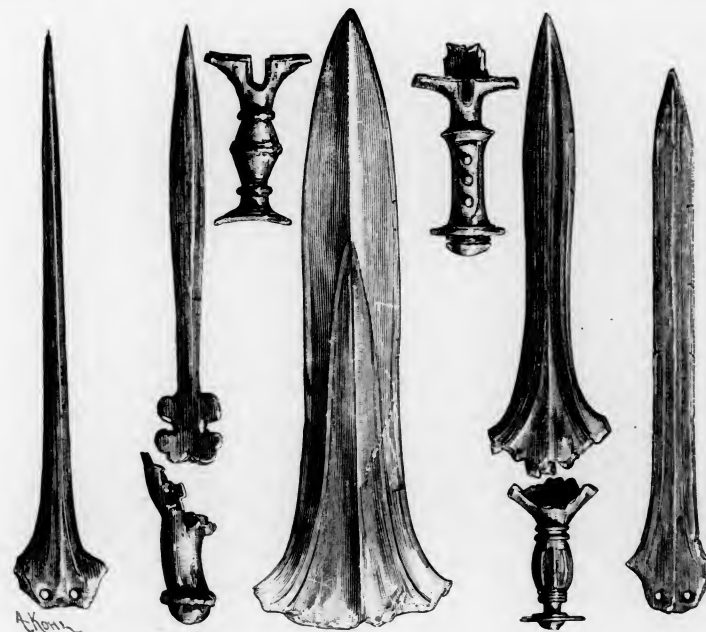
Gallie Arms of Bronze¹.

make use of pikes, the heads of which are a cubit long and

¹ Swords and daggers. (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.*)

almost two palms broad. Their swords are scarcely less in size than the javelin of other nations, and the *saunia*, heavy javelins, which they throw, have blades longer than their swords. Of these *saunia*, some are straight, others curved, so that not only do they cut, but they also lacerate the flesh, and by drawing out the weapon the wound is enlarged."

Their bucklers were fashioned with great art, and sometimes decorated with figures embossed in brass. Their brazen helmets



Bronze Daggers.¹

bore figures in relief, either of birds or quadrupeds, or horns which seem to have had some religious signification, in the same way as the collar, *torques*. Bracelets were also indispensable ornaments; in the stone age they were made of shells; later on they were of metal, and even of gold.² The warriors of the American prairies

¹ Blades and handles of bronze daggers. (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

² These collars and bracelets had probably a hieratic or social character; the chiefs wore gold ones; for free men they were of bronze. The Museum of Saint-Germain possesses more than a hundred and fifty of them. [There is also a fine collection at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.—*Ed.*]

and of the islands of Oceania decorate their heads with brilliant feathers and strange ornaments. In a barbarous age man possesses woman's vanity, and would fain appear beautiful as well as strong and brave.

"On journeys and in battle the wealthy make use of chariots drawn by two horses, and carrying a driver and a warrior.¹ First



Gallic and Gallo-Roman Helmets.²

they throw the spear, and then leap down to attack the enemy

¹ There is one in the Museum of Saint-Germain. (See the *Revue archéol.*, 1877, p. 217.)

² 1, 2. Horned helmets with wheel. (Arc d'Orange, cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)
3. Horned helmet without wheel. (Arc d'Orange, a cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain.)
4, 5, 6. Horned helmets from the tomb of the Julii at Saint Remys. (Cast in the Museum of Saint-Germain, rooms b and c.) These eccentric ornaments of Gallic helmets, mentioned by

with the sword. Some despise death so much as to come into the fight without other defensive armour than a girdle round the body. They bring with them servants of free condition, and employ them as drivers and guards. Before the trumpet has given the signal for action they are accustomed to come forth from the ranks and challenge the bravest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms in order to intimidate their foes. If anyone accepts the challenge they sing the prowess of their ancestors, boast their own virtues, and insult their adversaries. They cut off the heads of their fallen enemies, fasten them on their horses' necks, and nail the trophies to their houses. If it is a renowned foe they preserve his head in oil of cedar, and some have been known to refuse to sell such a head for its weight in gold. "I have seen many of them," says the philosopher Posidonios, "and I was a long time in getting accustomed to the sight." Others set their enemies' skull in gold, and used it as a cup for religious libations.

These challenges, these long speeches before coming to blows, are found in the *Iliad*, and almost all barbarians have done their enemies the honour of preserving their heads or skulls as trophies. Before the fight



Gallic Trumpet.¹

Diodorus (*Biblioth. hist.*, liv. v., c. xxx.), and still to be seen in bas-reliefs, are not a mere freak of the soldiers who wore them. Horns were, both in Gaul and the East, one of the attributes of command, one of the signs of divine or royal power, βασιλείας παράσημον, according to the expression of Eusebius. The god Cernunnos, on the altar of Notre Dame in Paris, has horns. The same is the case with the squatting divinity on the altar at Rheims, and with the original statuette at Autun. The symbolic and religious character of horns is rendered the more probable because, on the helmets of the Arc d'Orange, the horns are associated with the wheel, a well-known hieratic sign, and one of the special symbols of the Dioscuri. The wheel figures as such upon the coins of Marseilles. It is probable that we here have before us an Oriental souvenir. "It is quite allowable to trace an Oriental tradition in the attribute of horns worn by the gods" (and, we may add, by Gallic warriors), says Baron de Witte. (*Rev. arch.*, 1852, p. 56.) Not only is the god Belus represented on the cylinders with horns on his head, but Oriental kings did themselves honour by ornamenting their tiaras with them. Seleucus Nicator, following the example of the ancient monarchs, caused himself to be represented on his coins with a helmet decorated with a bull's horns and ears." (Note by M. Bertrand; see in Layard's *Mon. of Ninveh*, i. pl. 12, two sitting statues of the Assyrian god Nebo, wearing tiaras with a double pair of horns.

¹ Museum of Saint-Germain.

they often vowed the spoils of the foe to Hesus, and after the victory they sacrificed to him what remained of the cattle they had carried off. "The surplus of the booty is placed in a public place, and in many towns there may be seen these heaps of spoils piled up in consecrated spots. It very rarely happens that in

Posidonios.¹

contempt of religion a Gaul dares clandestinely to appropriate what he took in war, or carry off anything from these stores. Death is the punishment of those who commit this theft."

The condition of the women in Gaul indicates some advance in civilization. From chattels they had become persons. Free in their choice of a husband, they brought with them a dowry; the man advanced an equal value from his property; the whole was put together, and this sum went to the survivor, with the in-

crease it had produced.² But the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, as well as his children, and the son could not accost his father in public before he was of an age to bear arms.

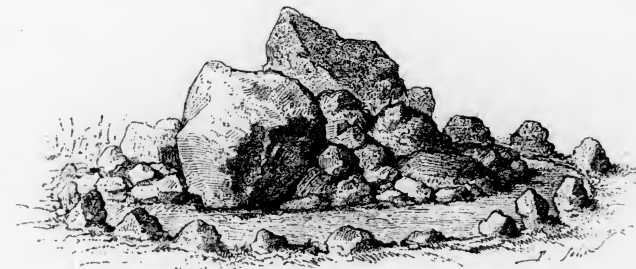
"When the father of a family of high birth dies, his kin assemble, and if they have any suspicion as to the cause of his

¹ Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Descr. des ant.*, No. 89.)

² Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. 19; . . . *cum fructibus superiorum temporum*. It corresponded to our gift of survivorship.

end, the women are subjected to examination;¹ if the crime is proved they are put to death by fire or in the most horrible tortments. The funeral ceremonies are magnificent. All that is thought to have been dear to the departed during his life is cast on to the funeral-pile, even animals." Up to within a short time before Caesar's expedition the slaves and clients whom the dead man had most loved were burnt with him.²

It seems that a portion of the territory of each tribe, the pastures, waters, and forests remained common property; the tribe itself was like a collection of clans.³ There were two classes, the nobles and the free men. The former did not form an exclusive caste. They possessed wealth and lands, and round each of them



Tomb of a Gallic Chief (Museum of Cluny).

clustered a numerous crowd of servants and clients, who lived generation after generation in the house or in the domain of their chief. Caesar calls them *equites* (knights), and this cavalry was much esteemed among the legions of the empire. But their ranks were open to courage, and whosoever was worthy to take a place among the first men of the city could lay claim thereto. "When any war is declared, which occurs almost every year, all the nobles take arms and surround themselves with a number of servants and

¹ Caesar says (*de Bell. Gall.*, vi. 19); *de uxoriibus . . . questionem habent*, whence some writers have concluded that polygamy existed in Gaul.

² There has recently been discovered not far from the gates of Paris, at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, the sepulchre of a chief buried more than twenty-five centuries ago, with his wife, his horse, and his flint arms. These remains are deposited in the Museum of Cluny.

³ I think however, that it is going too far to liken the Gallic clientship to the system of clans in Scotland in all respects. All the members of the latter claimed to be descended from a common ancestor, whereas in the latter there were many elements foreign to blood relationship. Thus Dumnorix gained clients daily by his liberalities. (Caesar, *B. G.*, i. 18.)

clients proportionate to their birth and to their wealth." Some of these clients dedicated themselves to their chief for life and death. Among the Aquitani these devotees were called *soldurii*. "The *soldurii* enjoy all the good things of life with those to whom they have consecrated themselves by a friendly understanding; if the chief perishes they refuse to survive him, and slay themselves. It has never yet happened within the memory of man that one of those who had devoted themselves to a chief by such a compact refused to follow him in death."

But this custom of clientship had also its inconveniences; the chief must defend his clients and avenge wrong done to them, whence it resulted that each of these associations formed, as it were, a State within the State, and that the city was very often full of troubles. We have seen clientship at Rome, and it existed almost everywhere, because it is the first of social forms, the weak leaning upon the strong. But Roman discipline placed the city [or polity] above the clan, the citizen above the individual; that is why Rome became strong, whilst Gaul, which had only an imperfect knowledge of this great discipline of cities, remained weak.

The knights and their clients left but a very humble place for the free men, *plebs paue pro seruo habetur*. The numbers of the latter however, constituted a force, and more than once changed the constitution of the State.¹

The *elders* formed the council of the city, in which certain tribes did not allow two members of the same family to sit; above them was the king or a temporary chief, who might even be elected annually. Some words in the *Commentaries* would lead us to think that in exceptional circumstances a general council of the whole of Gaul met together. The pervading divisions in the country do not allow the supposition of anything more than assemblies of confederate nations; yet the idea of a representative assembly of Gaul was in men's minds, at least in Cæsar's time, and answered to an obscure feeling of national unity.

In the assemblies, precautions were taken against hasty decisions. "In the cantons," says Cæsar, "which are considered

¹ See in the following chapter what is related of Orgetorix, Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, etc.

the best administered, it is a sacred law that he who learns any news of interest to the city should immediately inform the magistrate of it without communicating with any other person, experience having shown that imprudent and unenlightened men are often alarmed by false reports, take extreme courses, and even proceed to crimes. The magistrates conceal what they consider proper, and only reveal to the multitude what they think good for them to know. It is only in the assembly that public affairs are discussed."

To maintain order there the Gauls had established a singular custom. If any one interrupted the orator or attempted to speak out of his turn a lappel of his mantle was cut off. In councils of war other customs existed; anyone too corpulent to wear a standard girdle reserved for the purpose was punished with a fine, and whoever arrived last at a military trysting place was put to death; the latter no doubt, by keeping them long waiting, was looked upon as disloyal. The Romans had a similar custom; at the review of knights, anyone who was too corpulent was deprived of his horse by the censor, and relegated to a lower class;¹ the citizen who did not answer when his name was called for military service was sold.²

III.—THE DRUIDS.

At first the Gauls worshipped the thunder, the stars, the ocean, rivers, lakes, the wind, forests, mountains and great oaks, that is to say the forces of nature, beliefs which, in all places, have formed the basis of primitive polytheism. Little by little the phenomena were personified: Kirk represented the terrible wind of the Rhone valley, the Mistral, which the Provençals still call by its Gallic name of Cers; Tarann was the spirit of the thunder; Bel, the god of the sun; Pennin, the genius of the Alps; Arduin, of the immense forest of the Ardennes, etc.

Still later the Gauls worshipped higher gods: Hesus, the first cause, "who ever springs up afresh;" Teutates, the orderer of the

¹ *Nimis pingui homini et corpulento*. (Aul. Gell., vii. 22.) The same was the case with him who presented himself with an ill-kept horse. (*Ibid.*, iv. 12 and 20.)

² *Cic., pro Cæcina*, 34.

world, "the father of the people;" Mercury, the inventor of arts and conductor of souls, whose Gallie name has disappeared; Camul, the fierce genius of war, "the master of the brave"; Borvo, the god who heals;¹ Ogmius, the god of poetry and eloquence, who was represented with chains of gold and amber issuing from his



Tarann.²

which he strengthened by an imposing and terrible form of worship,

¹ The Romans likened him to Apollo, the great healer-god, and he was highly honoured at the thermæ, three of which have retained his name. He also gave it to one of the branches of the house of Capet, the Bourbons.

² Gaidoz, *Réligion gaul.*, pl. i. The hammer which the god holds is the sign of the thunder-bolt.

mouth to seize and carry away those who heard him; the goddess Epona, protectress of horses and horse-men, so numerous in Gaul; the mother-goddesses, ancestresses of the *Good People* and *Fairies* of the Middle Ages, etc.

The druid, the minister of these divinities, was at once the interpreter of the will of heaven and of the secrets of the earth. He was priest and sorcerer; himself deluded, and deluding others. This is the usual state of religions and priesthoods in all barbarous ages. When there is no science to explain phenomena, they assume a supernatural character, of which the priest alone can give an account, and which he alone appears able to control. Hence his power,

and by teaching which kept the worshippers under his moral sway.¹

Every year, during the night of the first of May, the radiant return of the sun, or Bel, was celebrated by great bonfires kindled upon the heights. The feast of Teutates was celebrated in the forests by torchlight on the first night of the new year. There was gathered the mistletoe, but it seldom grows upon the oak, the tree venerated by the Druids, and this rarity caused it to be prized. When on the sixth day of the last moon of winter (in February or March) the priests had at length found the plant spreading its green over the stripped boughs of some oak—an image of life issuing from the midst of dead nature, the people flocked round the sacred tree. The chief of the Druids, clothed in white, cut with a golden sickle the holy plant, which possessed medicinal and magic virtues. This custom, like many others of that time, left behind it deep traces, which are found up to the present day.

Other sacred herbs possessed marvellous virtues, but, after the oak and mistletoe nothing was so powerful as the egg of a serpent.² The Druids wore it hung about their necks richly set, sold it at very high prices.

The Druids never wrote anything, and the songs of the bards of ancient days died with them. But in one corner of England and one of France their memory has been preserved: Wales and Armorica have long had their national singers, the heirs of the

¹ Whence came the Druids? The Celts of Spain, of Gallia Cisalpina, of the Danube valley and Galatia, and even those of Gallia Narbonensis had none. Beyond Gaul they are found only in Britain and Ireland, and Cæsar thought the great island had been the chief home of Druidic knowledge. To account for this fact an explanation offers, but it is a merely hypothetical one. The primitive Aryans had their *shamans*, who, more fortunate than their Siberian successors, gained brilliant successes, like the Brahmins in India, the Magi in Persia, and the Druids among the Celts. These druids, who had set out with the first Celtic bands, arrived with them in the extreme west, in Britain, where in their insular isolation, and under the influence of favourable circumstances, or of some superior man, their institution developed till it was at last strong enough to make the religious conquest of a part of Gaul. The *shamans* of the other Celtic tribes, who remained in the state of obscure and powerless sorcerers, must have escaped the notice of history.

² This supposed serpent's egg, which in Claudian's reign cost a Roman knight his life, appears to have been a fossil sea-urchin, very frequently found in secondary and tertiary deposits. The traces of this superstition are not yet extinct in the mountains of Scotland. Glass balls, called serpent's teeth, are still worn, as the Druids wore them, on their necks. Hence too, there no doubt came the use of those ivory and amber necklaces which nurses place round children's necks, to help on, as they say, their teething.

Celtic bards, of their tongue and their traditions. It has been thought possible to recover from these Welsh and Breton poems, especially the former, the ancient spirit of the Druids, and with these songs of a comparatively modern epoch, a whole system of metaphysics has been reconstructed. I fear the Druids have got credit for more than they deserve.¹ Human sacrifices stained with blood the rough altars which the Druids raised in the midst of wild lands and in the thickest parts of primeval forests. Great woods have a dark and gloomy majesty which predisposes to fear. The Druids declared that there were the gods greedy for human blood.

"The Gauls," says Caesar, "are very superstitious; those who are attacked by serious illnesses, as well as those who live amid warfare and dangers, immolate human victims, or make a vow to immolate them, and for these sacrifices they have recourse to the ministration of the Druids, without whom no sacrifice can be offered. They believe that the life of a man is necessary to redeem that of another man, and that the immortal gods can only be appeased at that price; and they have even established public sacrifices of this description. They sometimes have figures of men of immense size, made of plaited osiers, the interior of which they fill with living men; they set fire to this and make their victims perish in the flames. They think that the death of those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or any other crime, is most pleasing to the immortal gods;² but when such men are lacking they take the innocent." The manner in which the victim fell, the convulsions of his death-pangs, and the colour of his blood were so many signs whereby the sacrificer recognized the will of the gods. The Greeks held the same belief when they desired to kill Iphigenia, and when Achilles slew his captives on the tomb

¹ Sharon Turner, the great historian of the Anglo-Saxons, had at the commencement of this century affirmed the authenticity of the Welsh poems of the Middle Ages, and thereafter none ventured to doubt it. M. de la Villemarqué has also, through his *Barzaz-Breiz*, made the popular songs of our Brittany widely known. But the authenticity of the Welsh poems has been energetically attacked by Mr. Nash in his *Taliésin* (1858, p. 119-21); and that of the songs in *Barzaz Breiz* by M. Luzel, and in the *Revue celtique* of M. Gaidoz (vol. ii. p. 44-70). Though M. de la Villemarqué's book is no longer a historical one, it retains a great charm as a literary work.

² Even in the last century, baskets were thrown into the fire, in which the men were replaced by cats, foxes, or wolves. (Gaidoz, *Religion des Gaulois*.)

of Patroclus; the Romans when they buried Gauls alive in the Forum, or made gladiators fight round a tomb. According to the testimony of Greek and Latin antiquity, the Druids taught that punishments and rewards awaited man in a future life. "They try to persuade men," says Caesar, "that souls do not perish, and that after death they pass into another body; a belief which is peculiarly fitted to inspire courage by driving away the fear of death."

Metempsychosis is a Pythagorean idea with which the Greeks had supplied the Gauls, and of which a few Hellenising Druids must have boasted to Caesar. Nothing in fact authorizes the belief that these priests had a creed touching death more definite than that of the Romans. But their funeral ceremonies prove a faith in a life beyond the grave far more earnest than the dim belief of the Latins in the sad existence of the manes. Horace, the epicurean, who ceaselessly repeats, "Enjoy quickly, lose not a moment, for death draws near," thought this Gaul that had no dread of funeral ceremonies, *Non parentis funera Gallia*—very fierce. The West has never seen any nation that thought less of life or encountered steel with less fear in fight, in duels, in the voluntary immolation of victims for sacrifices, and even at festivals. Death was to them but a dark and narrow passage beyond which they saw the light.

"The dust of the ancients shall spring to life again," said Merlin, the enchanter in the sixth century of our era. As a sign of this renewal of life, on the night of the first of November the Druids extinguished all the fires. The earth, plunged in darkness and silence, seemed dead. Suddenly upon the highest hill a brilliant fire shone forth, the flame on domestic hearths was rekindled from the national fire, and the people broke forth into songs of gladness; life resumed possession of the world.

In this same night Samhan, the judge of the dead, had seated himself on his throne far away in the west to judge the souls of those who had died during the year. They came in from all parts of Great Gaul to the extremity of Armorica, to the foot of the promontory of Plogoff where the sea utters its everlasting plaint. "The dwellers on this shore," says the poet Claudian, "hear the shades arrive wailing; they see the pale phantoms of

the dead pass by." At the solemn hour of night, when legends say that coffins open and those who are no more reappear, the fishermen of the coast heard a rapping at their door and found their barks laden with invisible passengers. As soon as they had set the sail and fixed the helm they were carried away by an unknown force which in a few minutes bore the skiff to the shores of the isles of Prydain. The bark immediately grew lighter, and the mariner could return to his home; the souls had departed.

But they would return to fulfil a second existence, better and more complete than the first. Death was but the middle of life. "Do you not know," the ancient bard Gwene'hlan¹ is made to say, "that every man must die three times before resting for ever?" Thus the druid would recommence his life of meditation and study in order to know more; thus the hero would live again to avenge his people. Did not the Welsh await the return of Arthur for five hundred years?

The Druids formed, not an hereditary caste, but a clergy recruited from the most able men, with a supreme pontiff, councils, and the terrible weapon of excommunication. Their chief possessed an unlimited authority. "At his death the most eminent in dignity succeeds him; or if several have equal claims, the election takes place by the vote of the Druids, and the office is sometimes disputed in arms. At a certain period of the year all the Druids assemble in a consecrated place on the frontier of the country of the Carnutes (Chartres), which is supposed to be the central point of Gaul. Thither repair from all parts those who have any differences; and they conform to the judgments and decisions of the Druids.

"In certain cantons the Druids are still the judges of the people. When a private citizen or a public man does not defer to their decision, they forbid him the sacrifices; this is the rarest punishment among them. Those who incur this interdiction are accounted impious and criminal; everyone withdraws from them; their presence and conversation are avoided, as though men feared the contagion of the evil with which they are struck. All access to justice is refused them, and they have no consideration.

¹ One of the bards of *Barzaz-Breiz*. (See p. 115, note 1.)

"The Druids do not go to war, and pay no taxes. Enticed by such great privileges many Gauls join them of their own accord, or are sent to them by their kindred. There, it is said, they learn a great number of verses. There are some who pass twenty years in this training. It is not allowed to commit these verses to writing, and yet in most public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters. There are, it appears to me, two reasons for this custom—one is to prevent their knowledge being spread among the vulgar, the other, lest their disciples, trusting to writing, should neglect their memory. The movement of the stars, the immensity of the universe, the greatness of the earth, the nature of things, the strength and power of the immortal gods, such are the subjects of their discussions." Nevertheless, the known facts of Gallic history do not afford even a hint of the political power which Cæsar assigns to them. We are, therefore, tempted to think that the information furnished by his principal agent in Gaul, the druid Divitiæ, an imaginative and rather unscrupulous man, applied if at all, not to the present, but to a distant past, which his vanity held up as full of the might and majesty of his order.

Of Cæsar's just quoted words we must however, retain what concerns the singular constitution of this great sacerdotal body. It contrasts with all the institutions of Græco-Latin antiquity. At Rome the priest and the magistrate were one; Cæsar held the pontificate at the same time as the proconsular authority; in Gaul the military and religious chiefs were distinct. A veritable clergy held sway there, and, by a system of education such as was elsewhere unknown to the ancients, they must have exercised a powerful influence over men's minds. But when it is inferred that the Catholic Church has had a greater hold on nations whose ancient religious organization was so like what Christianity brought them, the fact is overlooked that this organization was already gone in the first century of our era, and that there remained nothing of Druidism but those superstitious beliefs which so long survive dethroned religions. Between the reign of the priests of Hesus and those of Jesus Christ, there must be placed three centuries of pagan rule. Moreover, it does not appear that Christianity was established either more quickly or more firmly in

Gaul than in lands which had never known Druidism, like Italy and Spain.

In conjunction with the order of Druids are found bards, diviners, and prophetesses. The latter, dreaded enchantresses, lived on wild rocks lashed by the stormy sea.

The *ovates*, or diviners, were charged with all the material part of the worship. It was they who sought the revelation of the future in the entrails of victims and the flight of birds. A Gaul never accomplished any important act without having recourse to the divining science of the *ovate*.

As long as the power of the Druids was uncontested the bards were the sacred poets called in at all religious ceremonies. But after the military chiefs had freed themselves from the dominion of the priests, the bards celebrated the powerful and the rich. From being the singers of gods and heroes they became the courtiers of men.

IV.—THE SO-CALLED DRUIDIC MONUMENTS.

In a great number of our western provinces there are found strange monuments; *peulvens* or *menhirs* (*men*, a stone; *hir*, long), enormous blocks of rough stone planted in the earth separately or ranged in avenues, *cromlechs*, or *menhirs*, placed either in a single circle or in several concentric circles around a higher *menhir*. Within these religious precincts were deposited the trophies of victories, the national standards, and even the treasures taken from the enemy, the guardianship of which was in later times confided to consecrated ponds¹ and woods. The *dolmens*, formed of one or several great flat stones placed horizontally upon several vertical stones, were sepulchral chambers, sometimes covered over with earth, which contained the remains of some famous chief. At the foot of one of the dolmens in the neighbourhood of Saumur a skeleton was discovered with a stone knife in its side. Was it the warrior who fell in battle or a victim immolated at the funeral sacrifice? Some of these monuments are as much as seven and a half yards long and the same in breadth.

¹ See B. Fillon, *Objets trouvés dans l'étang de Nesmy*, 1879.

In the *dolmens* are found implements of stone, sometimes of bronze or gold, very rarely of iron. The *palafittes* or huts built upon piles belong to the same age; they contain objects of bone and stone identical with those of the dolmens; but, in addition to these, woven fabrics, and in the vessels which have fallen from the huts to the bottom of the water, grains of wheat, barley, and oats, peas and lentils, a proof that these hunters also knew how to cultivate the ground.

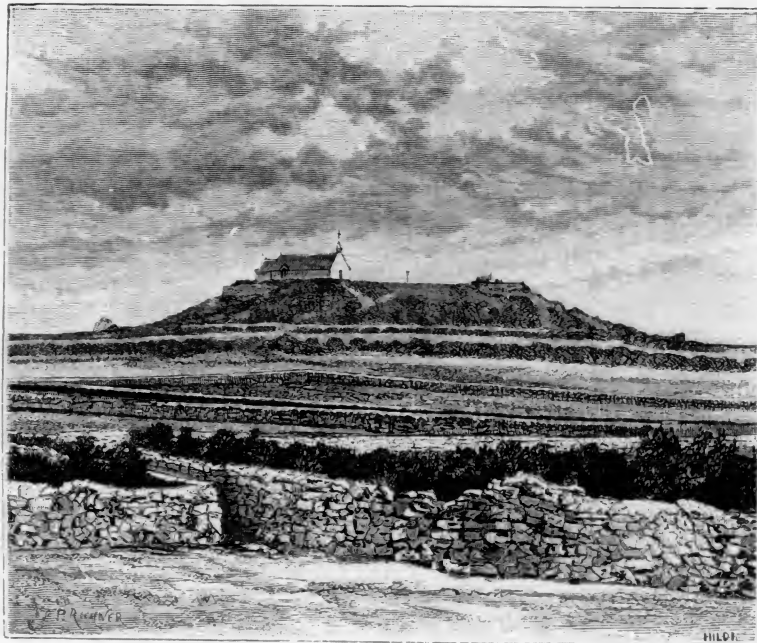


The Roche-aux-Fées at Korkoro, near Carnac.

They knew little or nothing of the metals, which on the other hand abound in the tumuli. These latter tombs which contain a great many objects of bronze and iron have only very few flint ones; and their pottery, less rude than that in the dolmens, is decorated with lozenge and dog-tooth patterns, which remind one of the ornamentation of the most ancient vases of Cisalpine Gaul. The east of Gaul was in advance of the west, and

this was natural: the radiation of Greek and Italian civilization had penetrated thither more easily.¹

The most celebrated megalithic monuments are in Brittany and Anjou.² The lines of Carnac³ formed ten alleys, having altogether a breadth of from one hundred to one hundred and ten yards, and a length more than two and a half miles. Up to the present day they have served as a racecourse for the inhabitants of the



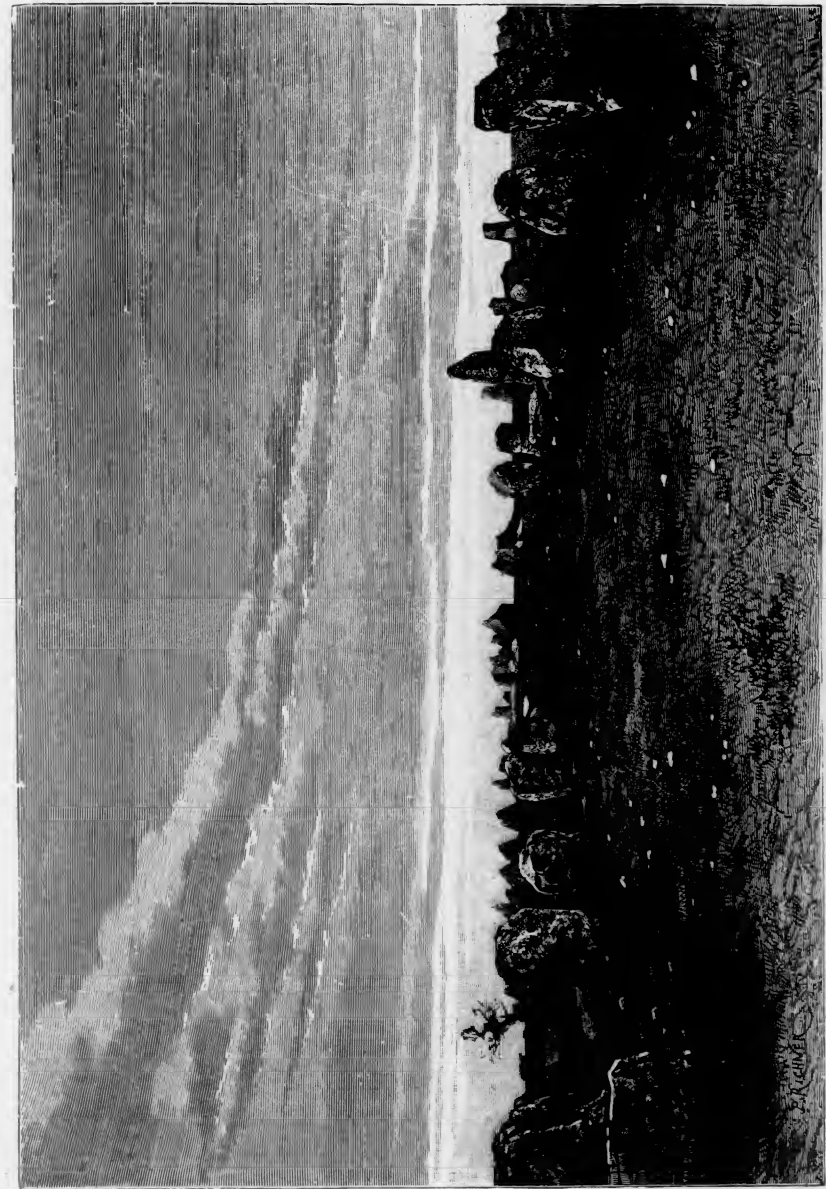
Mount St. Michael at Carnac (Tumulus).

neighbourhood. When they were entire they numbered from eight to ten thousand stones, some of which rise to a height of fifteen or twenty feet above the ground, and many are placed with the

¹ See the curious map of *dolmens* and tumuli drawn up by M. A. Bertrand.

² A menhir of granite in Belle-Isle and the one in the island of Hoëdic were carried from the coast, which is sixteen miles distant. On reading the description given further on of the great vessels of the Veneti, it will be understood how the Gauls managed to transport such masses across the sea.

³ Carnac, in the Breton language, signifies *the place of rocks*. The drawing which we give on p. 115 was made by P. Richner from his picture in the Museum of Saint-Germain.



Lines of Carnac (View taken from Ker-Mario).

thin end downwards. They look like an army of giants. The *Rocking-Stone* of Perros-Guyrech (Côtes-du-Nord), forty-six feet long by twenty-three broad, is so perfectly balanced that a single man can set it rocking, in spite of its weight of five hundred tons.

On the moor of Upper Brambien there may still be counted nearly two thousand menhirs, standing or overturned.

At Lock-Maria-Ker are the *King of menhirs*, the Merchant's Table, and the covered alley of Mané-Lud. The King of menhirs, was a block larger than the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Unfortunately it has been overthrown, and lies on the



Pottery of the Dolmens (Museum of Saint-Germain).

ground broken into four pieces; in its unbroken state it was seventy-two feet in length, and must have weighed 250 tons. By what means did these barbarians move such masses, which are enough to baffle our own mechanical arts?

In other places there are barrows like that in the peninsula of Rhuys, in the department of Morbihan, which is 100 feet high and 350 round the base. Beneath this artificial mountain, as in the sepulchral chambers of the Egyptian pyramids, a skeleton was found, probably that of a religious chief. The first inhabitants of Gaul condemned themselves to immense labours to honour gods of

whom we no longer know anything, and dead men whose names lived but a day.

These strange monuments sometimes bear rough carvings and various signs: crescents are seen on them, round hollows arranged in circles, spirals, figures which perhaps represent stone axes, intertwined serpents or trees. They look like the fantastic tattooing of savages applied to granite.

The monuments called druidic were raised before the arrival of the Druids in Gaul or before the period of their power: they

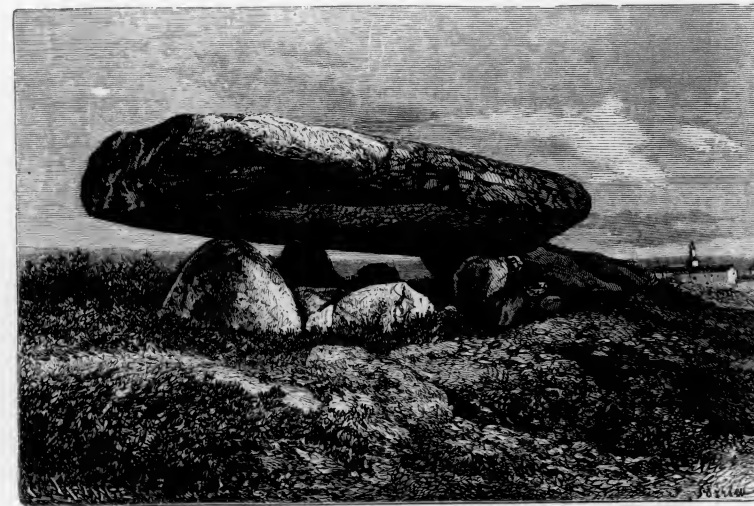


Gallic Vases in Terra-cotta (Cemeteries of the Marne, in the Museum of Saint-Germain).

belong to the first Celtic population who long continued to erect them. These colossal stones, set up either as land-marks, or in memory of men, or in homage to the gods, are the most ancient monumental manifestation of human force, not only among the Gauls, but everywhere. The *Iliad* and the Bible make mention of them, Abyssinia possessed some; Egypt made her obelisks and her pyramids of them; the Scandinavian countries are full of them; they are found in the Caucasus, in Arabia, in Easter Island, lost in the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and even on

the coast of Greenland. The ruins of Kandy, in the island of Ceylon, are so similar to those of Anglesey in England, that they might be mistaken for them; a complete circle of druidic stones exists at Darab, in Persia, and America has the *chalpas* of Peru and Bolivia, and the mounds of Ohio and Mississippi; it is the architecture of primitive humanity, and it marks a stage of culture through which at very various epochs ancient communities have passed.

Many ancient nations formed their first altars and the most

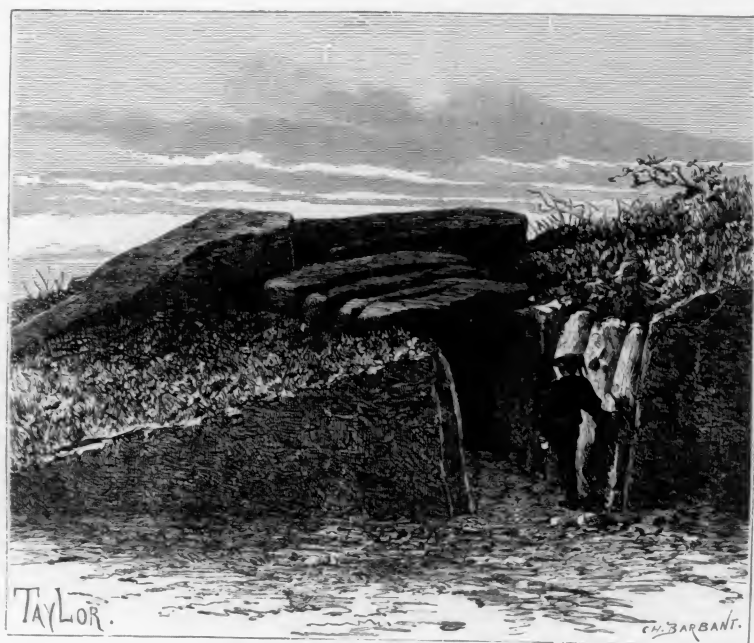


The Merchant's Table at Lock-Maria-Ker.

ancient monuments of their piety towards the gods, or of their gratitude towards men, out of great heaps of earth or unhewn stones such as nature provided. The greater the effort, the heavier the stone, the more satisfied they thought the deity ought to be. Between the huge lines of Carnac and the magnificence of the Parthenon there is a great distance, but the idea is the same; only that the Gauls did not shut up the deity within narrow walls, they gave him temples with the sky for their roof.

The respect for the druidic stones resisted the reiterated prohibitions of councils to "pray or light torches before the stones," and it is not yet extinct everywhere. Some Bas-Bretons

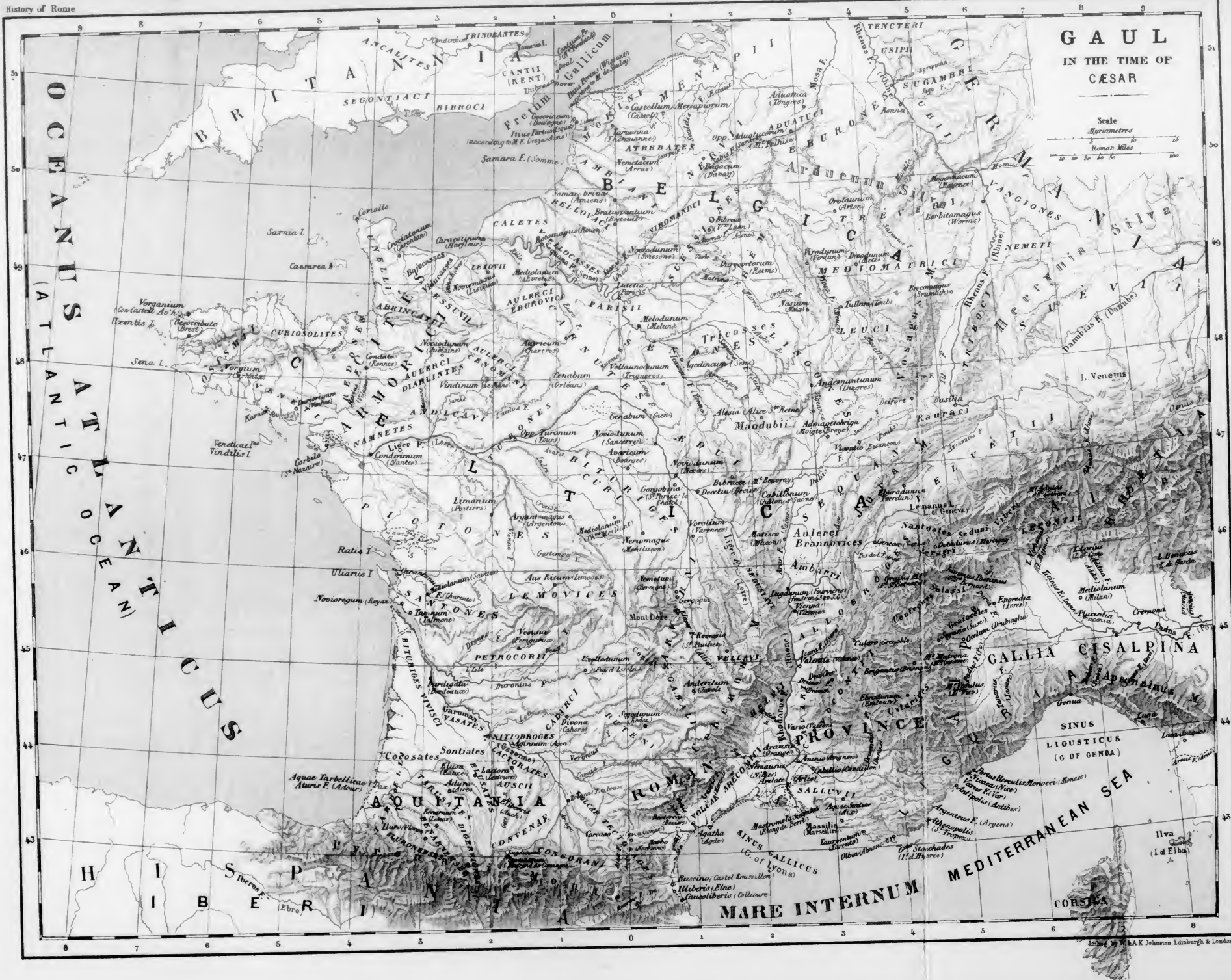
still attribute supernatural virtues to them. In Normandy, on some watch-nights in winter, people talk, or quite lately used to talk, of *turning* stones, which on Christmas night, at midnight, turned completely round.¹ In other places certain customs were connected with them. It is not long since the women of Croisic ceased to go and dance round the huge menhir, and others



Covered Alley of Mané-Lud at Lock-Maria-Ker (p. 117).

scratched the druidic stones with the idea that the dust would make them fruitful. At Guérande a maiden who wished to get married went and deposited in the clefts of a dolmen flocks of pink wool tied up with tinsel; at Colombiers she mounted upon the raised stone, placed a piece of money there, and must then jump down all alone. These monuments, round which terrible scenes have taken place, no longer hear aught but maidens' vows.

¹ The councils of Arles (in 452), Tours (in 567), Nantes (in 700), etc. (Cf. *Cours d'antiquités monumentales*, by M. de Caumont, p. 119.) On closing this chapter I must thank M. Al. Bertrand, who with great kindness placed at my disposal the riches of the Museum of Saint-Germain and his own profound knowledge of Celtic and Roman Gaul.



CHAPTER LIV.

THE GALLIC WAR.

I.—GAUL IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR.

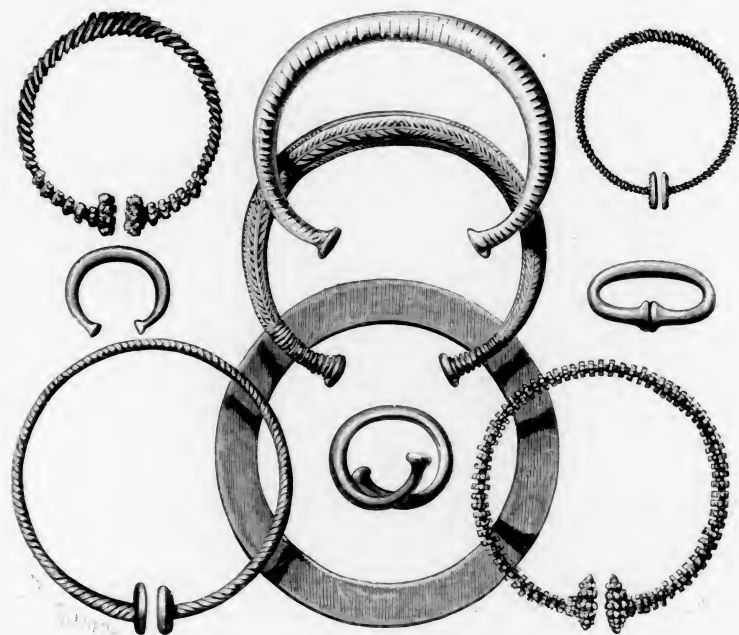
IN the middle of the century preceding the Christian era many of the old things we have spoken of in ancient Gaul had changed. The chiefs of the tribes and nobles had thrown off the yoke of the sacerdotal class. The druidic order, which was then decaying, did not play the part of a national clergy during the war of liberty; one druid, Divitiacus, was even the guide and friend of Cæsar. The aristocracy had in its turn found two powerful enemies. Some of its own number, the cleverest and bravest, had united several tribes and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings. At other points the inhabitants of the towns had risen, and the Druids uniting with the rebels against the nobles who had dispossessed them, had attempted to abolish the aristocratic or royal government, and to replace it by a democratic one, more or less mixed with the former elements. In one canton it was the notables, *principes*, and the priests who, having constituted themselves a senate, appointed the *vergobret*, an annual judge, who pronounced for life or death,¹ and in case of need was the leader in war; in another the people had instituted a senate or magistrates, and sometimes a king, who remained dependent upon the public assembly.² Cæsar relates that after his victory over the Helvetii, the chiefs of almost all the cities, *principes civitatum*, came and asked him to authorize them to assemble the council of Gaul.³ We have already said what must be thought about these general assemblies.

¹ *Vite necisque in suos habet potestatem.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 16.)

² Each tribe of the Galatæ, in Asia Minor, had also a chief and a senate of 300 members. (*Strabo*, xii. 5, 1.)

³ *Concilium totius Gallie.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 30; see p. 105.)

Thus while Rome was overpowering the Gallie colonies in Italy and Asia Minor, Great Gaul was rending herself with her own hands, instead of organizing and uniting. No principle of government had prevailed, neither royalty, nor the aristocracy, nor the clergy. That is why Gaul lay open to invaders, on the north to the Belgæ and Germans, on the south to the Roman legions. Amid this chaos however, some powerful States had been formed. These were the tribes which, being more numerous than their



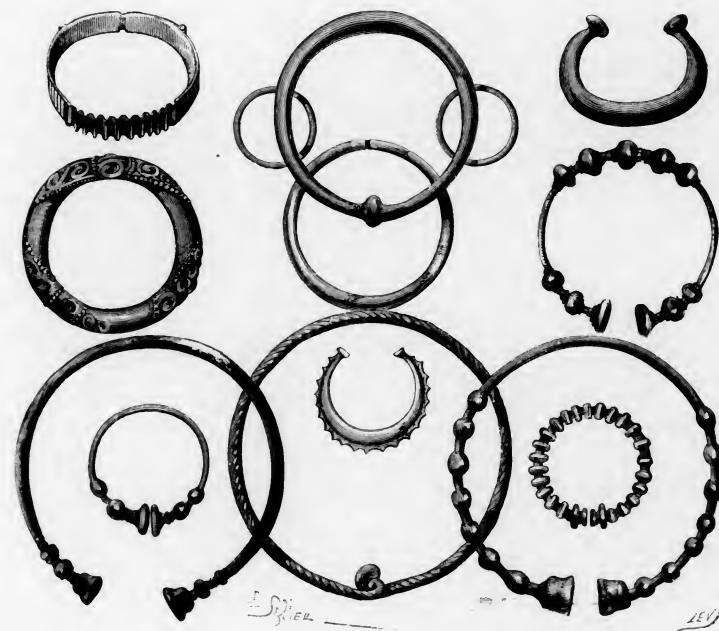
Golden Torques¹ (Museum of Saint-Germain).

neighbours, had reduced them to dependence. As free men entered the clientship of the great, so the small tribes had become, by choice or force, clients of the more powerful, without parting with their internal liberty, and hence there resulted great confederations, which embraced vast portions of the Gallie territory. According to Strabo's account the Arverni extended their sovereignty over the

¹ All these golden and bronze torques and bracelets come from tumuli, and are in the Museum of Saint-Germain. (See too, *Dict. archéol.*, vol. ii., part i., figs. 1 to 8.)

whole of Gaul, a dominion which must be reduced to more modest proportions.

These nations were ill acquainted with the municipal system which brought about the greatness of the Græco-Italians and the civilization of the world. The social form which most prevailed amongst them was that of the clan or tribe. The confederations just spoken of were however, a first attempt at general organization. By spreading, and uniting with one another, they might have



Bronze Torques (Museum of Saint-Germain).

given peace to the land and secured its independence. Unhappily the perception of the common peril broke upon them too late, and the whole of Gaul united for once, only to fall beneath the sword of Cæsar.

Though it could not yet be looked upon as a civilized land, the country had emerged from barbarism. Its tribes were no longer mere hordes of hunters wandering about at random, but societies settled upon the soil, whereon their hands and intelligence

were already at work. They had organized finances, custom-duties, and taxes of various kinds.¹ Caesar contrasts the wealth of Gaul with the poverty of Britain and Germany, and he drew sufficient riches from it to buy the Roman people.



Bronze Vase surmounted by a Cock² (Museum of Saint-Germain).

and sometimes even a gilded cuirass, and our collections contain a quantity of arms, implements, collars (*torques*, pp. 122—123),

¹ *Dumnorigem portoria reliquaque omnia Aduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 18.) The taxes were even extremely heavy; *Cum magnitudine tributorum premuntur.* (*Ibid.*, vi. 13.) The Veneti exacted dues from all who desired to make use of their ports (*ibid.*, iii. 8), the Valaisi from the merchants who crossed the Great and Lesser St. Bernard, etc.

² The beautiful vase of Græckwyl, of which we give a representation in colours, was discovered in 1851 in a large tumulus, together with the remains of a chariot, two bronze buckles, and a funeral urn of terra-cotta. If it is not of Gallic manufacture, as the Etruscan or Oriental character of the raised work seems to indicate, it proves the existence of commercial relations with Marseilles, unless it reached the Helvetian chief in whose tomb it was buried as spoil of war. The winged deity placed in the centre of the ornamentation is surmounted by a bird in repose, and flanked by four lions and two hares. Above, the wings spread on each side a broad-headed serpent. The Rhodians of Camirus thus represented their Diana; the inhabitants of Santorin did likewise. (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 461 *sqq.*)



P. SELLIER phot.

Imp. Fraillery

VASE FROM GRÆCKWYL

From the Museum of Saint-Germain

P. SELLIER ^{pinx}

Imp. Fraillery.

VASE FROM GRÆCKWYL

From the Museum of Saint-Germain

jewels, bronze vases, and enamelled objects manufactured by Gauls. They could weave and brocade stuffs, and their dyes were not without some reputation. To them have been attributed the invention of the wheeled plough, the harrow, the horse-hair sieve, and the use of marl and cinders for manure. They made various kinds of fermented drinks, such as beer and hydromel. From the

Gallic Coin.¹Gallic Coin.²

froth of beer they made yeast or leaven for bread. Although they had little wine, they are said to have been the first to manufacture the casks suitable for preserving it, whereas the Romans still kept wine in leathern bottles or earthenware jars. The rearing of

Tetradrachm of Philip.³

Gallic Imitation.

domestic animals was held in honour. Their horses and oxen were sought after in Italy, and Celtic slaves were renowned for skill in the stables and cattle-stalls. The Massaliotes, who were skilful in cultivating the vine and the olive, had taught some of their neighbours, and even the Helvetii, the use of Greek letters; the Arverni, bordering on Gallia Narbonensis, employed the Latin

¹ Laurel-crowned head, facing right. On the reverse, a horse, a hammer in front of the horse's chest; underneath, a vase or lamp. (*Dict. archéol.*, vol. ii., part i., No. 286.) Both coins bear the same stamp on the reverse, but the obverse of the one is barbarous, while upon the other the influence of Marseilles is observable.

² Bust on the obverse. On the reverse, a horse driven by a wild boar; underneath, an arrow fitted to a bow. (*Dict. arch.*, vol. ii., part i., No. 288.)

³ Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, a Macedonian warrior on horseback bearing a palm; underneath, a bunch of grapes. The comparison of these four coins shows the difference between the two civilizations, Greek and Gallic, and the effort, at first unsuccessful, made by the one to imitate the other. The Gallic coins departed more and more from their models.

alphabet. We possess a great number of Gallie coins; on many of them is seen a horse without bridle or a wild boar, the double symbol of liberty and war.

Their monetary system was the same as that of the Gauls of the Danube, who after the pillage of Greece had copied the magnificent staters of Philip II., of Thasos, etc.; in their unskilled hands the design had lost its beauty. A sufficiently great number of these Macedonian pieces however, had found their way into Great Gaul to lead to the establishment of several coining-places, which produced some curious types, whereon the vanity of the chiefs led them to have their portraits placed.¹

The activity of their commerce explains the wealth of Gaul, and it was facilitated by the bridges thrown across the rivers, the solidly constructed roads, even across marshes,² a very active river navigation, and coined money which promoted exchange.

The fine garnets which they found at the foot of several of their mountains were much sought after by the Greeks from the time of Alexander. The Sequani sent their salted provisions by the Saône and the Rhone to Marseilles, which distributed them through Italy and Greece, whither its mariners also bore the cheeses of the Cevennes and the Alps, the wines of Béziers and of the slopes of the Durance, and slaves who might sometimes be bought for an amphora of wine. In those days, with the immense demand for

¹ Upon the numerous mines in Gaul, see Ern. Desjardins. (*Op. cit.*, i. pp. 409-433.) It has lately been discovered that tin was worked in Gaul in very early times, and digging for copper, silver, and gold was more actively carried on there than it is now. The ancients, having many slaves, employed them on works producing little profit, not sufficient to maintain our free labourers, and moreover, thanks to commerce, the rich lodes have caused the poor ones to be abandoned. Thus we see why Gaul was renowned for its wealth of precious metals and France is not.

² There still exist remains of the Gallie high roads, and Cæsar speaks of bridges built upon the Aisne, the Seine, the Loire, the Allier, and even the Rhone.

³ Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ; Hercules stands, leaning on his club, holding the skin of the Nemean lion.



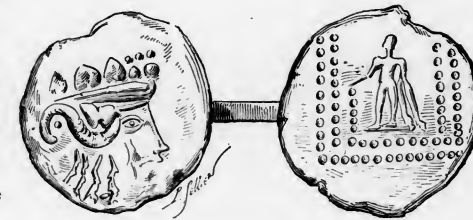
Tetradrachm of Thasos.³

slaves that existed among civilized nations, man was the commodity most in request, the one which could always be disposed of quickly and advantageously, and Gaul furnished a great deal of this merchandise. It also exported coarse cloths and black pottery, and with the island of Britain it had frequent intercourse, the mart of which was Corbilo, on the north of the Loire. The Veneti around Morbihan even possessed a navy, which in certain respects was superior to those of the Romans and Greeks. For the oar, the motive power of war-fleets in classic times, they had substituted the sail, which allowed of distant voyages, and has been used up to our own days.

Towns multiplied and were surrounded with ramparts formed of several layers of trees and stones alternately, as was seen in the remains of the wall of Mursceints. The trees roughly hewn into beams, each forty feet long, were held together by inner cross-beams. Fire had no effect upon the stones, and the battering-rams could do nothing against beams, the ends of which only they could reach. Julius Cæsar admired this ingenious combination.

At Peran, near St. Brieuc, and elsewhere, there has even been found, a wall cemented with melted glass, a "glass castle," as it is called by the Scotch, who have seven or eight of these vitrified ramparts. The wonder was not difficult to carry into execution; layers of sand and bracken, with a great fire kept up for several days, would effect it. Some fire lighted on the strand had no doubt revealed to the Gauls how easily sand could be vitrified. Thus the Phœnicians [are said to have] discovered the art of making glass.

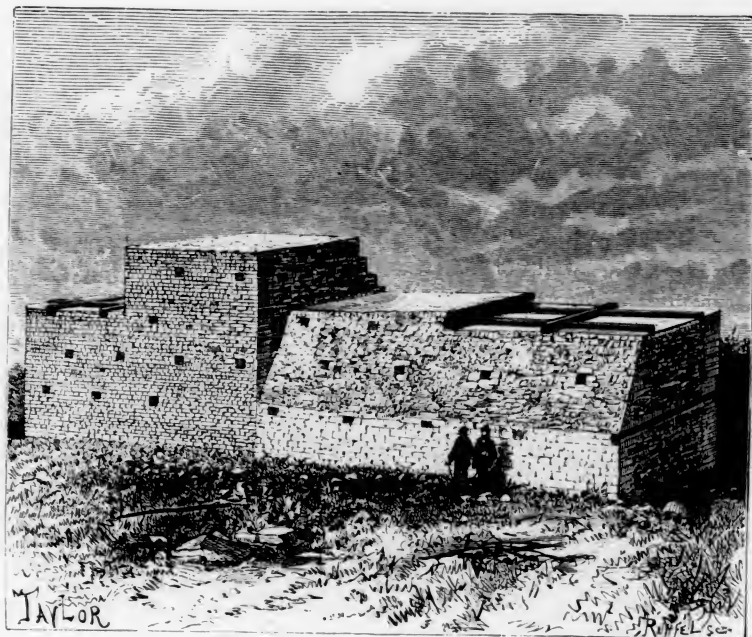
Gaul was developing alone and unaided. It was divided indeed, but less so than Greece and Italy had been, and the elements of strength and civilization were not wanting. Men have asked themselves what it would have become without the Roman conquest, whether the loss of its independence was a boon,



Gallie Imitation of a Coin of Thasos.

and finally, whether, beneath the pacific influence of the arts of Greece and Italy, there would not have issued from the Gallic constitutions a civilization more original and perhaps better than the one with which Rome inoculated it.

Doubtless it is a pity that Gaul did not reach the complete development of its national life, but it was impossible that it should do so. Placed between the Romans, who, in order to



Oppidum of Mursceints¹ (Restoration in Relief in the Museum of Saint-Germain), p. 127.

protect Italy, needed to have possession of the approaches, and the Germans, who have coveted Gaul for more than twenty centuries, this country could not fail to be the battlefield of the two hostile races. It was in Gaul that Marius had conquered the Teutons; it was there that Cæsar was about to fight Ariovistus; there too, that the emperors withstood invasions to the last days of the empire. The war which was about to commence was one of those historical fatalities over which thoughtful minds spent no

¹ Restoration of the Gallic wall, the remains of which were discovered in 1868.

vain regrets. "Since the rise of our empire," says Cicero, "there is no man who, having a clear view of the conditions of the existence of our Republic, has not thought that the Gauls constituted its greatest danger,"¹ and consequently, their subjection was a necessity for Rome.

We have seen that the Romans had commenced the conquest of the Transalpine country sixty years previously, and that the tribes settled between Geneva and Toulouse, and Toulouse and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges had recognized the authority of the senate. From their great settlements of Narbo and Aquæ Sextiæ the Romans surveyed "long-haired" Gaul. They had humbled the powerful tribe of the Arverni by the defeat of Bituitus, and had granted the Ædui their interested protection.³ Accordingly, the fear or the confidence with which Rome inspired these two nations which surrounded the Province had allowed the government to impose all kinds of exactions upon them with impunity. When the Allobroges lost patience and rebelled, after the conspiracy of Catiline, they were crushed (61) without a single Gaul having drawn the sword for them. Indeed, the state of Gaul was not such that its tribes could devote themselves to a policy of war. Since the revolution which had overthrown the aristocratic forms of government, two parties had been formed in every city, in every town, and almost in every family. The new republics, too young for their liberty to be a peaceful one, were subject to all the storms raised by rival or dissatisfied ambitions. About the time of Cæsar's consulship a chief of the Arverni had perished at the stake for having attempted to re-establish the proscribed royal power,⁴ and at the very time three nobles among the Helvetii, the Sequani, and the Ædui were plotting the overthrow of the democratic government. Moreover, all the tribes were rivals; every year war broke out at many points.⁵ Proud of the



Coin of the Allobroges.²

¹ *De Provinciis consularibus*, 13.

² Chamois and wheel. Reverse of a coin of the Allobroges. The coins of the Allobroges of the mountains have, like this one, a chamois stamped on them. The others, belonging to the Allobroges of the shores of Lake Lemman have a hippocamp. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

³ Dion, xxxvii, 47-48; Livy, *Epit.*, ciii.

⁴ Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 4.

⁵ *Bellum incidit fere quotannis.* (Cæsar, *ibid.*, vi. 15.)

humiliation of the Arverni and of the title of allies of Rome, the Ædui had abused their power, and the fear inspired by the legions, to oppress their neighbours. Masters of the mid-course of the Loire through the fortified position of Noviodunum, and of



Diana found at Châlon.¹

that of the Saône through Châlon and Mâcon, they had forbidden the Arverni the navigation of the first-named of these rivers, and took heavy toll of the goods that the Sequani sent to Marseilles by the other. Driven to extremities, these two nations had united, and, in order to make sure of the victory, had taken into their pay 15,000 Suevi, with their chief Ariovistus. The Ædui had been beaten and obliged to give hostages, but the Sequani had not had long to rejoice over their victory. Having come from the damp

¹ Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2957.

forests and uncultivated lands of Germany, Ariovistus had refused to leave the beautiful country so imprudently laid open to him. Under various pretexts he sent for eight times as many warriors as he had promised, and he demanded for them a third of the territory of the Sequani. The Ædui and the Sequani, united by a common oppression, rose together against the German king. He

evaded their wrath by taking refuge beyond some marshes, tired out their patience, and then seized a favourable opportunity for overpowering them. Their defeat at the confluence of the Saône and Oignon rendered him more rapacious.

He now wanted another third of the lands of the Sequani for 24,000 Harudes, his allies.



Coin of the Ædui.¹

Against these rulers from the East the Gauls invoked those from the south.

Divitiacus, one of the leading men of the Ædui, came to Rome to claim the protection so often promised to his brethren. The answer was long delayed. An unexpected event compelled the senate to pay more attention to these complaints.



Orgetorix.²

They learned that the Helvetii, tired of the continual incursions of the Suevi, intended to set forth to seek on the shores of great Ocean a less severe climate and a more tranquil life. But with their allies of the right bank of the Rhine the Helvetii formed a mass of nearly 400,000 souls,³ and they intended taking the road through the Province. There was a double danger for Rome in this project; Helvetia when deserted would be occupied by the Suevi, whose proximity was to be dreaded, and in traversing Gaul these 400,000 emigrants must cause disorders there, the consequences of which could not be foreseen.



Coin of Dumnorix.⁴

Moreover, one of their chiefs, Orgetorix, hoped that under cover of these movements he would be able to recover the royal authority which his forefathers had exercised. Casticus, of the Sequani, and Dumnorix of the Ædui, were initiated into his schemes, and were to second him and to

¹ Silver coin of the Ædui; a bear.

² Bust of Diana with a necklace of pearls and her quiver on her shoulder; the word EDVIS recalls the alliance between the Ædui and the Helvetii attested by Caesar. On the reverse, a bear, which Berne has retained in its arms. Silver denarius. We have borrowed from M. de Sauley (*Numismatiques des chefs gaulois*) all the coins given in our narrative of the Gallic wars.

³ According to the registers, kept in the Greek language, which Caesar found in their camp, the emigrants numbered 368,000, of whom 92,000 were fighting men. (*Bell. Gall.*, i. 29.)

⁴ Dumnorix or Doubnorix. Head with the hair in great locks and with the *torques*. On the reverse, a horse galloping. (De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 9.)

receive from him the support necessary to effect the same revolution in their own country; then this barbaric triumvirate was to subdue the whole of Gaul.¹ The plans of Orgetorix were discovered; but the death of that chieftain did not divert the nation from the projected plan of emigration. At Rome a well-grounded alarm prevailed, for men called to mind the part which the Helvetii had taken in the invasion of the Cimbri forty years previously. Three senators were despatched to Gaul with a *senatus-consultum*, giving the governor of Gallia Narbonensis unlimited power to do whatsoever he judged of use to the Republic, and to protect the allies of the Roman people. The Ædui, won over by this decree, undertook, with the aid of the Sequani, to close the passes of Mount Jura.

The Helvetii and their allies had allowed themselves three years to complete their preparations;² the third year fell in the proconsulship of Cæsar. Thus it was to him that this war fell, in execution of the senatorial decree of 61. With this in view, and in order to sow divisions among his enemies beforehand, he tried in the year 59 to gain Ariovistus to his side by bestowing on him the title of friend of the Roman people. The barbarian king did, in fact, promise to offer no obstacle to the plan decided upon against the Helvetii. During the course of March, 58 B.C., Cæsar set out for Gallia Narbonensis, one of his three provinces, and in eight days he reached Geneva. The Helvetii, in order to deprive themselves of all desire to return, had just burned their twelve cities and 400 villages; they had arranged to assemble on the banks of the Rhone on the 28th of March.

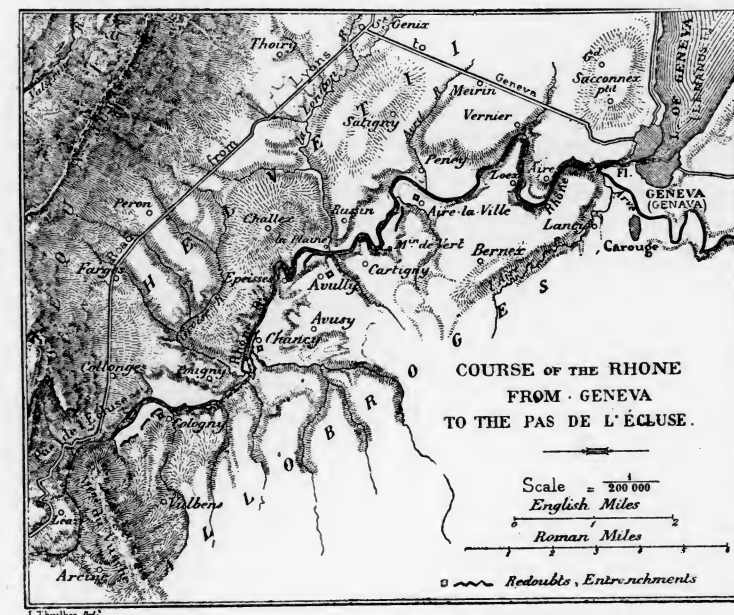
II.—CÆSAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN (58); VICTORIES OVER THE HELVETII AND ARIOVISTUS.

The Rhone, as it sweeps down from the Saint-Gothard, flows between two chains of lofty mountains as far as Lake Lemman, which is formed by it, and out of which it issues again at Geneva to dash itself a few leagues below that town against the Jura

¹ *Per tres potentissimos . . . Gallie totius sese potiri posse sperant.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, i. 3.)

² Cæsar, *ibid.*, i. 3; *in tertium annum.*

mountains and an outstanding buttress of the Alps called Mount Vuache. After a struggle in which the river finally triumphed, it has made a breach in the mountain, and it leaves Switzerland by a fearful defile which separates Franche-Comté from Savoy, the country of the Sequani from that of the Allobroges. To reach



Course of the Rhone, from Geneva to the Pas de L'Écluse.

the interior of Gaul there was no other way open to the Helvetii, unless they plunged into the ravines of the southern Jura, which were scarcely practicable for a migration of this kind, or crossed the Rhone at some point between Lake Lemannus and the mountains of the Allobroges. But Cæsar was at Geneva, and he had already broken down the bridge at that town. The Helvetii, hesitating to entangle themselves in the ravine of L'Écluse, where a few resolute men might stop an army, demanded of the proconsul a passage



Coin of the Allobroges.¹

¹ Hippocamp. Reverse of a silver coin of the Allobroges of Lake Lemman.

through the territory of the Allobroges. As he had as yet only one legion he postponed his answer till the 13th of April,



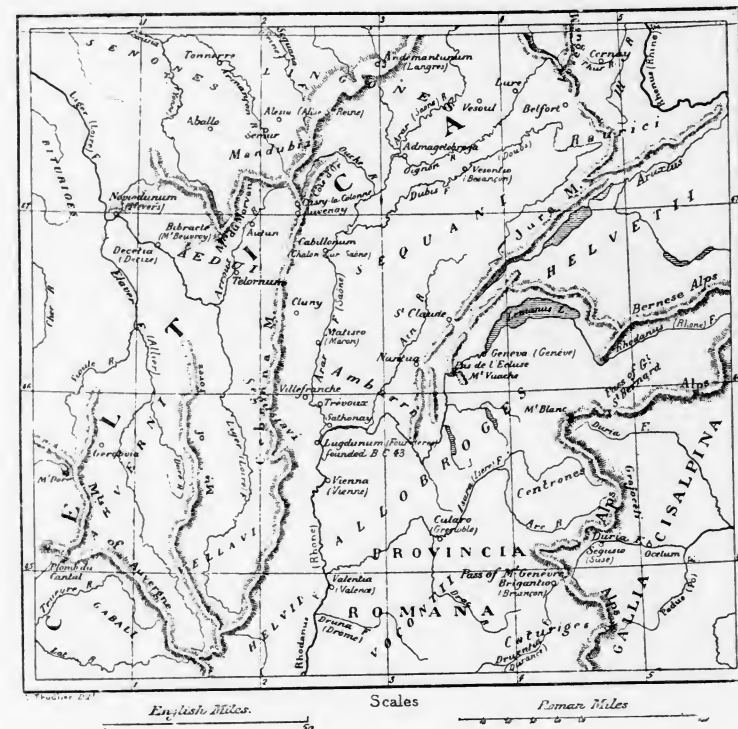
Cups of the Sequani and Remi, of Red Earthenware.²

thus giving himself a delay of fifteen days, of which he made good use. When the deputies reappeared they found that these few days had sufficed him to fortify all the easily accessible points on the left bank of the river, from the Jura to the corner of Lake Lemman, a distance of over sixteen miles.¹ Troops hurriedly brought from the Province lined the ramparts, and all the attempts of the barbarians to force a passage across the Rhone failed. They were obliged to fall back upon the Jura route. Dumnorix and Casticus obtained for them the consent of the Sequani, and paying no heed to the refusal of the Ædui, the horde swept on towards the Saône, rejoiced at having left behind them those dangerous defiles.

¹ The Emperor Napoleon III., who had the ground carefully studied, does not think that Cæsar formed a continual entrenchment, as his words would indicate. (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 8.) From a report drawn up by Baron Stoffel, who was sent by the emperor to make a survey of the place, it appears that the points fortified by Cæsar must have been: the first, below Aire-la-Ville; the second, to the north of Cartigny; the third, to the north-west of Avully; the fourth, below Chanas, on the two sides of the Laire, where it enters the Rhone; the fifth, between Coligny and Pas de l'Écluse. These works are the first examples of the lines of defence with which the empire was afterwards to protect every vulnerable part of its frontiers. At the present day there exists in this part of the course of the Rhone only one ford from Russin on the right, to Le Moulin de Vert on the left. The second volume of the *Vie de Cæsar* of Napoleon III. is the most complete commentary yet made upon Cæsar's book, thanks to the careful study of, or search for localities, to the numerous excavations ordered, and to the examination of every question of topography, archaeology, military art, and science which the text affords.

² The cup of the Sequani was found at Geneva in 1862. (Cf. *Gazette arch.*, 1877, p. 179)

By his able strategy, and without losing a single man, Cæsar had thus saved the Province from a dangerous invasion. The peril was thrown back on to the Ædui, but Cæsar had already resolved to make use of the authority given by the senatus-



Map for the First Campaign of Cæsar.

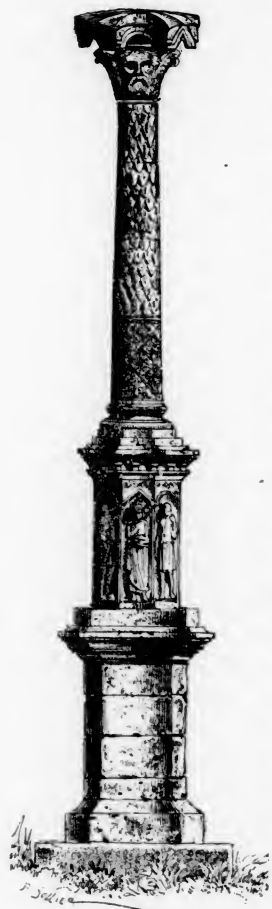
consultum of 61 B.C. to issue from his province and succour the allies of Rome.¹

The march of the Helvetii was so slow that he had time to go to Italy for five legions, and return to find the barbarians still

and pl. 17.) With it we give that of the Remi, which is very much like it, and a transcript of the two inscriptions; *Sequanis Felicitas*; *Remis Felicitas*. (*Ibid.*)

¹ See p. 133. Cæsar availed himself of the authority given him by this senatus-consultum for the whole of his war against the Gauls; it secured legality for his operations without the necessity of obtaining further decrees from the senate or the people, and thus allowed him to raise fresh legions and to add war to war each year till the whole of Gaul was conquered. (*de Bell. Gall.*, i. 35.)

occupied, as they had been for the last twenty days, in crossing the Saône, which the troops of the Ædui had not dared to defend. He probably established himself at Sathonay, and there waited till



Monument of Cussy, near Autun.¹

three-quarters of the hostile army had reached the other side of the river, when he crushed the rearguard, which was left on the east bank, on the hill of Mâcon (in June); then, throwing his whole army across the river in one day, he found himself in the presence of the entire horde, which was going northwards. For a fortnight he followed it at a very short distance without finding an opportunity for bringing on an engagement, till, provisions failing through the treachery of Dumnorix, he resolved to go and obtain them from the very capital of the Ædui, Bibracte (on Mount Beuvray, eight miles from Autun). The Helvetii thought he was fleeing, and fell upon his rearguard, but they found the whole army drawn up in battle array, and there ensued a violent struggle which lasted until the middle of the night, with immense slaughter among the Gauls. At the commencement of the action Caesar had sent away his horse as a sign that he wished to share all the perils of his soldiers (end of June or beginning of July). The remainder of the horde hastened its march northwards in order to reach the Rhine and Germany. Being soon overtaken they gave up their arms, and by order of the proconsul the survivors of this disastrous migration 110,000 men, returned to their mountains, which Caesar was unwilling that

¹ *Revue arch.*, 1860 and 1879. The last act of the battle against the Helvetii has been placed on the *Chaumes* (stubble-fields) of Auvénay, twelve miles from Autun, and it has been thought that the ruins of the column of Cussy found at that spot were the remains of a monument commemorative of Caesar's victory. But the *Commentaries* give no geographical particulars which allow the scene of the action to be recognized. The numerous barrows of the

the Germans should occupy. The Allobroges received orders to provide them with wheat until they had sowed their land again.

The Boii, a tribe in alliance with the Helvetii, remained with Caesar's permission among the Ædui, who settled them upon their south-western frontier (Beaujolais) to defend it against the Arverni. They were the descendants of that brave nation which had quitted Italy rather than live subject to Rome. Threatened on the banks of the Danube by the Getae, they had joined their fortunes with those of the Helvetii, and returned, after a lapse of more than five centuries, to their early fatherland. There they were again doomed to meet with the dominion which they had so long avoided.

Gaul was then placed between two invasions, that of the Suevi, a wild and unruly force, and that of the Romans, an admirably organized power, both of them formidable to a nation which did not know how to unite its interests. The Suevi inspired fear by their barbarism. "Every year," says Caesar, "the warriors go in search of combats and booty. They never dwell in the same canton more than one year; they live less on wheat than on milk, meat, and game. Their garments are the skins of beasts, which leave the greater part of the body exposed. They do not allow wine or foreign commodities to be brought among them, and love to surround themselves with vast solitudes. These great depopulated territories appear to them to reflect glory upon the nation which committed such ravages; they are a proof that many nations were unable to resist their arms. It is said that behind them, on the east, they have rendered desert a space of 600,000 paces." No wonder that Gaul, unable to close her gates against such guests, was in haste to free herself by the hand of Rome.

The war with the Helvetii being over, Caesar found himself face to face with Ariovistus. He took care not to reject the entreaties of the Gauls when the deputies of the principal cities, gathered in general assembly, *concilium totius Galliae*, came to implore his support against the German king, for these barbarians were a far

plateau are a very ancient cemetery, not the immense ossuary of a battlefield, and the architectonic details of the column indicate an epoch posterior to that of the Antonines. Nevertheless we give a representation of the monument, which has played an important part in the attempts made to discover the spot where Caesar gained his first great victory.

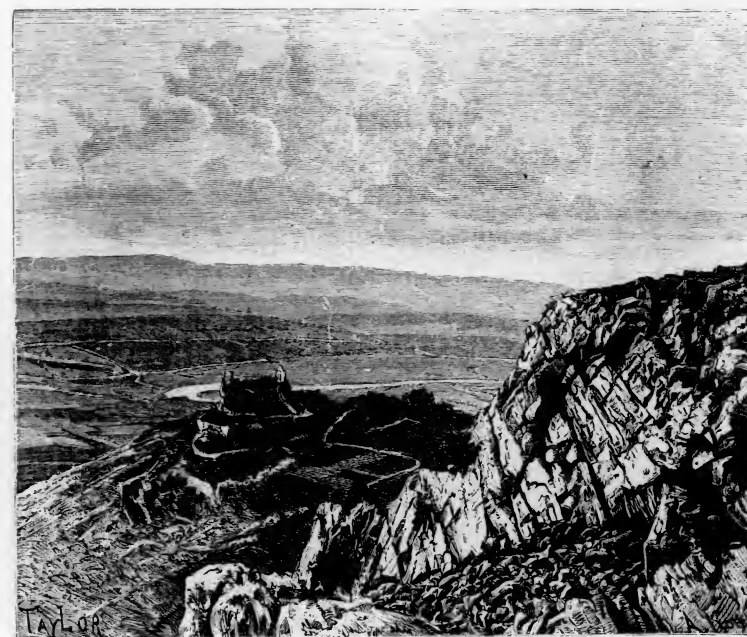
greater cause of uneasiness to the Roman province than the Helvetii had been. Hannibal had imposed upon Rome the obligation of subduing Spain, whence the great blow of the second Punic war had been struck; the conquest of that country had compelled the senate to secure a road between the Pyrenees and the Alps, and the safety of the province formed along this military road required that the territorial *status quo* created in Gaul by the victories of Fabius and Domitius should not be changed. Such was the chain of historical causes from which the Gallic war was the last and glorious consequence.

But now all Germany was on the move; there was not a moment to lose in repelling the invasion, of which Ariovistus was but the vanguard.

Cæsar hastened towards him by forced marches in the direction of the important stronghold of *Vesontio* (Besançon), which Ariovistus attempted to seize, but was forestalled by Cæsar, who reached it about the beginning of August. The description he gives of it proves the exactness of the particulars with which he furnishes us, for his account of the situation holds good at the present day.

Cæsar halted there a few days to collect provisions and gain a knowledge of the country. This delay was near proving fatal to him. His soldiers, terrified by the tales told them about the great stature and courage of the Germans, were unwilling to advance further. Throughout the whole camp everyone made his will. The less terrified pointed out the difficulty of the roads, the depth of the forests, the impossibility of transport or revictualling; it was even reported to Cæsar that the soldiers had resolved not to obey him when he gave the order to raise the standards. He called together a grand council of war, at which the centurions were present; he reminded them of all the victories of the legions over the nations of the north; those of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutons, of Crassus over the gladiators; those he himself had just won over the Helvetii, who had so often conquered the Suevi, and he represented Ariovistus as having gained the advantage over the Gauls only by tactics idle against Romans. "As for those," said he, "who in order to hide their fears talk of the difficulty of the roads and of obtaining provisions, they are very

rash to pretend to point out to their general his duties, or to think that he will forget them. That is his care, and he has provided for it. The wheat will be furnished by the Sequani, the Lingones (Langres), and the Leuci (Toul); already it stands ripe in the fields. As for the roads, they shall soon judge of them. It is asserted that the soldiers will refuse to obey; their general does not believe a word of it, for an army never becomes mutinous but with an incapable or criminal leader. For himself his whole life bears



Country round Besançon.

witness to his integrity, and the war with the Helvetii to his good fortune. Accordingly he will fix the start earlier; on the night following at the fourth watch the camp shall be struck, for he is impatient to see whether fear triumphs over duty and honour in the hearts of his soldiers. Should the army not follow him he will set out with only the tenth legion; it shall be his praetorian cohort." The tenth legion, flattered by the confidence he had shown in it, promised its absolute devotion, and the others, through

their tribunes and centurions, protested their submission to the orders of the leader "who alone had the direction of the war."

Two roads led from Besançon to the valley of the Rhine, the one shorter, but mountainous and wooded, and consequently difficult, the other fifty miles longer, because it skirted this thick forest in the direction between Besançon and Vesoul. Cæsar took the latter, and after seven days' march arrived in the valley of the Rhine, which no Roman had ever yet reached. Ariovistus was encamped there; he demanded of the proconsul a conference midway between the two camps. Each repaired thither with ten horsemen; those of Cæsar were soldiers of the tenth legion whom he had mounted on Gallic horses; "He exceeds his promises," said they; "he was to make us prætorians, and here we are knights, *equites*." Ariovistus reproached the proconsul with having entered his territories as a foe. This part of Gaul, said he, was his province, as the senate had theirs; he was not such a barbarian as not to understand that, under the mask of friendship, Cæsar thought of subjugating the Gauls; and he added; "If thou dost not depart with thy army I shall treat thee as an enemy; and know that many messengers have come to me on behalf of the nobles of Rome offering me their friendship and their gratitude if I rid them of thee.¹ But leave me in free possession of Gaul, and without fatigue or danger on thy part I will take upon myself all the wars that thou wouldst undertake."

Cæsar had no idea of retiring; but Ariovistus refused battle for several days. It was because the women-diviners of the Suevi had consulted the fates by listening to the murmur of the waters and studying the circles made by a stone thrown into the river, and the fates had replied; "You must not fight till after the new moon has shown its silver crescent." Upon this being revealed by some prisoners, Cæsar was only the more anxious to bring on the action. He succeeded in forcing the Germans to accept the combat before the lucky time fixed by their prophetesses. The battle was a desperate one, but ended disastrously for the barbarians

¹ Cæsar quotes these words of Ariovistus; are they authentic? The implacable hatred of the nobles against the proconsul of the Gauls, whom at a later period they desired to give up to the Germans, would lead us to think so.

(10th of September). Only a small number escaped, and among them Ariovistus, who was wounded, and with difficulty recrossed the Rhine.

A few days before the battle, Ariovistus having demanded a fresh conference, Cæsar had sent him M. Mettius, a guest of the barbarian king, and the Gaul, Valerius Procillus, whose father had obtained from one of the governors of Gallia Narbonensis the title of citizen. Procillus spoke Celtic, and could converse with the German, who understood that language. But upon their entry into his camp he treated them as spies, and had them put in irons. In the rout their guards were carrying them off with them, when Cæsar, who was pursuing the enemy at the head of his cavalry, rescued them. "Fortune," said he, "was unwilling to mar the joy of his triumph by the loss of the man most highly esteemed in the province, his guest and his friend." Procillus related how he had thrice seen the fates consulted in order to decide whether he should be burnt immediately



Medallion of Olbia (Obverse).¹



Medallion of Olbia (Reverse).

or later on. Two of the wives of Ariovistus and one of his daughters were killed, and probably many of their companions, for they had placed themselves, as at the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, on

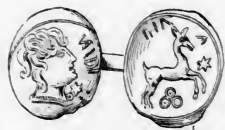
¹ Mask or gorgon, front face. On the reverse, APXI, the initials of ἀρχιερεὺς(?), high-priest, or ἀρχιερατικόν(?), pontifical; eagle upon a fish. Bronze medallion of Olbia.

the chariots with which the Suevi had protected their two flanks and the hindmost ranks of the army.

The news of this defeat spread joy through Gaul and grief through Germany. The Suevi withdrew from the Rhine and plunged into their forests. In a single campaign Caesar had terminated two formidable wars (58 B.C.). He went into Cisalpine Gaul to pass the winter, there to receive the congratulations of his friends at Rome and to fulfil the judicial duties of his office, by holding assizes (*conventus*) in the principal towns of the province. Thence too, he watched the restless tribes of Pannonia. There were other Celts who, at the report of the Gallic combats and the victories of their neighbours, the Getæ, over the Greeks of Olbia and the coast of Thrace,¹ might be tempted to take the road to the Adriatic, where they would have found the bones of the legions exterminated by their forefathers. Skilful negotiations, of which only faint traces remain, retained the Pannonians in alliance with Rome, and Caesar, having nothing to fear for his eastern provinces, could strip them of troops and carry all his forces into Gaul.²

III.—SECOND CAMPAIGN: OPERATIONS AGAINST THE BELGÆ (56 B.C.).

The defeat of Ariovistus had freed the Ædui and Sequani from slavery; but some of their clients, instead of again placing themselves under their protection, had entreated that of the Remi, a powerful tribe of Belgica, and Caesar had not opposed this defection. Then, instead of going back into Italy, the legions had taken up winter quarters upon their territory, and it appeared that the valley of the Saône was already, like that of the Rhone, a Roman province. Discontent succeeded enthusiasm; men feared they had



The Reman, Alobrodios.³

¹ The rich city of Olbia, on the *Hypanis* (Bug), and all the towns of the north-western littoral of the empire as far as Apollonia were destroyed about this time by the Getæ. (Dion Chrys., *Orat.*, xxxvi.)

² The Gauls of the Danube had, like our own, already issued from the state of barbarism. As early as the fourth century before Christ they had struck coins (see p. 127), whereas the Germans only manufactured it in Charlemagne's time, the Slavs not till the eleventh century of our era. (Fr. von Pulszky, *Monum. de la domination celtique en Hongrie*, in the *Revue arch.*, Sept., 1879.)

³ Head of chief named ALOBRODIOS, of the tribe of the Remi or the Suessiones.

only changed masters; the people were, in short, indignant with Caesar, who was desirous, it was affirmed, of re-establishing royalty, and the ambitious spirits apprehended that they would no longer have to reckon with their adversaries, but with Rome. A fresh war postponed these fears for a time.



The Suessio Galba.¹

The Belgæ had met in general assembly, and had decided upon a levy in mass; 296,000 men were to be ready in the spring under the orders of Galba, the war-chief of the Suessiones and Bellovaci. Warned of these movements by his lieutenant Labienus, Caesar enrolled two new legions in Italy, despatched them towards Belgica, and, as soon as the season permitted, arrived in person upon the frontier. He had long beforehand prepared the Remi to play in the north the part which Marseilles had played in the south and the Ædui in the centre, that is to say, to open up the country to him, to guide him in his march, and to prepare the way for defections. They acquitted themselves of the task with shameful devotion. Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the principal chiefs, came to tell him that their nation entrusted themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, that they would do all that was ordered them, that they would deliver up hostages, their strongholds, and provisions. Caesar demanded that the whole senate should repair to him, and that the children of the most noble families should be given up to him.



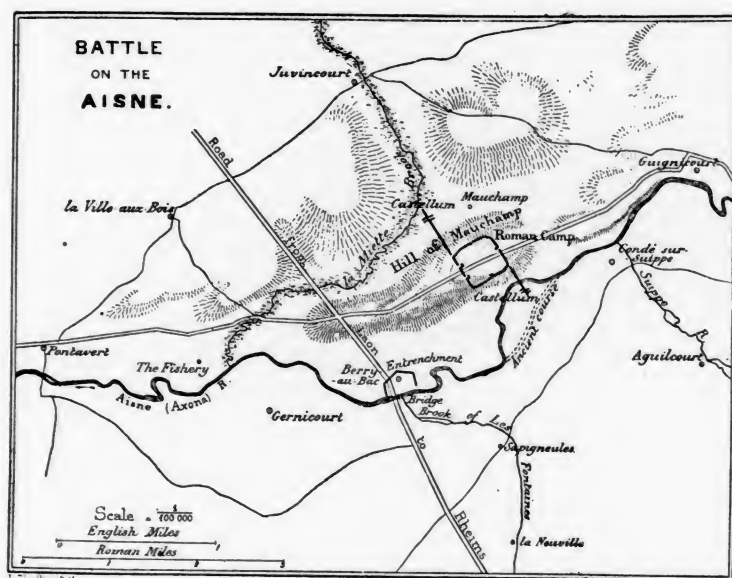
Antebrogius.²

It was in the territory of the Remi, in the neighbourhood of Bibrax (Vieux-Laon), that he encountered the Belgæ. For some time he hesitated to pit his eight legions, 60,000 men, against nearly 300,000 barbarians, renowned as the bravest in Gaul. In order to divide them he secretly sent Divitiacus and the army of the Ædui with orders to devastate the country of the Bellovaci in rear of the confederates, whilst he himself took the precautions necessary in such remote countries. He constructed at Berry-au-Bac

¹ Head ornamented with a *torques*, with the name of CALOVA, or Galoua, which Caesar makes into Galba. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 30.)

² Tiara with diadem. On the reverse, a horse galloping; below, the wild boar standard: ANDECOM. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 15.)

a fortified bridge, where he stationed six cohorts under the command of Titurius Sabinus, which were to afford him security for his convoys and for his retreat; then with his legions he took up a strong position on the right bank of the Aisne. Thence he could without danger study the barbarians' method of fighting and



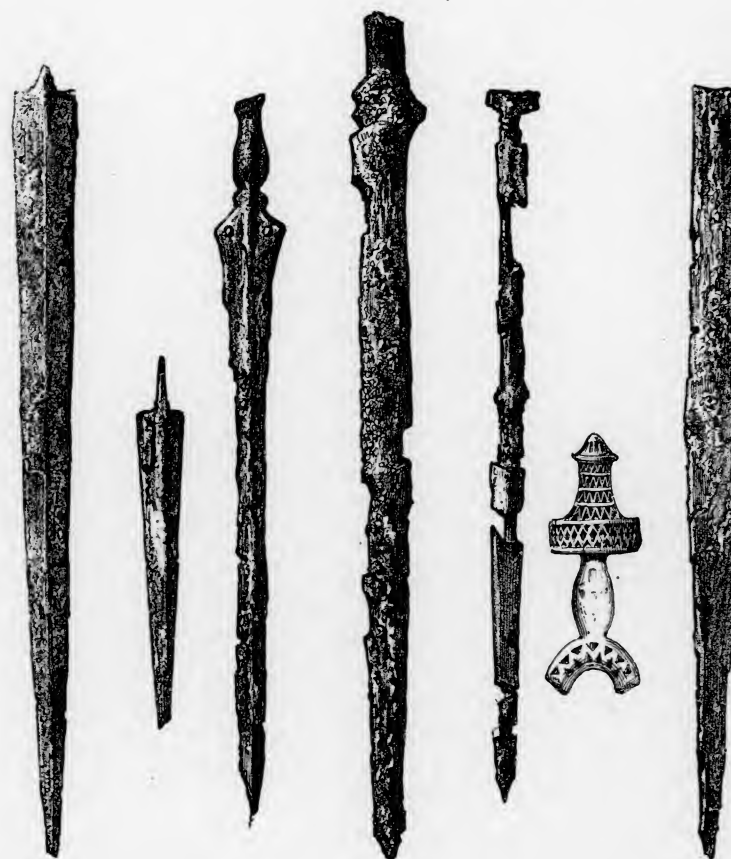
Battle of the Aisne.

familiarize his troops with their aspect. This caution encouraged the barbarians. They tried to carry Bibrax, which was held by the Roman Iccius. A reinforcement sent by Caesar at the right moment obliged them to retire after a furious attack. As the Romans refused to cross the marshy land, the Belgæ decided to turn the position by crossing the Aisne lower down. Caesar, warned by his scouts, sent against them his cavalry, who charged them right into the bed of the river and inflicted great slaughter upon them. This double check caused great disorder in their army. The news of the attack of Divitiacus

The Suessio, Divitiacus.¹

¹ Divitiacus or Divitiac, king of the Suessiones, the predecessor of Galba. (De Sauley, *op. cit.*, No. 25.)

completed the discomfiture. The Bellovaci, to the number of 60,000, hastened to the defence of their homes, the other tribes followed the fatal example, and Caesar had only to set on his horsemen to

Iron Swords¹ (Museum of Saint-Germain).

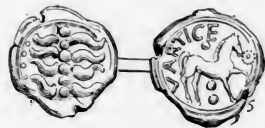
change this retreat into a disorderly flight. For a whole day the Romans slaughtered without any resistance (57 B.C.).²

The coalition was dissolved, but it was necessary to subdue the

¹ Swords and remains of swords of iron from various tumuli. (Museum of Saint-Germain.)

² *Sine ullo periculo . . . interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium.* (Caesar, *de Bell. Gall.*, ii. 11.) The map given on p. 144 is taken from the *Histoire de César* by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 89.

tribes in detail—an easy but tedious task. Cæsar threw all his activity into it. On the following day he marched against the Suessiones, and took their capital, *Noviodunum* (Soissons). Their king Galba, saved by the entreaties of the Remi, gave his sons as hostages. Thence the proconsul passed into the territory of the

Coin of the Nervii.¹

Bellovaci (Beauvais). Terror preceded him; the chiefs had fled to the island of Britain. His politic generosity granted the pardon of the Bellovaci to the prayers of the Æduan, Divitiacus, as he had yielded that of the Suessiones to the solicitations of the Remi. The Ambiani (Amiens) hastened to give hostages.

Half Belgica was subdued; the Marne, the Aisne, and the Somme had been crossed, and as yet the Roman army had encountered no serious dangers. But Cæsar wished to penetrate into the wild country of the Nervii (Hainault). Immense marshes, forests through which they could only advance by opening a way with the axe, hedges formed of young trees, interwoven with briars and thorns, protected the territories of this nation, who rejected the name of Gauls, and boasted of their German origin. They had no towns, drove away merchants, and forbade the use of wine and of every enervating luxury. In conjunction with the Atrebates (Arras) and the Viromandui (inhabitants of Vermandois, Saint-Quentin), they awaited the Romans beyond the Sambre (in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge).² In marching order each legion was followed by its baggage, and the whole army formed a long column. Apprised of this by Gallic deserters, the Nervii prepared to surprise the legions one after another, and they waited, hidden in the wood, for the first to appear. But in drawing near the enemy Cæsar had altered his arrangements. Six legions marched together, and the two last, composed of fresh levies, kept guard over the baggage, gathered together in one convoy. As soon as the army appeared and had commenced the preparations for encampment, the Nervii dashed forward and crossed the Sambre,

¹ A horse with the name of a Nervian, VARTICE, who helped to save Cicero when he was besieged in his camp. On the reverse, a branch with leaves in pairs. (De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, No. 35.)

² Napoleon III., *Histoire de Cæsar*, vol. i. p. 95.

which was fordable anywhere in that district. Their attack was so impetuous that "the leaders had no time to assume their uniform, the soldiers to put on their helmets and take the covers off their shields. Each legionary, as he hastened up from his work, took his place near the first standard he happened to catch sight of, lest in seeking his own he should lose time in the battle."

Notwithstanding the hedges which intersected the ground and prevented the legions seeing one another and combining their movements, the Atrebates on the right wing of the Nervian army were hurled back into the Sambre, the Viromandui who occupied the centre were brought to a stand at the river, but while they were there offering a desperate resistance, the Nervii on the left wing climbed up and turned the hill.

On this side the scarcely marked-out camp was taken; the legions were divided and all the centurions of the twelfth legion slain or placed *hors de combat*. The light troops, the auxiliaries, fled, even the Treveri, the bravest horsemen of Gaul, set out for their own city spreading in all directions the report that the Romans were conquered and their baggage carried off. Cæsar himself thought the battle was

German Auxiliary.¹

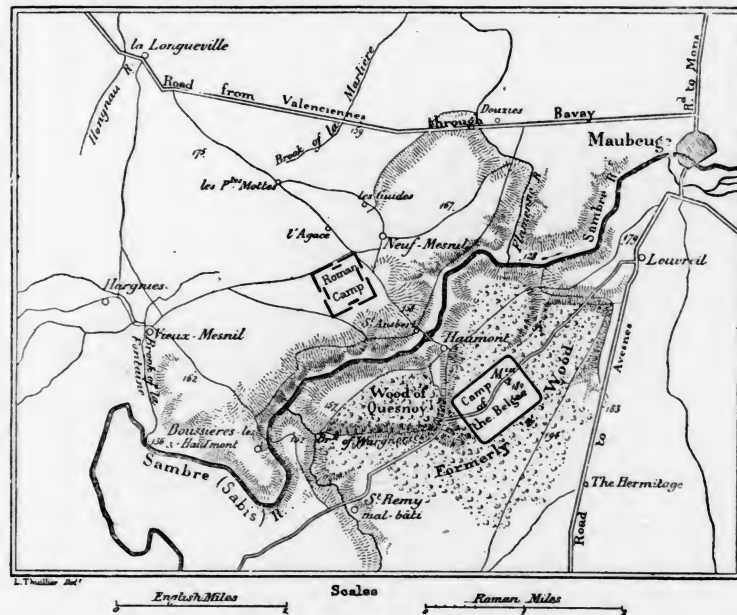
lost; seizing a shield he dashed forward, reformed his line, and fought like a common soldier. His men encouraged by his example drove the Nervian troops a few paces backwards. He availed himself of the space afforded by this vigorous effort to deploy his crowded cohorts, and by degrees to draw the legions closer together that they might support one another. Discipline and tactics regained their advantage; the rearguard had time to hasten up, and Labienus, who was pursuing the Atrebates, sent his tenth legion to the proconsul's aid. "Of our 600 senators," said their old men to Cæsar, "only three remain; of 60,000 fighting men, 500 have escaped."²

¹ From the column of Trajan.

² These figures are much exaggerated, for the Nervii are soon afterwards found to have become formidable again.

Such valiant foes inspired their conqueror with respect.¹ "It is not to be wondered at," said he, "that men so intrepid should have dared to cross a broad river, climb up its steep banks and fight in the most unfavourable place. The greatness of their courage rendered the most difficult enterprise easy to them."

The battle of the Sambre was one of the occasions upon which Caesar fought for life; it laid Belgica at his feet. Only



Plan of the Battle of the Sambre.²

the Aduatuci still remained in arms. They were descended from the Cimbri, who nearly half a century previously had invaded Gaul. Six thousand of these barbarians having been left on the banks of the Rhine to keep guard over the heavy baggage of the horde, had there founded a nation and had settled themselves about

¹ He did more than this; he provided for the needs of the women, the children, and the old men, who had taken refuge in the marshes; he left them the whole territory of their nation and enjoined upon the neighbouring tribes to protect the remnant of them against all violence.

² Belgian writers, with the exception of M. Renard (*Hist. polit. et milit. de la Belgique*) place this battle at the village of Prêle, two leagues from Charleroi. M. Renard agrees with Napoleon in putting it near Maubeuge.

the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, where other Germans had doubtless joined them. They had promised their assistance to the Nervii, but the news of the disaster made them draw back. As they were sure to be attacked soon, they abandoned their villages and took refuge with all they possessed in the strongest of their fastnesses. This was a cluster of steep rocks crowned by a plateau which was reached by a gently sloping path 200 feet broad, but intersected by a trench and a double wall formed of enormous stones. If we believe this *oppidum* to have been situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, on the mountain which now bears the citadel of Namur, it was also protected on two sides by those rivers.¹

On the approach of the legions the Aduatuci hastened bravely to meet them, and engaged in skirmishes which did not stop Caesar's works. In a short time a counter-work, twelve feet high and fifteen miles long, and furnished with forts, put a stop to sorties; then the Romans formed an earthwork, made mantlets, and constructed out of reach of arrow-shot a tower of which the upper storey was to overtop the rampart. "On seeing this the besieged laughed and jested on the top of their walls, asking us what we intended doing with such a heavy machine, and how such dwarfs as we could move it. But when they saw it approaching their walls they were terror-struck and consented to deliver up their arms. They threw such quantities of them into the trenches of the place that they were piled up as high as the walls." But they had still retained some: on the following night, thinking to take the Roman camp by surprise, they attacked it. Signal-fires gave the alarm, from all parts men hastened up toward the point attacked;² 4,000 Aduatuci fell at the foot of the intrenchment; all the rest, to the number of 53,000 were sold on the following day to the slave-merchants who followed the army. These descendants of the Cimbri met the same fate as their forefathers.³

During these last fights the young Crassus, who had distinguished

¹ Such is the opinion of the emperor Napoleon III.; two other sites have been proposed; Mount Falhèze, on the left bank of the Meuse, opposite Huy, and Saint Antoine, near Philippeville.

² *Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta.* (*de Bell. Gall.*, ii. 33.)

³ The same remark applies to the Nervii. The Aduatuci remained one of the important nations of Belgium.

himself in the battle against Ariovistus, had been detached with one legion to scour the country between the Seine and the Loire. He had met with no resistance; all the tribes of that region, impressed by the fame of Caesar's victories, and unprepared for war, had resigned themselves to recognize the sovereignty of Rome and to give hostages. This expedition had therefore been a mere military parade.

After the second campaign (57 B.C.) Gaul appeared subdued, and several Germanic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine sent humble deputations to the victor. Caesar left seven legions, however, in winter quarters on the north of the Loire to keep watch over the tribes who had lately seen the Roman arms, but had not felt them; an eighth under Galba received orders to open up military routes between Celtica and Italy across the Great and Lesser Saint Bernard, by which Italian merchants already passed to and fro. As for Caesar, he was about to employ the winter in regulating the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyria, and his third province, Gallia Narbonensis, where the Pyrenees have preserved a souvenir of him in the Vieux-César Spring at Cauterets.¹

IV.—THIRD CAMPAIGN: WAR IN ARMORICA AND AQUITANIA.

Caesar was in Illyria when he learnt that Galba's legion had been attacked by mountaineers and almost destroyed, and that all Armorica had risen. Crassus being in need of corn, had demanded it from the tribes in the neighbourhood of his camps; they had put his envoys, Roman knights, in irons, and had declared that they would only give them up if he in his turn gave hostages. This was a violation of the right of nations, which even these barbarians recognized, and it explains to us the cruelty which the Roman afterward displayed. Those who had just taken this bold step employed the winter in forming a vast confederation which comprised almost all the nations of the coast, from the

¹ Even if all the *Caesar's camps* in Gaul are not camps of Caesar, there is nothing to prevent the belief that the proconsul came to Cauterets, a bathing-place of the Romans, very ancient and highly renowned, either in an interval between his campaigns, or at the end of 51 B.C., after the pacification of Gaul and Aquitania.



Cauterets (from the *Baths of Caesar*).

Loire to the Scheldt; they sought aid even from the island of the Britons. Cæsar was ready for this war, for he had studied beforehand the country and the men whom he would have to fight. His instructions were issued immediately. All the Gallic vessels that could be found were to be seized, others built, rowers levied in Gallia Narbonensis, pilots engaged; then while Decimus Junius Brutus, the adopted son of Postumius Albinus, assembled the fleet at the mouth of the Loire, no doubt at Corbilo (Saint-Nazaire), Crassus would overrun the country to the south of that river as far as the Garonne. Labienus with all the legionary cavalry, which was useless in a maritime war, would scour Belgica to restrain it and stop the Germans, who were said to be inclined to cross the Rhine: finally Titurius Sabinus at the head of three legions would chastise the tribes settled between the mouths of the Seine and the Rance. When his flanks and rear were thus protected, Cæsar himself would attack the Veneti, the most powerful nation of Armorica.

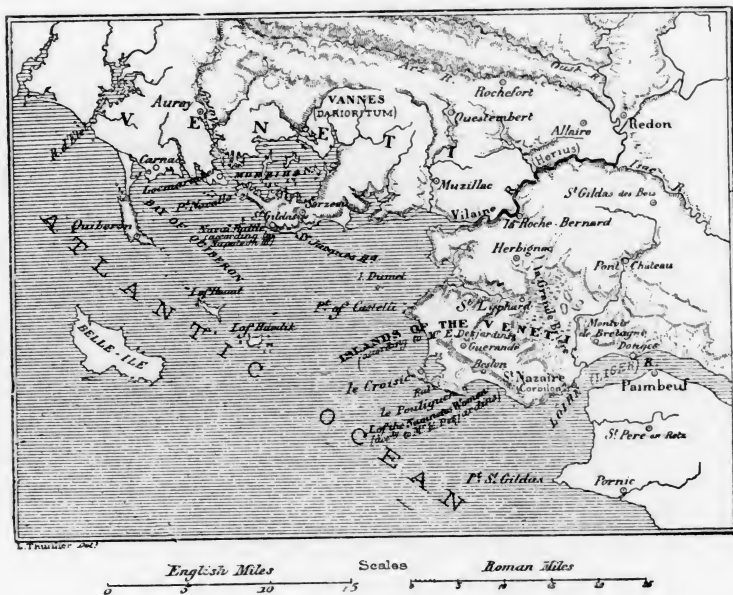


Denarius of Postumius Albinus.

This war must of necessity be a difficult one, owing to the nature of the country, which was intersected by deep bays and rocky peninsulas, and still more to the courage of the inhabitants who defended foot by foot a land bristling with fortresses which the flow of the tide rendered inaccessible to men on foot, the ebb to vessels. "One could not easily besiege them," says Cæsar. "If, after laborious works, we succeeded in keeping out the sea by dykes, and in raising an earth-work to the height of the walls, the besieged when they despaired of success assembled their vessels, carried all their goods on board, and withdrew into other towns where nature offered them the same means of defence. They practised this manœuvre during a great part of the summer, the more easily because our fleet was detained by contrary winds, and moreover found great difficulty in navigating a sea perpetually agitated by high tides.

"The vessels of the Veneti were built and armed in such a way as to contend against all the obstacles offered by these seas. They have flatter bottoms than ours, accordingly they dread shoals less. Their prows are much raised, and the hull of the vessel, being wholly made of oak, can support the roughest shock of the

waves. Beams of a foot square may be seen in them, fastened with iron nails an inch thick. The anchors are held, not by ropes, but by iron chains; instead of linen cloth, as in our vessels, they have prepared skins for sails, thinking that they will better resist the boisterous winds of the ocean. In action our only advantage was to surpass them in agility. Our rams could not break through these solid masses, and the height of their bulwark above the water



Map for the War against the Veneti.¹

sheltered them from our arrows. Did the wind rise they abandoned themselves to the tempest, and ran without danger over shoals on which our galleys, drawing more water, would have been dashed to pieces."

When the Roman fleet appeared the Veneti advanced to meet them with 220 ships furnished by themselves or their allies. At

¹ According to Napoleon III., *Hist. de César*, vol. iii. pl. 15. The emperor places the encounter between the two fleets in the Bay of Quiberon, off Saint-Gildas, in the direction of the mouth of the river Auray; M. E. Desjardins puts it amid the ancient islands of the Loire, which are now connected with the continent.

first the Romans were perplexed, and suffered loss. But their military instinct led them to discover a new engine and a new line of tactics against the Veneti, as they had done against the Carthaginians at Mylæ. They conceived the idea of fixing very sharp scythes on the ends of long poles, with which they succeeded in cutting the ropes that bound the yards to the masts. The yards fell, the vessel remained motionless; two or three galleys then surrounded it, and the legionaries climbed up and boarded it. The Gauls lost some of their ships in this manner, and terrified at the manœuvre they were about to seek safety in flight when suddenly the wind fell. They had no oars and could not make up for the want of the sails. Their vessels were taken one after another; very few of them regained the land under cover of night. This fight, which lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till sunset, is the first known to history as having taken place upon the Atlantic. The Veneti had lost the flower of their nation, and asked for peace; the terms were severe, all their senate perished by the sword, the remainder of the population, or at least so many as were captured, were sold. This valiant nation deserved that the country they had so well defended should have retained their name.

Cæsar made war according to his nature, which was kind, but also according to ancient customs, which were cruel, so that he appears merciful to some, inexorable towards others. The Veneti, who, like the Aduatuci, had been attacked in defiance of all right, had avenged themselves by perfidy; their chastisement was similar. But two brave nations perished for having defended their independence against an empire which they never threatened and whose name had scarcely reached them!

During these operations Viridovix, king of the Unelli (Cotentin), had stirred up the Aulerci-Eburovices (Évreux) and the Lexovii (district of Auge and Lieuvain), who, as a pledge of their good faith, massacred their senates which belonged to the peace party; in a short time he assembled a numerous army against Sabinus. The legate had chosen the site of his camp with the usual ability

¹ The emperor places the camp of Sabinus at Petit-Celland, between the Sée and the road from Mortain to Avranches. But Cæsar's text is too brief in geographical details to authorize any localization.

of the Romans;¹ he there kept himself shut in and affected fear. One day a deserter came and told the Gauls that Cæsar, hemmed in by the Veneti, had called Sabinus to his aid, and that on the following night the legions were to set forth. It was feared

Viridovix.¹

they would escape; Viridovix was forced to order the attack, and the whole army hastened to the camp, bearing faggots and brushwood with which to fill up the trench. The deserter was a Roman agent. Foreseeing this attack Sabinus kept his legions behind the ramparts, armed and ready. They fell upon the assailants and at the first shock overthrew them. A great number perished; the cavalry slew the fugitives, and the Gauls, "as prompt in throwing down their arms as in taking them up, through lack of constancy in reverses," yielded themselves to the legate's discretion.

On the south Crassus had received into the Roman alliance the Pictones and the Santones, who were jealous of the maritime superiority of the Veneti, and he had penetrated as far as the Garonne without meeting any obstacle, crossed that river, and taken

Coin of Adietuanus.²

the principal town of the Sotiates, Sos (to the north of Eauze). As he penetrated deeper into the country Crassus found more formidable adversaries. Fifty thousand men led by Spanish officers trained in the school of Sertorius opposed him, not with the thoughtless impetuosity of barbarians, but with tactics wholly Roman; cavalry scouting to discover the enemy's movements, a strongly fortified camp, and behind these intrenchments a large army which refused to quit them, in order to induce the Romans to attack them there, but which sent numerous detachments to harass the march of the twelve cohorts of Crassus and cut off his convoys. He would fain have induced them to fight in the open country, but not succeeding in that, he directed against their camp an attack which would have failed had not four of his cohorts,

¹ Head with helmet, with the name of Viridovix shortened. On the reverse, a lion; above, a star. (De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, No. 32.)

² Barbarian head; REX ADLETVANVS. On the reverse, SOTIOTA, and a she-wolf. Those whom we name the Sotiates called themselves Sotiotes. (De Saulcy, *op. cit.*, No. 33.)

arriving by a long circuit upon the ill-fortified rear of the position, entered it unexpectedly.

By these carefully combined operations Armorica had been subdued, almost the whole of Aquitania brought into subjection, and in Belgica not a man had stirred. Only the Morini and the Menapii had not sent deputies to the proconsul to promise him peace; Cæsar went in search of them into the depths of their forests and marshes, but without being able to reach them. From the Pyrenees to the North Sea, Gaul had that year been scoured by the victorious legions.

During these three campaigns Cæsar had effected another conquest, that of his army, who, seeing him unsparing of his own labour on the march and in fight, had become devoted to a leader who was always fortunate and whose rule was at once firm and kind. Severe in respect of discipline, very exacting about exercises and the works [of encampment], he demanded nothing useless and shut his eyes to small faults. But not a trait of bravery escaped him; they were forthwith rewarded by public praise, rich armour, and gold. He loved magnificence in his soldiers' arms, in their dress, and he encouraged their pleasures. "What does it matter if they perfume themselves," said he, "provided they fight well."¹

At their head, beside experienced veterans, he placed young nobles who were desirous of serving so near Italy under a general who by every courier sent to Rome tidings of some victory, and whose tent, when in winter quarters or between two expeditions, resembled some sumptuous villa of the *via Latina* in the luxuriousness of its furniture² and its feasts. There they found the whole of Roman life—the elegance of the host, which excelled that of his guests, the conversations, by turns witty and serious, dwelling upon some literary question,³ or concerning letters that morning arrived from the city, with verses of Catullus and the adventures of his Lesbia, the famous Clodia. This brilliant youth, to which Cæsar offered all that youth seeks, glory and pleasure,

¹ Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 67.

² *In expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse.* (*Id. ibid.*, 46.) He always had two tables, one for his officers, the other for Roman magistrates and distinguished provincials. (*Id. ibid.*, 48.)

³ In Gaul, Cæsar composed his *Commentaries*, which we still possess, and a treatise on *Analogy*, which is lost. [He is said to have first used the term *ablative case* in grammar.—*Ed.*]

in turn related to their friends, who remained beneath the shades of Tivoli, the marvellous marches, the expeditions into unknown countries, the victories by land and sea which put an end to the greatest terror of the Republic.

Cicero was the resounding echo of these Gallic wonders. Against the hatred of Clodius, the coldness of Pompey, the indifference of the nobles, he had felt the need of supporting himself by Caesar, and he had behaved with the ardour "of the traveller who, having risen too late, must redouble his speed in order to arrive before the rest."¹ "What marvellous events!" cried he. "It has been the opinion of the wise, since the beginning of our empire, that the Gauls were our most terrible enemies. Instead of challenging them our generals thought they did enough for our glory in repulsing their attacks. This formidable war Caesar has carried into the heart of Gaul, these nations whose names had never reached us he has reduced to submission. We had only a foot-path in Gaul, now the boundaries of these tribes are the frontiers of our dominion. It was not without some favour of the gods that nature had given Italy the Alps for a rampart. These mountains may now subside; from the Alps to the ocean there is no longer aught for Italy to dread."²

V.—FOURTH CAMPAIGN: EXPEDITIONS INTO GERMANY AND BRITAIN (55 B.C.).

All was not yet over, as Cicero thought. "In the winter which followed, the Usipetes and the Tencteri crossed the Rhine not far from the spot where it passes into the sea. The cause of this migration was that the Suevi had for many years waged a bloody war upon them, which hindered them from cultivating their fields. The Suevi are the most powerful and warlike nation in all Germany. It is said that they form 100 cantons, from each of which they send forth every year 1,000 armed men, who carry war into other lands. Those who remain in the country cultivate it for themselves and for the absent, and they in their turn take arms in the following year, while the others stay in their homes.

¹ *Ad Quintum*, ii. 15.

² *De provinciis consularibus*, 13 and 14.

Thus neither agriculture nor the custom of warfare are interrupted. But none of them possesses land of his own or can remain in the same place more than one year. They consume little wheat, and live for the most part upon the produce of the chase, on milk and the flesh of their flocks. This kind of life, their daily exercise, and the liberty which they enjoy from infancy make them robust men of gigantic stature. In spite of the rigour of their climate they bathe in their rivers all the year round.

"To the merchants who penetrated into their country they sell what they have taken in war, and they buy nothing of them, not even those horses which the Gauls love so much. Those of the Germans are ugly but by exercising them every day they render them incapable of fatigue. In cavalry engagements they often spring to the ground and fight on foot, and as the horses are trained to stand, they promptly remount if the occasion demands it. To use a saddle seems to them a shameful effeminacy, and whatever their number may be, they do not fear to attack large bodies of cavalry.

"On the west they adjoin the Ubii, formerly a flourishing nation, so far as this can be said of Germans, and more civilized, because, as they border on the Rhine, they have frequent relations with the merchants and the Gauls. The Suevi have often attacked them without being able to deprive them of their territories, but they have made them tributary and reduced them to a state of great weakness.

"The Usipetes and the Tencteri were also exposed to the attack of the Suevi. After having long resisted them, and being at length driven from their domain, they wandered for three years through several cantons of Germany and arrived near the Rhine, in the country inhabited by the Menapii, who possessed fields, houses, and towns on both sides of the river. Frightened at the approach of such a multitude, the Menapii abandoned the right bank and entrenched themselves upon the left to oppose the passage of the Germans. The latter attempted to force their way across the river, then to cross it by stealth; not being successful in this they pretended to go back into their own country, but returning at the end of three days they suddenly attacked the Menapii and took their boats, with which they crossed the Rhine."

At the report of this invasion, which recalled that of the Helvetii, Caesar hastily recrossed the Alps, in spite of the snow, and called together the principal men of Gaul, some of whom were in communication with the enemy; he flattered them and obtained some cavalry; then he marched towards the Rhine with all his forces. The Germans sent deputies to him, who renewed the demands of the Teutones to Marius; "Give us lands and we will give you our friendship." Caesar, who from the very first had posed as the protector of Gaul against German invasions, could not accept these conditions. He granted them a truce of three days, but on the very next day they broke it by surprising the Gallic horse, who lost seventy-four men. In this fight there perished an Aquitanian, whose grandfather had been the chief of his nation, and to whom the senate had decreed the title of Friend of the Roman People; his brother, in attempting to save him, fell with him. Caesar forthwith advanced in order of battle; the intimidated barbarians sent him their chiefs and old men to justify the attack of the previous day. The consul, thinking himself authorized by their treachery, had them arrested and then delivered the attack; the horde, penned in upon the tongue of land at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, perished almost to a man. According to Caesar, who, like Sylla, often exaggerates the number of his enemies and diminishes that of his own losses, they amounted, men, women, and children, to 430,000 souls. Cato wished to give up the perjured general to the Germans; the senate voted fresh thanksgivings to the gods.

The chiefs arrested before the battle were released. But whither were they to go? Their nation no longer existed, and the Gauls would have nothing but contempt for the vanquished; they asked to remain in the Roman camp.

Caesar, however, dreaded this unforeseen aid which reached the Gauls from the neighbouring countries. In the preceding year the Armoricans had received soldiers and ships from Britain, and now the invasion of the Usipetes had reawakened the hopes of all the lately conquered nations. He saw that in order to avoid being disturbed in his conquest he must isolate Gaul from Britain and Germany, break off the relations between the island and the continent, and carry the terror of the name of Rome on to the

right bank of the Rhine. In ten days, with that wonderful activity which has only been equalled by one other general, Bonaparte, he built a bridge upon piles across the Rhine (near Bonn?);¹ then he crossed the river and terrified the neighbouring tribes, without however, engaging in any serious battles. The Suevi, at the mere report of his enterprise, had plunged into their forests. After passing eighteen days in Germany, as the season was advancing and he was desirous of making a descent upon



Bridge over the Rhine (Museum of Saint-Germain).

Britain in that same year, he withdrew his legions across the Rhine, broke down the bridge, and reached the country of the Morini, upon the straits (Boulonnais).

This expedition had not added one foot of land to the dominion of the Republic, but Caesar had carried it out less for Rome than for Gaul. His end was gained, for he had led his Gallic auxiliaries to forage in their turn in the country of the Suevi. And then,

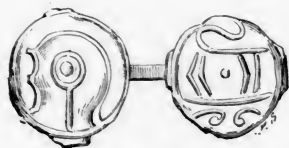
¹ Caesar has left us a description of it; "Two beams of a foot and a half square (the Roman foot was 11·6496 inches), were fastened together at a distance of two feet, with their ends sharpened to a point, and proportionate in length to the various depths of the river. They were arranged and fixed in the beds of the channel with the help of machines; they were driven into it with the rammer, not vertically, like piles, but in an oblique direction: those above were inclined in the direction of the current, but opposite them, lower down stream than

even on the banks of the Tiber, what acclamations at the news that the mysterious and dreaded river had borne a Roman bridge and seen the standards of the legions pass over it!

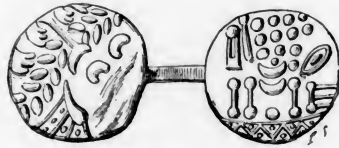
Cæsar proposed to give the Romans another subject for astonishment and pride by a campaign carried "to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Britain, inhabited by the same nations as Gaul, kept up frequent relations with the latter. There the sanctuary of the Druids was situated, on the island of Mona, whither pious pilgrimages brought from the continent those who desired to attain the utmost degrees of knowledge and religious initiation.

* Friendly relations with these tribes must afford security for the



Coin of the Britons (of Tin).¹



Coin of the Britons (of Silver).

Roman sway in Gaul. Accordingly, Cæsar had long sought to open negotiations with the Britons, who seemed inclined to enter into them, and had sent proposals of peace to him in Gaul. But as the king of the Atrebatæ, whom he had commissioned to go to the island to settle the conditions, had been put in irons, it was important for Cæsar to avenge the insult, which would have weakened his authority among the Gallic tribes had it remained unpunished, and

the former and forty feet distant, two others were driven in, coupled in the same way and inclined in the contrary direction, as if to resist the force of the water. On each of these inclined piles, in the space between the four beams, that is, between the two pairs of piles, were lodged great beams two feet square. The two pairs were connected on each side, starting from the upper extremity, by two braces or girders, so that the piles were thus kept facing one another, and formed such a solid whole, that the force of the water, far from shaking it, only pressed all the parts more closely together. When they had been fixed across the entire breadth of the river, rafters were placed on the cross-beams, and the flooring of the bridge was formed with hurdles and faggots. Finally, there were driven in obliquely, below the construction, stakes fastened to all the timber work, and serving to support it by resisting the force of the current. Others had been placed higher up stream to break the shock of the tree-trunks which the barbarians might have taken it into their heads to throw into the river in order to destroy the works." (*de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 17.)

¹ On the obverse, what is meant for a head: on the reverse, what is meant for a horse [?].

the new campaign was decided upon.¹ He sent Volusenus, one of his officers, in a galley to reconnoitre the British coast. That officer either dared not or could not effect a landing, and returned at the end of five days. Upon the information he brought, Cæsar set forth on the night between the 24th and 25th of August with two legions, embarked on eighty transport vessels and a few galleys which he had assembled at Wissant or in the Liane.² They had but little baggage; he himself took with him only three servants. The following morning they were in sight of the cliffs of Dover, the summits of which were lined with Britons, who had had been warned by their Gallic friends. It was impossible to land at this spot, commanded as it was by the heights that the enemy occupied; he lay at anchor till the turn of the tide, and then went northward with it, till, at the end of the cliffs, he came upon the beach of Deal. The Britons, who from the coast followed every movement of the fleet, had already hastened thither. Accordingly, notwithstanding the protection afforded by the machines which from the higher parts of the vessels sent forth a shower of arrows, the work of landing was difficult. The standard-bearer of the fourth legion leapt into the sea to encourage his comrades, and a combat took place amid the waves. When the legionaries had attained dry land a furious charge dispersed the barbarians.

Cæsar relates that one of his soldiers, Cæsius Scaeva, with four other legionaries, had from their boat reached a rock on a level with the water and surrounded by the sea, and thence they shot arrows at the enemy, every one of which found its mark. When the ebb rendered the space between this rock and the land fordable the four legionaries regained their boat, into which Scaeva refused to go. The Britons at once hastened up; he killed several of them and stopped the others, till his thigh was pierced by an arrow, his face almost crushed in by

¹ Britain was not as barbarous as Cæsar represents it; the southern tribes, who seemed to have been of Belgic origin, were sufficiently civilized to have high roads and to coin money 150 years before Christ. (Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 31.) A very active commerce existed between Britain and Gaul, as Cæsar himself bears witness.

² *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne), at the mouth of the Liane, was the port of the Romans for Britain under the emperors, and it was probably Cæsar's, too, but there are also reasons for placing the *Itius Portus* at Wissant. The emperor Napoleon III. was in favour of Boulogne; M. de Sauley still holds to Wissant.

a stone, and his shield broken. In this state he threw himself into the sea and swam off to his vessel. When they congratulated him upon his courage, his sole preoccupation was the thought of having lost his shield, and he excused himself to his general for the loss. Caesar made him a centurion on the spot.

The boldness of the Britons was subdued; they asked to enter into negotiations, gave hostages, and hastened in crowds to the camp, curious to examine the war-machines and arms which had caused them such terror.

It was then the time of the full moon and near the equinox, that is to say, the period of the highest tides in the Ocean. A violent tempest aggravating the tide dispersed the squadron which was bringing Caesar his cavalry, and dashed his freight-ships to pieces against the rocks on the coast. This disaster restored courage to the islanders; they assailed a legion as it was foraging, and soon the camp itself; but they were roughly received, and a sortie dispersed them. Caesar took advantage of their disheartened state to assume the tone of a master, required double the number of hostages he had at first demanded, and hastily regained the continent in his half-repaired ships.¹ "They disappeared," says an ancient chronicler, "as the snow on the sea-shore disappears at the touch of the south wind."

VI.—FIFTH AND SIXTH CAMPAIGN: SECOND DESCENT UPON BRITAIN;
REVOLT OF NORTHERN GAUL (54—53).

This retreat was too like a flight for Caesar, who had just had his command prolonged for five years. The preparations for renewing the expedition were vigorously pushed on during the winter. He had left precise orders for the building of ships upon a new model—less high in the freeboard, in order that oars might be easily adapted without interfering with the sails, broader in the beam on account of the baggage and horses they would have to carry. All that was necessary for the naval armament came from

¹ Three hundred soldiers, who could not reach the *Itius Portus* with the remainder of the army, landed lower down, and regained the camp by land, though they were attacked by 6,000 Morini. Drawn up in square they repulsed all attacks for four hours, till the cavalry, which had been sent to meet them, came to the rescue.

Spain. While the soldiers were carrying on these labours he himself held his assizes in Gallia Cisalpina, and went into the heart of Illyria to quiet the disturbances which threatened to bring on a war in that quarter. In the spring he returned to the shores of the Channel, reviewed the army,¹ and inspected the magazines and the fleet; the latter was composed of 600 vessels and 200 smaller boats. All was ready for embarkation, but disquieting movements took place among the Treviri, who had not sent their deputies to the assembly of the Gauls. A patriot named Indutiomarus, who disputed the power with Cingetorix, the partisan of the Romans, was the moving spirit of the projected insurrection.² Caesar hastened to this tribe by forced marches, taking with him four legions without baggage, and Indutiomarus, intimidated, came forth from the impenetrable retreats of the forest of Ardennes, where he had at first taken refuge, and delivered to the proconsul 200 hostages, among whom were his son and his nearest relatives.

This affair ended, Caesar returned to *Itius Portus*, where were assembled his eight legions and 4,000 Spanish and Gallic horse; he selected five legions and 2,000 horse to follow him to Britain, and left the remainder with Labienus, who was to guard the port, supply provisions, and keep watch over Gaul. Among the Gauls whom he wished to accompany him was Dumnorix, a restless character, who had played a part in the migration of the Helvetii, and had only then been spared at the entreaties of his brother Divitiacus. He refused to set forth under the pretext that he was unable to bear the passage, and that his religion forbade him to cross the sea; but in secret meetings he told the chiefs that they were being led to the island in order to be put to death there. Amid the confusion of embarking he escaped from the camp with the Æduan cavalry. Caesar had his eye on him; he immediately suspended the embarkation, fearing lest this flight should be the signal for a general revolt, and sent all his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Dumnorix attempted to resist; he cried; "I am free and

¹ According to Strabo (ii. 160) the principal arsenal was at the mouth of the Seine, and as at the time of the Boulogne expedition, under Napoleon I., *pinnaces* (péniches) were built by the dwellers on the banks of the river.

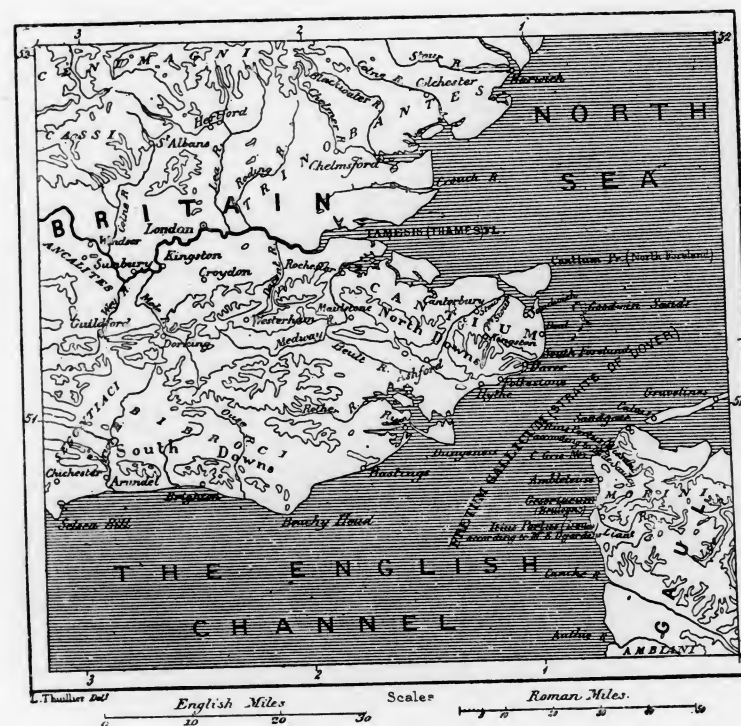
² The very Gallic names of these two chiefs prove that the Treviri were not Germans, or that the Gallic element was predominant among them.

a member of a free nation!" He was surrounded and cut down.

The army landed in Britain on the same spot as on the first occasion, and encountered the enemy in a difficult position, behind a small river and under the shelter of a deep forest, the entrances to which were protected by great trunks of trees. The soldiers formed a *testudo* and easily carried these roughly-made ramparts; Cæsar did not deem it prudent however, to pursue the Britons into the depths of the woods. The success of this first affair promised a speedy issue to the expedition, when horsemen riding up at full gallop announced to the proconsul that a part of his fleet had again been destroyed by a storm. He retraced his steps, sent to Labienus for workmen and fresh ships; then, with his fleet repaired and hauled up high and dry in his camp, he returned in search of the barbarians. Thanks to this delay their numbers had strangely increased; Cassivellaun, one of their powerful chiefs, was in command. Their manner of fighting in scattered groups and in swift chariots, whence they sprang down to despatch a wounded enemy, at first fatigued the legions. But they soon grew accustomed to this style of attack, and sought to bring about a general action, which the Britons refused. In the hopes of bringing them to an engagement Cæsar marched towards the Thames, on which the territories of Cassivellaun were situated. That chief attempted to dispute the passage of the river, and drew up his troops in good order on the opposite bank. But the Roman infantry forced their way across, probably near Windsor, where the Thames is only a narrow river, and Cassivellaun again resumed the war of surprises and rapid incursions, which threatened to famish or to ruin the legions in detail.

Fortunately, these barbarians, who were often at war with one another, had not banded together in the presence of a common enemy, and in the Roman camp there were traitors to the national cause. A young chieftain of the tribe of the Trinobantes had come to Gaul to entreat Cæsar to avenge him on Cassivellaun, who had slain his father. He had served as guide to the army, had pointed out the fords over the river, the spot where, in the midst of woods and marshes (near St. Albans), stood the *oppidum* which held the wealth of Cassivellaun; thither Cæsar led his

legions, who seized upon it. These repeated checks, a vain attempt of the confederates upon the camp which held the Roman fleet, and the defection of several tribes, decided Cassivellaun to enter into negotiations. The Britons gave hostages, and promised an annual tribute, and the proconsul, who wanted nothing more, returned to the continent.



Map for the Expeditions into Britain.

He can only have brought back a meagre amount of spoil from the island;¹ but he had pointed out the road which others were to follow. His sword had opened up to the action or influence of Rome three great countries—France, England, and

¹ Pliny mentions however a cuirass ornamented with pearls, which he consecrated to Venus.

Germany, and it was his pen which gave the first description of them.

In his first campaign Cæsar had forced back the Helvetii upon the country which they desired to leave, and had driven the Suevi beyond the Rhine, that is to say he had subdued the east of Gaul; in the second the north had been conquered; in the third the west; in the fourth he had shown the Gauls, by his two expeditions into Britain and Germany, that they could expect nothing from their neighbours; and in the fifth he had just renewed the lesson by bearing his victorious eagles into Britain again. The Gallic war was therefore looked upon as over; but it had scarcely begun.

Hitherto a few tribes had fought separately; but all now knew that the pretexts which the Romans had employed to establish themselves in the heart of their country concealed a design for enslaving it. Carrying across the Alps the policy followed by the senate in all their conquests, the chief of the popular



Coin of Tasget.¹



Coin of Cavarin.³

party at Rome had overthrown the democratic forms of government throughout the whole of Gaul, wherever he had been able to do so. Threatened by the popular classes, the aristocracy had sought support against them from Cæsar, who bestowed upon the most influential among them the Roman citizenship and his own name,² rank in the auxiliary troops, and favour in the distribution of booty. He showed them great deference and offered them enticements which charmed them; he invited them to his table and his festivals,⁴ he favoured the elevation of the more ambitious, who afterwards delivered into his hands the independence of their cities; as did Tasget among the Carnutes, Comm among the Atrebates, Cavarin among the Senones, and Cingetorix among the Treviri. Dumnorix the Æduan had also boasted that Cæsar had promised to make him a king,

¹ Head of Apollo with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, TASCITIOS; a flying Pegasus. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 16.)

² Hence the great number of Julian families in Gaul.

³ Horse galloping. On the reverse, a branch. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 36.)

⁴ Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 48.

and for six years the aristocracy of the Arverni restrained their people from taking part in the war of independence. Wherever a popular form of government existed, Cæsar had formed a Roman party who overruled the assembly and the senate, impeded their action and betrayed their plans.

Another means of influence which he had cleverly used was the holding of the States-General of Gaul, an annual meeting of deputies from all the tribes.¹ There it was that by the charm of his manners and the influence of his glory he won over the men who appeared to be freely deliberating with him about the interests of the country, but who in reality were only obeying his injunctions and legalising his demands for provisions, subsidies, and auxiliaries.

It was not so with the multitude; each defeat augmented the number of patriots, because each victory of Cæsar increased the insolence and exactions of the Roman agents. For the latter, Gaul was a virgin soil upon which they swooped down like birds of prey, and the general himself set the example.² Cæsar soon saw, however, the hatred which was slowly gathering in the depths of men's hearts; we have seen how, on his last expedition to Britain, he had taken with him those whom he mistrusted, and that Dumnorix, an Æduan nobleman, refusing to follow him, had been slain. This man was one of the chiefs of the tribe which had opened Gaul to the legions, and brother to Divitiacus, Cæsar's friend. His death showed any who might still be in doubt about it that the proconsul would crush all who refused to further his designs.

As Cæsar returned from Britain victorious, Gaul remained tranquil. This deceptive calm and the apparent resignation of the Gallic deputies at the States-General, which he held at *Samarobriæ* (Amiens), in the territory of the Ambiani, led him to think that the danger was still distant. To guard against the dearth of provisions, which had been rendered scarce by the great heat, he dispersed his eight legions over a space of more than a hundred leagues: one among the Essuvii (Sécz), between the Carnutes

¹ The Galatæ of Asia Minor had retained a similar council of 300 *principes* in conjunction with the tetrarchs. (Strabo, xii. 567.)

² *Fana templaque deum donis referta expilarit, urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædæ quam ob delictum.* (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 54.)

(Chartres) and the Armoricans, four among the Treviri (Trèves), the Eburones (Liège), the Nervii, (Hainault), and the Morini (Boulogne), and three in the centre between the Oise and the Seine.

A vast conspiracy was preparing, however, the rising of all the tribes upon whom the continual presence of the legions made the foreign rule press with its whole weight. A chief of the Eburones, named Ambiorix, and Indutiomarus of the Treviri, were the moving spirits in it. They were to take up arms as soon as Cæsar was on the way to Italy, drive out his partisans—for every city had its Roman party—call in the Germans, attack the legions in their quarters, and rigorously sever communications between them. The secret was well kept, but the insurrection broke out too soon among the Carnutes. They overthrew Tasget, the agent whom the Roman had imposed upon them as king, and after a public sentence put him to death. This revealed the danger to Cæsar; he remained in Gaul. Ambiorix who thought he was already beyond the Alps, led his whole tribe to attack the camp of Sabinus and Cotta at *Aduatuca*, (Tongres); but he was repulsed. Wily as an Indian chief, he stopped the fight, demanded a conference, and feigned the most friendly sentiments towards the Romans. "I owe Cæsar gratitude," said he: "he freed my nation from the tribute which we paid to the Aduatuci; he restored to me my son and my brother's son who were kept in chains at Aduatuca as hostages. It is therefore against my wish that we fight. But this very day there breaks out a long premeditated and general plot." Then he pointed out to Sabinus that the whole of Gaul was in arms, that the Germans were engaged in crossing the Rhine, and that his only means of safety lay in a prompt retreat upon the camp of Q. Cicero in the country of the Nervii.

Sabinus had a legion of newly-raised recruits, and doubtless he had little confidence in them; he allowed himself to be persuaded, and in spite of Cotta, issued from his entrenchments. The Eburones, in ambush, attacked him upon all sides and threw his troops into the greatest confusion. A portion of the legion was already destroyed when Sabinus sent to demand a new conference with the Gallic leader, who granted it. The lieutenant, tribunes, and centurions, came thither with their arms: he ordered

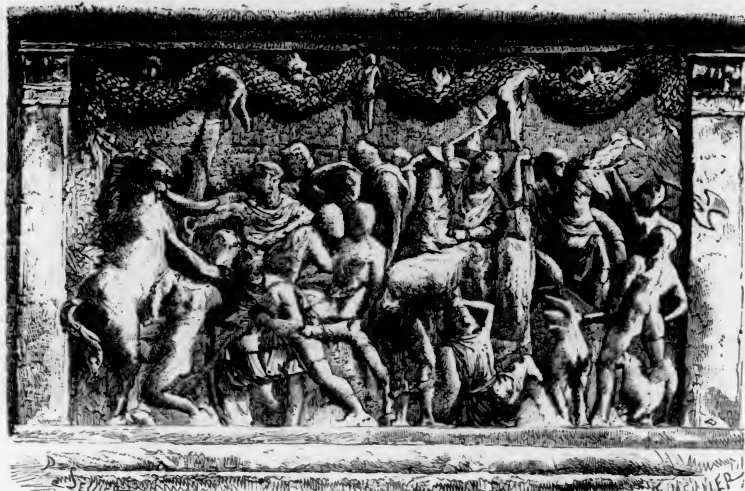
them to lay them down, and they obeyed. The conditions of the treaty were discussed, but Ambiorix prolonged the conversation for some time; when he saw that his Gauls had surrounded the troop of Sabinus, he gave the signal and they slew them. The rest of the Roman army perished fighting, a few soldiers escaped with difficulty.

Cæsar thought he had slain or sold every man among the Aduatuci and the Nervii. There were still enough of them to form, in conjunction with their former clients and the Eburones, an army of 50,000 men. Ambiorix led them up to the entrenchments of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the great orator. They tried to draw him, like Sabinus, out of his camp; they told him that the whole of Gaul had risen, that Cæsar and his lieutenants were besieged, that the Germans were already upon the left bank of the Rhine, and that the troops of Sabinus had been exterminated. It would be a dangerous illusion, said they, to expect succour from the other legions, who were themselves in a desperate situation. Moreover they had no ill-will against Cicero; they only asked that he should quit the winter-quarters which the army had made a custom of occupying; and he should have every security in retiring by whatever road he chose. Cicero replied: "The Roman people are not in the habit of accepting conditions from an enemy. Let them lay down their arms and send deputies to Cæsar, he would intercede for them, and would doubtless obtain from his justice what they sought." The reply was a proud one; his acts answered to his words, and whereas Sabinus had perished with all his men by yielding, Q. Cicero by his firmness saved Cæsar, his legion, and himself.

His camp must be taken by force; the Nervii surrounded it with a rampart eleven feet high and a trench fifteen feet deep and 15,000 paces in circuit. To dig this they had neither instruments nor tools; they cut the turf with their swords and carried the earth in their *saga*. And Cæsar asserts, unless there be some error in the text, that this immense work was executed in three hours. His engineering lessons had indeed been of great profit to the Gauls.

On the seventh day, as a violent wind had arisen, they threw over the entrenchments red-hot balls of clay and flaming javelins. The huts of the soldiers, which were covered with straw in the

Gallic manner, were soon in flames. At the same time the Nervii



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.¹

with great shouts rolled their towers to the foot of the rampart



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.

and formed a *testudo* to attempt an escalade. But not a soldier

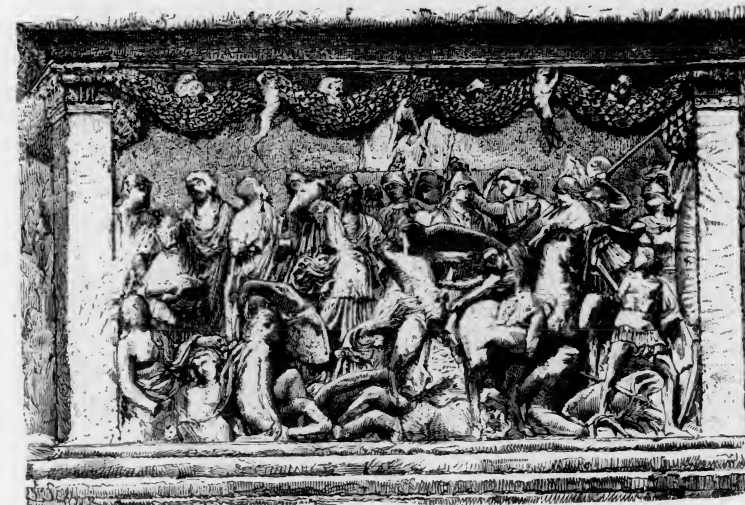
¹ The monument engraved on p. 175, from which the bas-reliefs here given are copied,

had quitted the parapet to snatch any part of his baggage from the



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.

fire; the foe was stopped and driven back. At the same time,



Bas-relief from the Monument of the Julii: Episode in the Gallic War.

Indutiomarus, among the Treviri, overthrew his rival Cingetorix, is a tomb of a Gaul whom Caesar had made a Roman citizen, and of his wife, set up by their

raised the tribe in revolt and threatened the camp of Labienus. The thirteenth legion, among the Essuvii, also saw that the Armorican cities were becoming restless, and among the Senones, Acco drove out Cavarin the friend of the Romans. On the north and east of the Loire the movement was general.

The Ædui and the Remi alone remained faithful, or, as the Gauls said, were the only traitors to the national cause.

In spite of his vigilance Caesar knew nothing. One of his legions had been destroyed twelve days before; Q. Cicero had been besieged for a week, and yet the concerted action had been so well arranged that no news of the disaster, which was already circulating among the nations of Gaul, had reached him: not a messenger had succeeded in arriving at head-quarters at Samarobriva. A Gallic slave however passed through, and apprised the proconsul of the extremity to which his lieutenant was reduced. Caesar had at hand only two incomplete legions, scarcely seven thousand men, and the besiegers numbered 60,000; nevertheless he at once hastened forward. He had induced a Gallic horseman to take charge of a despatch written to Cicero in Greek, that the besiegers might not understand it if it fell into their hands. He had enjoined him, in case he could not penetrate to the lieutenant, to fasten the letter to his javelin and throw it into the camp. The shaft remained fixed in a tower for two days without being noticed; when it was at length brought to Cicero, who read to his troops Caesar's three words: "Courage, help approaches."

The burning of their dwellings announced to the Nervii the general's approach; they advanced to meet him, and he feigning terror hid himself in a camp, the boundary of which he purposely made smaller than usual, and walled up the gates with clods of turf. Emboldened by these signs of fear, the barbarians advanced without order and on disadvantageous ground; a vigorous sortie dispersed them, and the victors easily reached the camp of Cicero, where not one soldier in ten was without some wound.¹

three sons. The bas-reliefs represent battles in which this Gaul had probably taken part: unfortunately they are very much mutilated. The Museum of Saint-Germain possesses casts of them. The archaic orthography of the inscription cannot be later than the early years of the reign of Augustus. St. Remy possesses another monument called a triumphal arch, but which was no doubt only one of the town gates of Glanum.

¹ Napoleon says, in his *Précis des guerres de César*: "The arms of our soldiers have as



Arch and Mausoleum of the Julii at Saint-Rémy (Glanum).

Cæsar had reached Cicero's camp after three o'clock in the afternoon; before midnight the acclamations of the Remi announced to Labienus, who was sixty miles away (fifty-five English miles), Cæsar's victory and the end of the danger. The report of this double success put a stop in fact to all actual movements. But the whole of Gaul was agitated; the tribes exchanged secret embassies; the Carnutes had slain their king, a friend of the Romans; the Senones had condemned Cavarinus, whom Cæsar had set over them, to death, and the Treviri were pressing

much strength and vigour as those of the ancient Romans; our pioneers' tools are the same; we have a new agent, gunpowder. We can therefore raise ramparts, dig ditches, cut down woods and build towers in as short a time and as well as they could, but the weapons of offence of the moderns have a very different power and act in a very different manner to those of the ancients.

"The Romans owe their constant success to the method, from which they never departed, of camping every night in a fortified camp, of never giving battle without having in their rear an entrenched camp to serve as a retreat and to hold their stores, their baggage, and their wounded. The nature of weapons in that age was such that in these camps they were not only sheltered from the assaults of an army equal in strength, but even of one superior. They were in a position to fight or to wait for a favourable opportunity. . . .

"Why has so wise a rule been abandoned by modern generals? Because weapons of offence have undergone a change in their nature; hand-weapons were the chief arms of the ancients; with his short sword the legionary conquered the world; with the Macedonian spear Alexander subdued Asia. The principal arm of modern armies is the projectile, the gun, which is superior to any that man has ever invented; no defensive arm can ward off its effects. . . .

"The principal weapon of the ancients being the sword or the spear, their usual formation was in deep order. The legion, or phalanx, in whatsoever situation it might be attacked, in front or on the right or left flank, faced about in any direction without disadvantage; it could camp on spaces of small extent, in order to have less trouble in fortifying them all round. . . . The soldiers, by each working at most thirty minutes, fortified the camp and placed it beyond reach of assault.

"The principal weapon of the moderns being the projectile, their usual order is necessarily the open one.

"If the Romans were almost constantly beaten by the Parthians, it was because the Parthians were all armed with a projectile superior to that of the Roman army, so that the shields of the legions could not ward it off. The legions, armed with their short swords, fell beneath a shower of arrows to which they could oppose nothing, since they were only armed with javelins (or *pilum*). . . .

"A consular army shut up in its camp and attacked by a modern army of equal strength would be driven out of it without an assault and without coming to a hand-to-hand fight, for its camp would be the receptacle of every shot, every bullet, every cannon-ball; fire, destruction, and death would open the gates and overthrow the entrenchments. . . . Fire from a centre to a circumference is nothing, but fire from a circumference to a centre is irresistible.

"These considerations have decided modern generals to renounce the system of entrenched camps, and to supply their place by natural positions carefully chosen.

"A Roman camp was independent of localities; anywhere was good for armies whose strength lay in hand-weapons: neither quick perception nor military genius were needed to camp well; whereas the choice of positions, the manner of occupying them and of disposing the various arms, taking advantage of the circumstances of the ground, is an art in which part of the genius of a modern leader consists."

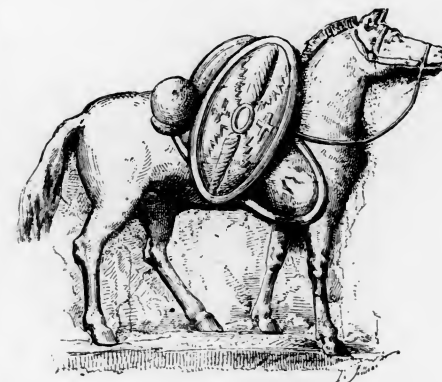
the Germans to hasten their coming. The proconsul deemed it prudent to pass that winter in Gaul; he took up his quarters at Samarobriva, within reach of those tribes of Belgium and Armorica, in whom the death of Sabinus had raised such great hopes. Only the Remi and the Ædui never wavered in their fidelity, for which they would have paid dearly had Cæsar been conquered. Even before the spring had arrived, Indutiomar made the Treviri take up arms and attacked the camp of Labienus. The latter imitating his leader's tactics, allowed himself for several days to be assaulted by the Gauls, who came up to the very foot of the rampart and challenged him. But one evening as Indutiomar was retiring in careless order with some of his men, Labienus sent out his cavalry at full gallop, promising great reward to any man who would bring him back the head of the hostile leader. The chief fell covered with wounds; his death dispersed his army, and stopped the Eburones, the Nervii, the Aduatuci, and the Menapii, who were already on the march to join him.

To the general assembly which the proconsul held at Samarobriva, the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treviri refused to send their deputies; this was a declaration of war. Cæsar accepted it with joy, for he needed to raise the reputation of his arms by brilliant successes, and had prepared himself during the winter by calling up three fresh legions from Italy. He prorogued the parliament, the next meeting of which he fixed to take place at Lutetia among the *Parisii*: this is the first appearance in history of our great city, and the founder of the Roman Empire is the first to pronounce its name.

From Samarobriva Cæsar quickly reached the country of the Senones. They had not completed their preparations; they asked for peace; the proconsul had determined to make a severe example of this tribe; but the intervention of the Ædui, their former allies, saved them. The Carnutes also owed their safety to the mediation of the Remi. But the two tribes delivered up all their cavalry and numerous hostages. The wrath of the proconsul fell upon Ambiorix and the Eburones. To make his vengeance complete he surrounded them. The Menapii, their neighbours on the north, who alone of all the Gauls had never sent deputies to Cæsar, were assailed by five legions. Being surprised and driven

into their woods they sued for peace. The Treviri bordered on the territory of the Menapii; led on by a ruse of Labienus to engage in battle in an unfavourable spot, they lost a great number of men and were compelled to accept as king Cingetorix, whom they had expelled. Then turning eastward in order to close Germany against the nation whom he wished to proscribe, Cæsar threw a bridge over the Rhine, scoured the other bank for some distance, forbade the tribes who dwelt there to have any relations with Gaul, and then, certain that the Eburones could not escape him, he returned to them. His cavalry went ahead and fell like a thunderbolt into the midst of this people doomed to extermination, whilst the ten legions surrounded the country, and drawing closer and closer together, burnt and slew all they came across. Cæsar, who called this valiant tribe "an impious race," invited the neighbouring nations to help him in the work of destruction. The villages were burnt, the grain was cut, and for several months man-hunting was carried on in the immense forest of *Arduenna*, into which the Eburones had plunged. Ambiorix escaped across the Rhine, there to await better days.

Returning to the territory of the Remi, Cæsar called together the general assembly, and, with an empty semblance of justice, made it judge the Senonian Acco. The sentence was dictated beforehand; Acco was beaten with rods and beheaded. Civil and religious excommunications were issued against his accomplices and the authors of the rising among the Carnutes who had not been seized.



Pack-horse carrying Shields (Trajan's Column).

Acco, Chief of the Senones.¹

¹ Youthful head. On the reverse, [ECU]AIOS, and a horseman brandishing a sword. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 41.)

VII.—SEVENTH CAMPAIGN: GENERAL RISING (52 B.C.).

These executions increased the hatred of the Roman name. During the winter which Cæsar passed in Italy a second rising was arranged in numerous secret meetings; the Gauls were at length uniting. It was very late, but yet they were on the verge of succeeding.

It was known that at Rome an increasing misunderstanding existed between Cæsar and Pompey, and that the proconsul of the Gauls would perhaps be detained in Italy by a civil war. The legions were not dispersed as in the preceding year; two were encamped among the Treviri, two among the Lingones; the remaining six in the territory of the Senones; and as the winter closed the passes of the Alps and the Cevennes, it was hoped that if the movement were general they would be surprised and crushed before Cæsar could join them.

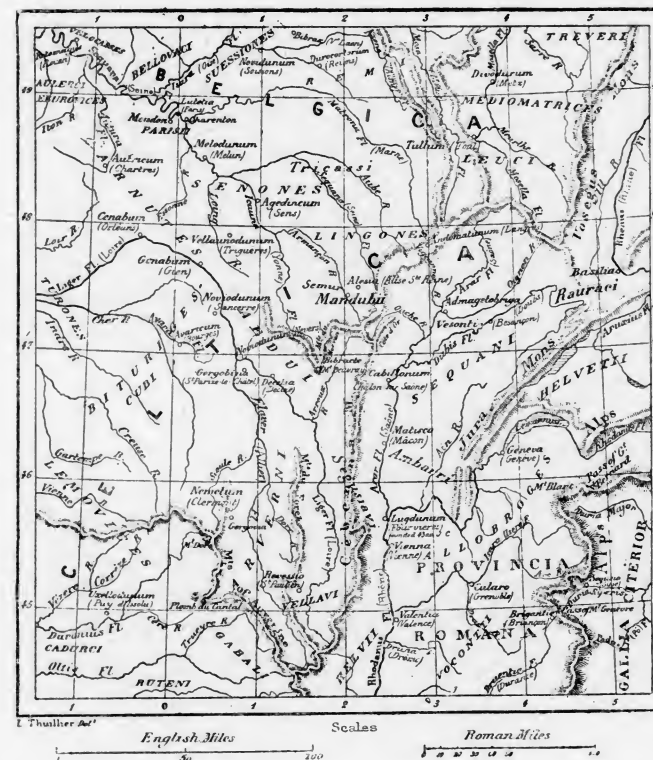
The rising went forth from the Druidic centre of Gaul, in the country of the Carnutes, who had lately been overwhelmed with requisitions. On the day appointed this tribe fell upon *Cenabum* (Orleans), a trading town on the banks of the Loire, and massacred the Italian merchants, who had flocked thither in great numbers. The same evening the news, carried from village to village by criers stationed along the roads, reached Gergovia, 147 miles distant.

Here there lived a young and noble Arvernian; tall in stature, martial in air, his very name was of good augury; he was called "the great chief of the brave"¹—Vercingetorix. His father had perished in the attempt to usurp the royalty, and yet the son was filled with a like ambition. Being a personal friend of Cæsar, he had no doubt contributed to keep the Arverni at peace during the first campaigns; but seeing the agitation of the popular party throughout Gaul and the success which Ambiorix had been on the verge of obtaining, he perceived that there was a great part to play. In public assemblies and religious meetings he allowed his idea to be inferred rather than expressed. But it was revealed in secret councils, where, as the reward of their

¹ Such is the meaning given to this name by M. de Belloguet.

courage, he held before the eyes of his party Arvernian raised from her low estate, and placed at the head of the Gallic nations whom she had rescued from foreign slavery.

As soon as he heard of the massacre at Cenabum he armed his clients and proclaimed insurrection in Gergovia. The nobles,



Map of the Campaign of 52 B.C.¹

and even his uncle, refused to associate themselves with his designs, and were sufficiently powerful to drive him from the town. He raised the country people, and Cæsar, who on this occasion is unjust to his greatest adversary, speaks of him as forming an army of the dregs of the populace and men overwhelmed with debt. They were certainly a concourse of poor men, but they

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 113.

were those who refused to submit to the foreigner's rule, and they must have formed the great majority of the nation, since they overcame the opposition of the nobles without recourse to arms. Vercingetorix, re-entering Gergovia with them, was then proclaimed king, and became the leading spirit of the holy war. He sent urgent messages to all the tribes; he reminded them of the oaths they had sworn; pointed out the favourable-ness of the occasion and the necessity for throwing off the yoke. From the Garonne



Vercingetorix.¹

to the Seine every city responded to his appeal, and the conduct of the war was entrusted to him.

Thus the Arverni and the people of central Gaul, who had hitherto remained outside the struggle, were about to take part in it for the first time. These defections gave the Gauls of the north fresh courage. In spite of the presence of ten legions, the chiefs of the Bellovaci and Treviri, led on by the example of Comm, king of the Atrebatas, who had long been the faithful ally of Caesar, prepared their people for insurrection. Labienus thought to avert it by having Comm assassinated, but the Gaul survived his wounds to exact vengeance for them.

Cæsar had at length found a worthy foe. Vercingetorix imitated the wonderful activity of the proconsul ; he collected provisions and arms, he fixed the numbers of contingents, took hostages, set to work to raise a formidable cavalry corps, and organized the whole league in a way very different from the earlier attempts of the Gauls. But, granting no man the right to spare himself, or to desert the cause of his country, he showed himself severe even to the point of cruelty. Traitors perished by fire or tortures ; for a slight fault he caused a man's ears to be cut off or his eyes put out, and then sent him home, that the sight of his punishment might be a warning.

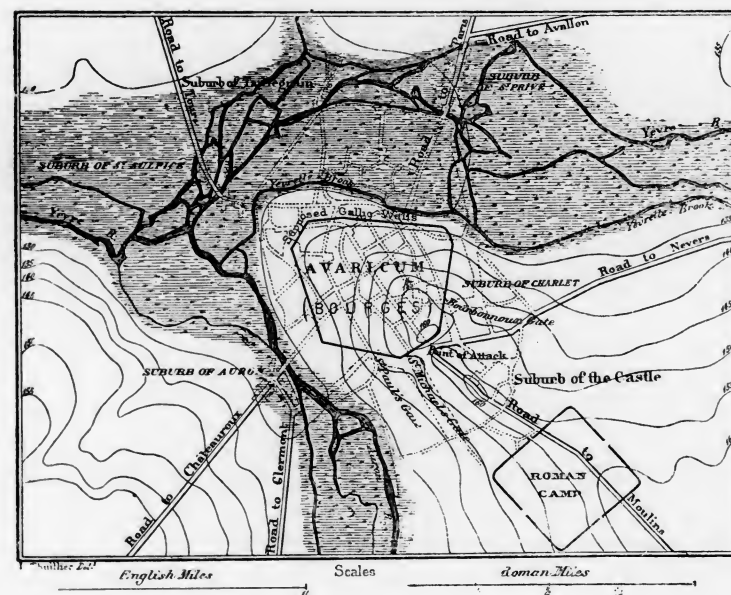
Vereingetorix had acquired his great authority only because he represented the national feeling. Priests and nobles had abandoned Gaul; the people rose up to save her, and gathered round the young hero, who both revealed his hatred for the

¹ We have nearly twenty coins of Vercingetorix, and the resemblance between the faces upon them suggests that they represent his features. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 62.)

foreigner, and displayed superior talents for organization. His plan of attack was skilful; one of his lieutenants, Lucretius, descended southwards towards the Province, which he was to invade, whilst he himself marched northward against the legions. On his way he halted to raise the Bituriges (Berry), who were clients of the Ædui; in this he succeeded, and the great town of Avaricum opened its gates to him. But this delay allowed Cæsar



Lucterius, Chief of the Cadurci.¹

Plan of Avaricum.²

time to arrive from Italy. The proconsul had no fear this time that his legions, massed as they were at three points, not far distant from one another, and kept on the alert by the gravity of the circumstances, would let themselves be taken by surprise; he took time to organize the defence of Narbonensis. A few days indeed, sufficed him to see and do everything; to drive away the enemy, cross the Cevennes, in spite of six feet of snow, and

¹ LVXTERIOS. On the reverse, a horse; above, an ornament. (De Saulcy, *ibid.*, No. 44.)

² Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 18.

carry devastation into the territory of the Arverni (winter of 53—52 B.C.).

Vercingetorix was still among the Bituriges when this news reached him. Constrained by the murmurs of his soldiers, he hastened to protect their homes. Caesar was gone; he had crossed the mountains for the second time, obtained a corps of cavalry at Vienne, and, making forced marches along the Rhone and Saône, had, without declaring his presence, traversed the whole country of the Ædui, whose intentions he began to suspect. Already he was in the midst of his legions, and the Belgæ suspended their warlike preparations.

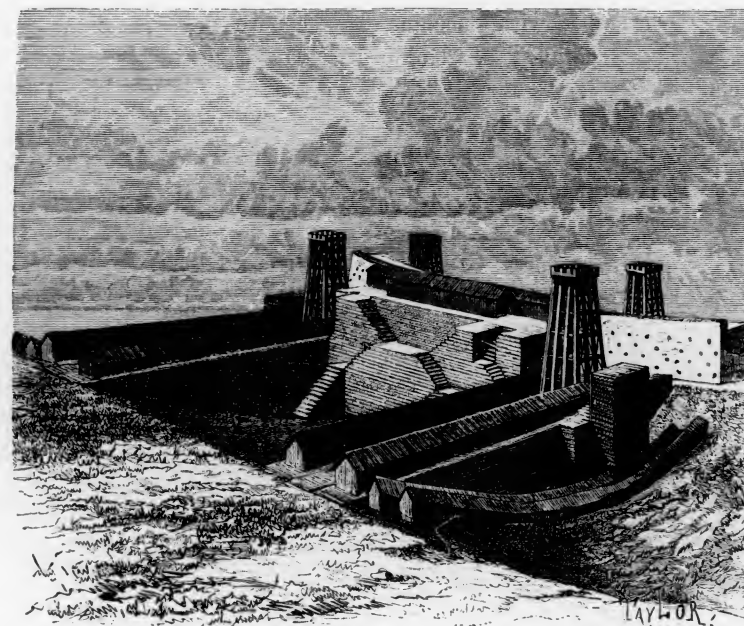
The audacity and activity of the proconsul had foiled the Gallic general's double project. The latter, less eager now to advance northwards, laid siege to the city of the Boii, *Gorgobina*.

Caesar had concentrated his forces at *Agedincum* (Sens). He warned the Boii of his impending arrival, and hastened forward with eight legions. By the bridge of Genabum, Caesar crossed the Loire and took Noviodunum (Sancerre?), the first town of the Bituriges which he came upon; Vercingetorix, hastening up to save it, witnessed its fall, and saw that with such a foe man another kind of warfare was required. In one day twenty of their towns were given up to the flames by the Bituriges themselves, and it was decided that upon the approach of the Romans each tribe should imitate this heroic devotion. They wanted to starve the enemy and compel them to send out distant expeditions in search of provisions, which would allow them to destroy the army in detail. But this resolution, which would have ruined Caesar, was not fully carried out; Avaricum, the capital of the country, was spared. "Do not compel us to destroy with our own hands the most beautiful town in Gaul," said the inhabitants to the council of the army; "we swear to you that we will defend and save it." The council yielded; Caesar immediately hastened thither. Although situated in a plain, this town (Bourges), protected as it was by two rivers and some pools, was difficult of access; the bravest warriors of the Bituriges had shut themselves up in it, and the great Gallic army was encamped a few leagues away, behind the legions, and ceaselessly threw men and provisions into the place. At the end of a few days Caesar found himself in



ROMAN SOLDIER

such a critical position that he proposed to his soldiers to raise the siege; they refused with one voice, as if he had required some cowardly act. Satisfied with this proof, the proconsul vigorously pushed on the gigantic works which the Roman soldiers knew how to carry out. In twenty-five days they built towers for attack and an earthwork 330 feet long and 80 feet in height. Already it was



Works of Approach of the Romans¹ (Museum of Saint-Germain).

close upon the walls, when one night the besieged set fire to it by means of a mine. But the Romans were on the alert, and after a terrible fight they remained in possession of their works. Cæsar relates how a Gaul, placed before one of the gates, threw balls of tallow and pitch into a flaming tower to make it burn more fiercely. Struck by a shaft from a scorio, he fell; another immediately took

¹ The drawing represents [hypothetically] a portion of Gallic wall in which the stones are intermixed with beams (see p. 128); upon this wall the besieged have raised two towers to counteract those of the besiegers which overtop the ramparts, in order to drive back the defenders with arrows and stones. The *vineæ*, or covered galleries, are carried up to the foot of the ramparts, that the soldiers they shelter may make a breach in it.

his place; a third succeeded him when he too, fell mortally wounded; then a fourth, and as long as the action lasted this fatal post never remained empty for a single instant.

Caesar was less dismayed at their courage than at their aptness in imitating every art of the Romans for rendering the siege useless. "They turned aside our battering-rams with nooses," says he, "and when they had entangled them they drew them within their walls with machines. They came right under our earthworks by mining, a kind of work which is familiar to them on account of the iron mines in which their country abounds. They had lined their walls with towers covered with leather. Night and day they made sorties, set fire to our works, or attacked out-works. As our towers rose upon the earth-work they built up

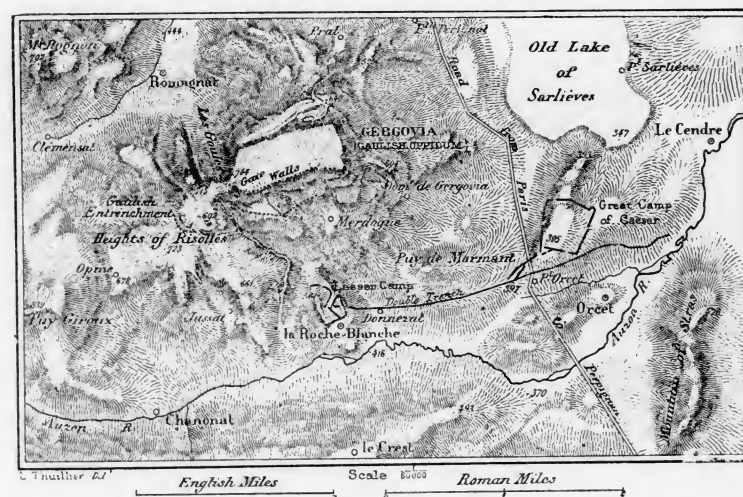


Soldiers Working at the Construction of an Agger (from the Column of Trajan).

on their walls scaffoldings made of beams, which they bound together with skill. If we opened a mine they discovered it and filled the road which our miners were taking with pointed stakes hardened in the fire, boiling pitch, or rocks, which stopped our work and hindered us from advancing." The garrison however grew tired; they sent word to Vercingetorix that they could hold out no longer, and received orders to quit the town. But before they could obey them Caesar took advantage of a cold and rainy day to order a general assault. The place was taken; of the 40,000 soldiers and inhabitants which it contained, scarcely 800 reached the Gallic camp.

The provisions which Caesar found at Avaricum supplied him for the rest of the winter (early months of 52 B.C.). When the

spring came on he was about to recommence offensive operations when troubles broke out among the Ædui. An election to the magistracy of that State threatened to bring about a civil war which might paralyze Rome's oldest allies in Gaul. Being chosen arbiter he repaired to *Decetia* (Decize), on the Ædian territory, because the law forbade the Vergobret to cross the frontier, and decided in favour of the candidate who seemed to have the greatest number of adherents: this was Convictolitan, whom the magistrates and priests had chosen. In return he demanded of the Ædui all their cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers to escort his provision trains.



Plan of Gergovia.¹

"Great favours," said he, "shall reward your services after the war."

These services were great, for by not wavering throughout the whole war, the Ædui and Sequani had ensured Caesar free communications with the province. As long as the broad road of the valley of the Saône remained open to him he could plunge without fear into the north or centre of the country. He even considered himself strong enough, after the capture of Avaricum, to divide his forces. Labienus with four legions marched from

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 19.

the country of the Senones against the *Parisii*, whom Vercingetorix had stirred up to revolt, whilst he himself led the remaining six against the Arverni through the valley of the Allier. The Gallic generalissimo had broken down all the bridges, and now followed along the left bank all the movements of the legions on the opposite side. Caesar stole a march on him and crossed the river; he could not, however, induce him to accept battle in the plain, and when he appeared before the capital of the league, Gergovia of the Arverni, a league and a half to the south of Clermont-Ferrand, the Gallic army covered it.

The plateau on which Gergovia lay was 1,640 yards long, and about 546 broad. It rose 1,246 feet above the plain, and 2,394 feet above the sea, between the present villages of Romagnat, Orcet and Chamonat, with steep slopes on two sides and difficult of access on the others. A wall six feet high, built of rough stones, protected the approach to the *oppidum*, on the declivity where the attack must be made. One extremity of it terminated among inaccessible heights; the other ended on Mount Risolles, at an altitude equal to that of the plateau of Gergovia. A neck of land only 130 yards in breadth formed the means of communication between the two plateaux. Vercingetorix encamped on that of Risolles, and an outpost stationed at the Roche-Blanche allowed him to obtain supplies of forage and water from the valley of the Auzon. The Romans halted opposite to him, also in the neighbourhood of the Auzon. From their lines they could see the army of Vercingetorix ranged along the slopes, and every morning at sunrise they could recognize the officers who came to the general's tent to receive his instructions.¹ Caesar had taught the Gauls how to entrench themselves. On beholding these heights, each bearing the contingent of a city and surrounded by solid defences, he had a moment of uneasiness. "It was a formidable sight," says he.

His first care was to capture by night the post of Roche-Blanche, leave a strong contingent there, and dig between that hill and his principal camp a double trench twelve feet deep, which

¹ The Gauls had adopted Roman customs. It was usual for a tribune to come each morning by order to the proconsul or prætor in command of the army and deliver into his hands the muster-rolls. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 45.)

allowed him to go from one position to the other under cover. Numerous machines arranged along the ramparts were held in readiness to sweep the plain; they were destined shortly to save the army.

Litavicus, the leader of the Æduan auxiliaries sent to Caesar's camp, had fomented an insurrection among his troops, and was desirous of leading them over to Vercingetorix. The proconsul being warned of this dangerous plot hastened with four legions without baggage to meet the insurgents, and brought them back to his own side. But notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken to conceal the departure of the principal forces of the Romans, it had not escaped Vercingetorix. He too had seen what was going on in Caesar's lines, and had taken advantage of his absence to attack them. Fabius the lieutenant had made a skilful use of the two legions which remained to him; he had repulsed all assaults, thanks to the machines, the artillery of the Romans, but he had been reduced to walling up the gates, which was only resorted to in cases of great danger, and he called Caesar back in all haste. On the following day the proconsul reappeared; he had marched forty-six miles, going and returning in twenty-four hours.

He had thus escaped two dangers; the Æduan sedition led him to foresee another and greater one, an insurrection—a general one this time—of Gaul. He was thinking, therefore, of abandoning the siege in order to draw the foe into the plain, when, during a visit to the works of a smaller camp, he perceived that by seizing a hill (above Merdogne), whence the Gauls had retired to concentrate on the plateau of Risolles, he could reach the outer wall, which was easy to surmount, and attack one of the gates of the *oppidum*. The attempt, however, cost the proconsul 700 men, of whom forty-six were centurions.

Litavicus.¹Teutomatus,
King of the Nitiobriges.²

¹ Coin of Litavicus, chief of the Ædui. Head of Venus on the right; a sceptre in front of the face. On the reverse, LITAVICOS galloping and carrying the national standard, the wild-boar ensign. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 14.)

² Votomapatris, king of the Nitiobriges, called by Caesar Teutomatus. Bust of the chief. On the reverse, . . . OMAPATIS; free horse galloping; underneath, a bird. (De Sauley,

It was a cheek; he imputed it to his legionaries, which was an injustice; he reproached them for not having ceased the fight as soon as he had sounded the retreat. But all could not hear the signal, and the arrangements he had made showed his intention of carrying the place by a rapid *coup de main*.

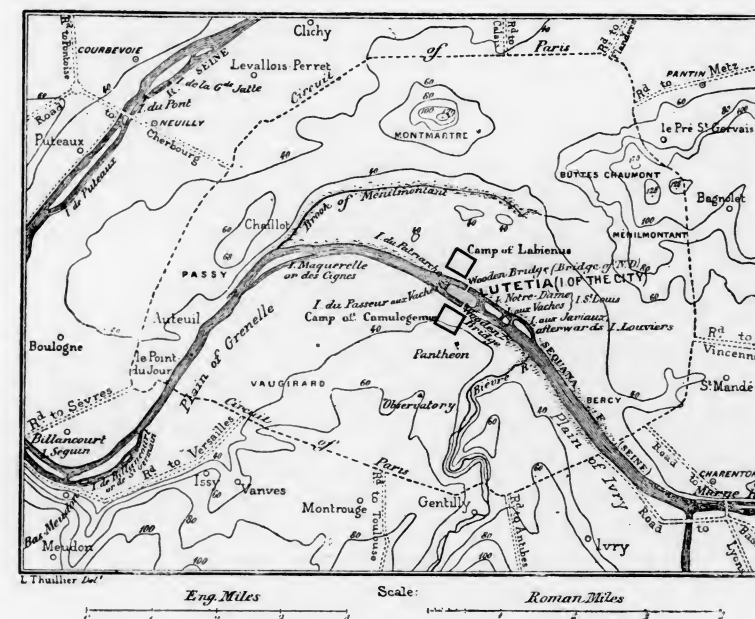
Two days after Caesar offered battle to Veringetorix in the plain, but the latter carefully avoided accepting it, and contented himself with skirmishing with his cavalry. "Judging from this," says the proconsul, "that the boasting of the Gauls was humbled and the courage of his own men confirmed," he marched towards the country of the Ædui, in order to get nearer to Labienus who was eighty leagues distant, and hastened to place the Allier between himself and the great Gallic army.

This backward march looked like a defeat, and the emissaries of Veringetorix proclaimed it everywhere as such. The Ædui thought Caesar's fortune would not recover from the blow, and fearing lest the Gallic cause should triumph without them, they decided upon going over to the national party, bearing with them as a pledge of alliance the news of the massacre in all Ædian towns of Caesar's recruits, the Italian merchants, and the hostages of the Remi, who had remained faithful to their Roman friends.

This defection placed the army in serious peril, shut in as it was upon the delta formed by the Loire and the Allier, then swollen with the rains, at their junction, and by the Cevennes whence they both descend. Beyond the Allier was the victorious army of Veringetorix; beyond the Loire the country of the Ædui in revolt; there were no provisions, and no passage, for the town of *Noviodunum* of the Ædui (Nevers), where were his stores, baggage, the treasure-chest of the army, and a bridge by which he had counted upon crossing the river had just been destroyed. Many advised him therefore to return into the province. He thought that if he could affect a junction with the army of Labienus he would always be strong enough, with a body of ten legions, to reopen the road to Gallia Narbonensis; and then he had embarked his whole political fortune in this war; if he were conquered in Gaul he would be proscribed at Rome. He rejected therefore every project

ibid., No. 45.) The legend on the left, C. AIV IVLI, shows that this chief, who was made a citizen by Caesar, took his name. (*de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 31, 46.)

of retreat, and advanced boldly into the north, leaving 100,000 Gauls between him and the province. By careful search he found a ford across the Loire; the water rose to the soldiers' armpits, but the cavalry stationed higher up stream broke the force of the current. Then he reached by forced marches the country of the Senones, the capital of which, *Agedincum* (Sens), contained the depôts of the legions of Labienus. That able lieutenant was returning thither, receding like Caesar before the revolt of all the tribes of the north.



Plan of the Battle of Lutetia.

The northern league had for its leader the Aulercian Camulogenus, an old warrior, active and skilful, who had made his headquarters at Lutetia. That town was then confined to an island in the Seine; Labienus at first tried to reach it by following the left bank of the river. Being stopped by the Gauls before the marshes of Essonne or l'Orge, he retreated as far as *Melodunum* (Melun), seized all the boats he found upon the river, took that town, which like Lutetia was situated on an island in the river,

and crossed over to the other side to attack the town of the *Parisii* from the north. The position was easy of access on that side, and the boats he brought with him from Melun served for crossing the Marne, the only obstacle on the right bank of the Seine which could have stopped him. Camulogenus feared lest he should be stormed in his stronghold, he burnt the town and the two bridges and then retired to the heights of the left bank, the highest point of which is now marked by the Pantheon and the Observatory. He knew the Bellovaci were arming in the rear of Labienus, and he was desirous of forcing that general to accept battle with a great river behind him and hemmed in by two armies.

But Labienus eluded his vigilance. Whilst five cohorts, the baggage, and some of the boats, went up the Seine with a great noise, others slipped silently down towards



Coin of Camulogenus, Chief of the Aulerci.¹

Point-du-Jour in the first watch, about ten o'clock at night. Boats carried them across the great arm of the river, into the islands of Billancourt and Séguin, which served as a curtain to screen their passage. Three legions massed in this shelter rapidly crossed the small arm and suddenly descended upon the left bank. A violent storm had made the darkness deeper and drowned the noise. At first they found only sentinels, who were captured. When the sun appeared, the Roman army was drawn up in battle array in the plain of Grenelle, whence by a gentle ascent it could reach the plateau, turning the position of Camulogenus by the plain of Montrouge.

The old general, deceived by the movements further up the Seine, had sent part of his forces in that direction; with the remainder he tried to drive the Romans back into the river. The action was a bloody one; Camulogenus and almost all his warriors perished in it. By this success Labienus only secured his retreat; he hastened to reach the territory of the Senones where Caesar had already arrived.²

A fresh assembly of all the deputies of Gaul confirmed Vereingetorix in his command. Three tribes alone avoided appearing

¹ Head of Apollo. On the reverse, CAMBIL, and a lion. Attributed, but not with certainty, to Camulogenus. (De Saulcy, *ibid.*, No. 43.)

² Napoleon III. places their uniting point at Joigny; the Duc d'Aumale at Vitry-la-Ville.

thereat: the Lingones, the Remi and the Treviri. Through their instrumentality Caesar, who stood in need of cavalry, hired several bands of Germans whom he mounted upon the horses of his tribunes and knights. He now thought, however, of effecting a retreat upon the province, which Vereingetorix attacked from three points at once. The Gallic generalissimo had ordered the *Ædui* and the *Segusiavi*, their clients, to stir up the *Allobroges* who remained faithful to Rome, the *Gabales* (Gévaudan) and some *Arvernian* troops he had commanded to ravage the territory of the *Helvii* (Vivarais), the *Ruteni* and *Cadurei* (Rouergue and Quercy) to invade the country of the *Volcæ Arecomici* (Bas Languedoc). He himself with 15,000 horse and a large number of infantry proposed to follow Caesar, refusing all action, to cut off his provisions, capture his forage-parties, burn villages and crops on his approach; in a word to make a waste around him and reduce him by famine. It was the same plan that Vereingetorix had proposed at the commencement of the great war. It was an excellent one, provided it were strictly carried out. Caesar had taken the road along the frontier of the Lingones in order to cross the Saône and reach Sequania, avoiding the great centre of the insurrection which was now in the *Æduan* country. This line of march also led him towards the enemy, and it might perhaps furnish him with the opportunity for a battle. He was not deceived.

When Vereingetorix saw the Romans approaching the Saône he feared that Caesar, escaping from him, would return with larger forces, and he decided to risk at least a cavalry battle.¹ In that arm all the advantage appeared to be on his side; he had 15,000 picked horsemen each of whom had uttered this solemn imprecation:

"May I never be received under the roof of my home,

"May I never see my aged father, or my wife or children again,

"If I do not twice pass through this army of Caesar's on horseback."

Two divisions of the Roman cavalry were indeed cut to pieces; but Caesar kept the legions behind them, and so near that the

¹ The place of the battle is uncertain.
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Gallie squadrons could not avoid the shock. He was here exposed to the greatest dangers, was almost taken prisoner, and left his sword in the hands of the enemy. Fortunately a charge of the German horse threw some of the Gauls back in disorder upon their infantry. Caesar saw the tumult; immediately he led forward his cohorts, and threatened the flank of the Gallie army, which fled towards their camp. Thither terror followed them; they compelled their chiefs to strike the ensigns and flee; and they never stopped till they reached the walls of *Alesia*.¹

Alesia, situated upon the flat top of a steep hill, Mount Auxois,² was considered one of the strongest places in Gaul. Upon the sides of the hill Vercingetorix marked out a camp for his still numerous army, which could scarcely, however, have amounted to the 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse which Caesar allows him.³ He

¹ Alise-Sainte-Reine, a village in the department of the Côte-d'Or, six and a quarter miles north-east of Semur. But an entire library has been written for and against Alise-Sainte-Reine. Alaise, in Franche-Comté, still has partisans, and men have gone to Bresse, to the neighbourhood of Izernore, and even into Savoy, near Novalaise, in search of the spot where the great drama related in the *Commentaries* was enacted. The excavations made at Alise-Sainte-Reine have led to the discovery of a part of the works described by Caesar, and the coins found in these excavations, 134 Roman denarii and 500 Gallie pieces, are all anterior to Caesar's expedition or contemporaneous with the siege; there is not one among them later than the year 51 B.C. The most recent Roman denarius is of the year 54 B.C.; and the Gallie coins are just such as an allied army would leave: they belong to the Sequani, the Pictones, Carnutes, Bituriges, Volce, Santones, and especially to the Arverni; some, belonging to Marseilles, had been brought into the revolted countries by commerce. Upon them may be read the names of several leaders of the insurrection—Vercingetorix, Tasgetius, Litavicus, Epasnactus. All the Roman denarii were found in one of the trenches of Caesar's camp, the one which faced Mount Réa, where the legions lost a great many men; all the Gallie pieces upon Mount Réa, on the left bank of the former bed of the Rabutin and on the same bank of the Ozerain, that is to say, in the places where the army of relief made the most furious attacks.

² It rises from 525 to 530 feet above the surrounding ground, and the plateau in which it ends is 650 feet long by 2,600 broad; two streams wash its base. The plain of Laumes on the west has a stretch of nearly 3,000 paces (two miles, 1,334 yards); everywhere else there are high hills at a distance of from 1,200 yards to a mile from Mount Auxois.

³ There can scarcely be found on Mount Auxois the space necessary for so many men and horses, the baggage, the camp-followers, and the Mandubii who had taken refuge in the *oppidum*, and although Caesar confirms these figures by saying that he sent away 20,000 Arverni and Aedui free, and that each of his 60,000 soldiers had a Gallie slave, I believe the numbers are greatly exaggerated. The first battle and the rout must have much diminished the Gallie army; but it did not suit Caesar to say so, and Roman generals never failed to exaggerate the number of their foes. Otherwise it would be astonishing that this numerous army should not have foiled the work of investment. When the best soldiers of Vercingetorix, his horsemen, were gone, he had only a mob left, rather than an army, and when once the plain of Laumes was cut by a trench, sorties became impossible on account of the twenty-three *castella* raised on the hills, whence the machines swept all the passages. According to M. de Rochas (*Balistique de l'Antiquité*) the maximum range of ancient machines was 480 yards.

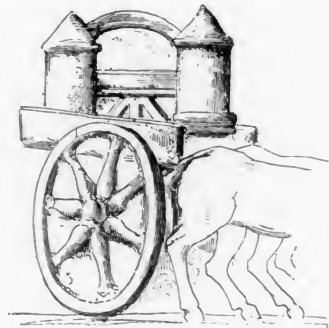
protected it with a trench and a wall six feet in height of uncemented stones; it was the position at Gergovia over again, and he counted upon the same success. When Caesar had examined the place, and the Gallie camp, he conceived the bold idea of ending the war at one blow by besieging town and army at the same time. He posted his infantry upon the hills which surround Mount Auxois at a short distance away, and he placed his cavalry in the intervals. Then he commenced those immense works which were so much admired by the great Condé. First a trench, twenty feet in depth, and then the same in width, the sides of which were perpendicular, and which intersected the plain of Laumes, between the Ose and the Ozerain, the only way by which Vercingetorix could have escaped. Four hundred feet behind this began the real contravallation which surrounded Mount Auxois with a circuit of ten miles. It was formed of two trenches fifteen feet wide and eight or nine deep; into the first Caesar had turned the waters of the Ozerain or the Rabutin; the second bordered on an earthwork twelve feet high, surmounted by battlements, palisaded throughout its whole circumference with cloven trunks of trees, and flanked by towers eighty feet apart. In front of the trenches he placed five rows of *chevaux de frise* (*cippi*), eight lines of stakes sunk in the ground, and having their points hidden beneath boughs of trees (*scrobes*); still nearer to the enemy's camp he scattered pit-falls with sharpened stakes in them (*stimuli*), and as he might be besieged as well as besieger, he repeated these works on the country side where the circumvallation had a circuit of thirteen English miles. Five weeks and less than sixty thousand men sufficed for this task.¹

The Remi persisted in their treason. The Bellovaci, through a senseless pride, refused to lose themselves in the great army. "We will fight when it pleases us," said they, "and on our own account; we intend to obey no man." At the entreaty of the

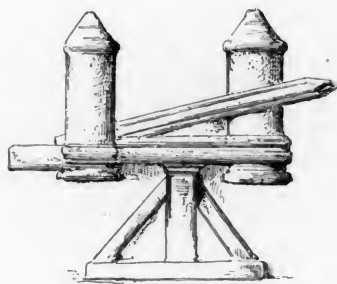
¹ For the details of these works and the results of the excavations made at Alesia, see the *Histoire de César*, by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 271 *sqq.*, with the woodcuts which accompany the text. The works of circumvallation were only constructed where no natural defences existed, and the Romans found many such upon the hills which surrounded Mount Auxois. As for the trench of twenty feet (the Roman foot is 11·649 inches), that depth was no doubt only reached at certain points, and by its perpendicular sides, *directis lateribus*, must be understood that they were made to slope as little as possible. An eye-witness of the excavations assures me indeed, that the very firm soil admitted of an almost vertical cut.

king of the Atrebates however, they sent 2,000 men. We shall see how they came and challenged Caesar alone when all was lost.

Vercingetorix had not remained inactive. He had tried to hinder the works by attacks, but without success. Not being able to maintain his cavalry, he sent them away before the lines were completed. "I can hold out thirty days," said he to his horsemen, "but let all the cities rise in mass, let not Gaul abandon to the foe him who has devoted himself to her and his 80,000 brethren." These words had their effect, and 248,000 men assembled from all parts of Gaul.¹ But this wholesale levy had furnished not an army, but rather an immense mob, which must conquer quickly or disperse. When they came in sight of Alesia the thirty days had



Machine drawn by Horses.

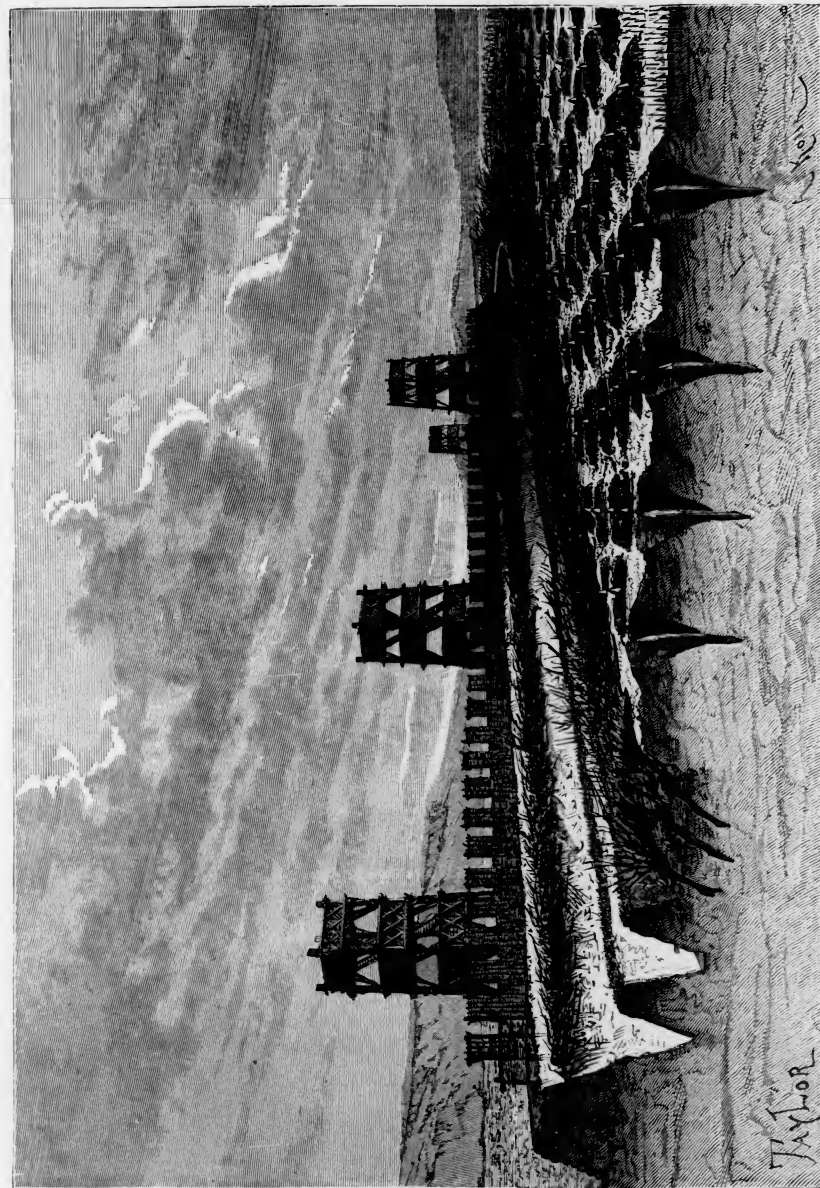


The Same Machine on the Ground.

passed, and want was felt in the place. An Arvernian named Critognatus had proposed that they should feed on the corpses; others had driven from the place all useless mouths; a crowd of women, little children, and old men had been seen wandering from the walls to the entrenchments, imploring pity by turns from the enemy and from their kindred; then, driven back by showers of arrows, die of hunger under their very eyes.

On the morrow after their arrival the Gallic cavalry deployed in the plain. Caesar sent against them his legionary horse, which at first were defeated; already shouts of victory rang from the town and from the midst of the Gallic army, when the German

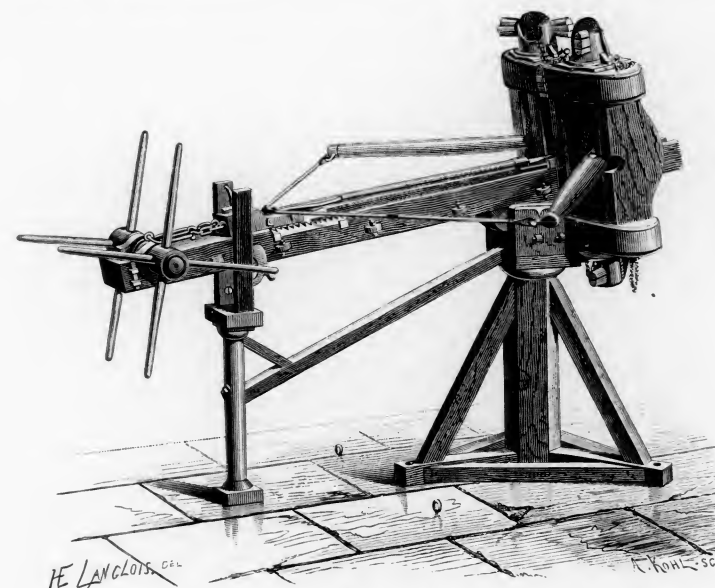
¹ Another very large number. On this subject, see the discussion of M. Ern. Desjardins, vol. ii. pp. 703-705.



Specimen of Caesar's works round Alesia (reconstructed from his description.)

horse, charging in a serried mass, once more put the foe to flight. On the following day the whole army attacked the outer lines and the besieged made a sortie; but the snares scattered over the plain stopped the dash of the assailants, whilst the machines which covered the ramparts poured down upon their close ranks a hail of arrows, stones, and leaden balls. This second attack also failed; a third was decided upon.

A hill which Cæsar had not been able to include in the



Catapult, Restored (Museum of Saint-Germain).

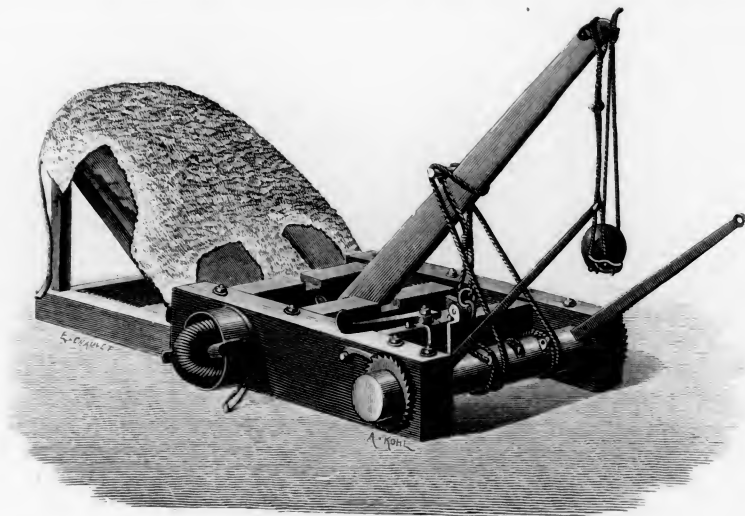
contravallation, Mount Réa, commanded a part of the rampart. The Arvernian Vergasivellaun, a kinsman of Vercingetorix, and Sedullis, chief of the Lemovices, repaired thither secretly with 60,000 warriors of the army of relief. As soon as Vergasivellaun saw the cavalry deploy in the plain, the infantry march to the entrenchments of circumvallation, and Vercingetorix upon the town



Coin of Vergasivellaun, Chief of the Arverni.¹

¹ Youthful bust; VERGA. On the reverse, a horse. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 56.) The traitor Epasnactus afterwards gave Vergasivellaun up to the Romans.

side leave the stronghold with faggots to fill up the inner trench, he attacked with fury. Cæsar, stationed on an eminence whence he could take in his camp and the whole battlefield at a glance, saw the danger. On the side towards the plain the Gauls, restrained by all the obstacles which he had provided, attacked but feebly; the action was fiercest about the hill which Vergasivellaun had occupied. There the legionaries had already exhausted their javelins. Cæsar ordered Labienus to lead six cohorts thither in all haste. On the town side

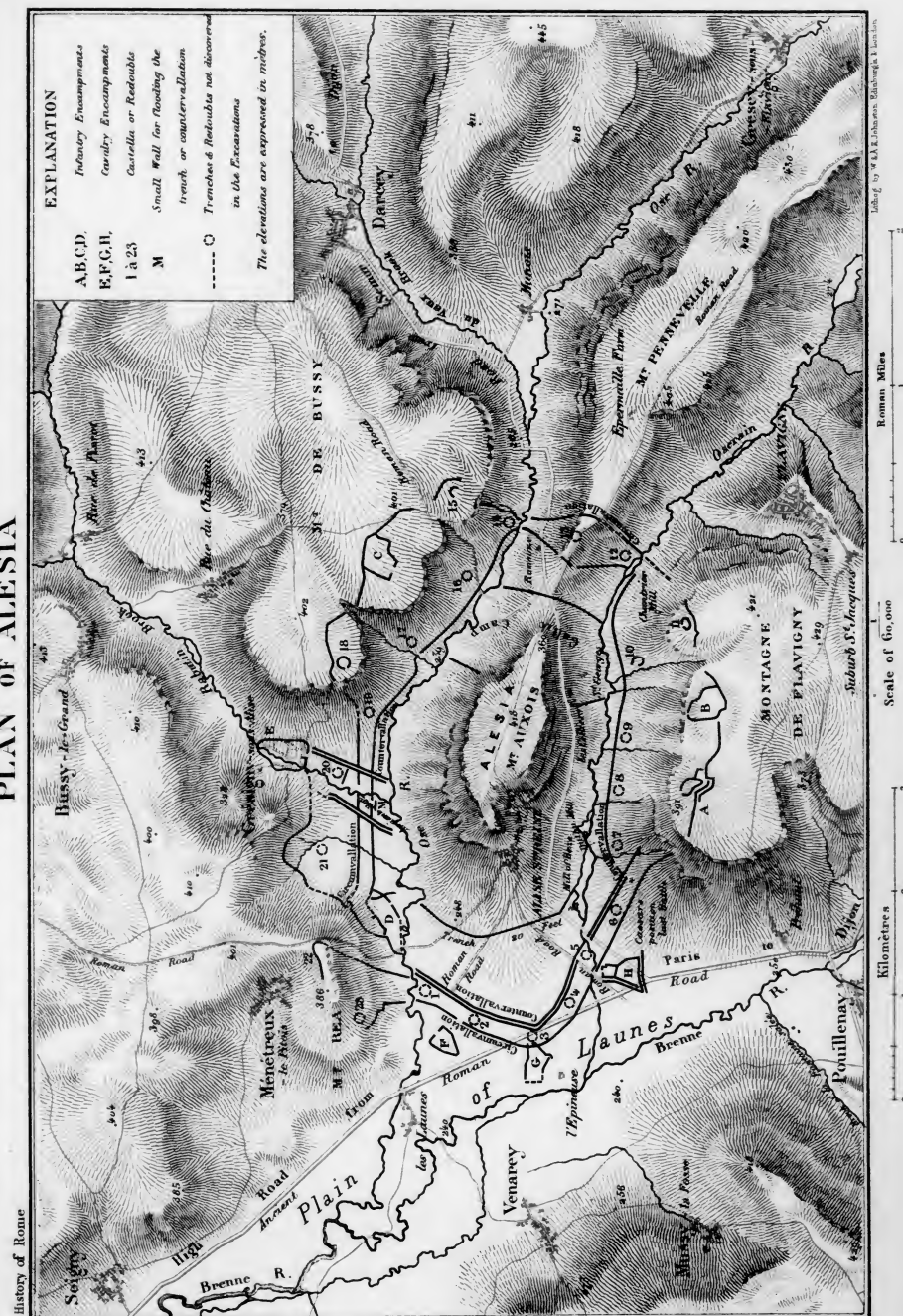
Coin of Sedullis.¹

Balista, Restored (Museum of Saint-Germain).

he followed the progress of Vercingetorix; he saw him cross the trenches at one point, reach the rampart, and cut down with scythes the mantlets which sheltered the legionaries from arrows. A few more efforts and the enemy would reach the battlements. He sent thither Brutus with six cohorts; then Fabius with seven more; and as the danger still increased, he repaired thither himself; at last the

¹ Bare head with fillet and collar. On the reverse, a horseman blowing a trumpet and bearing a wild-boar standard, a wild-boar above his head, two behind him, and between the legs of his horse a man knocked down; underneath, the word SEDULLIS. Coin of the Lemovices. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 47.)

PLAN OF ALESIA



enemy, overcome by the shafts from the *baliste*, was repulsed. Reassured upon this point, Caesar hastened to the attack of Vergasivellaun, where Labienus was in peril; his soldiers and the enemy recognized him by the purple mantle which he wore on days of battle, and they redoubled their efforts. Suddenly his cavalry, which he had sent out secretly, dashed down at full gallop and took the barbarians in the rear, whilst the fresh cohorts which he had brought up hurled them from the rampart. The Gauls yielded after a fearful slaughter, and fled, abandoning their camp; but Caesar knew how to complete his victory; he pursued them, cut their rearguard in pieces, and spread through their ranks a panic which dispersed them far and wide.

This time Gaul was finally conquered. Vercingetorix knew it, but his great spirit was not broken. He re-entered Alesia without displaying any fury or clamorous grief, in order to fulfil his last duty. He had not been able to save Gaul by his genius; he hoped at least to save those who had followed him by offering himself to the Romans as an expiatory victim. He called together the assembly. "I

did not undertake this war," said he, "to raise my fortune, but to save the common liberty. The fortune of war is against us. I have been your leader; satisfy the Romans by my death or give me up alive, it matters not which to me." The throng was so downcast that this sacrifice was accepted. They sent deputies to Caesar; he demanded that their arms, their chiefs,



Vercingetorix. (Restoration by Millet.)

and Vercingetorix should be given up to him; he took his seat on his tribunal in front of the lines. The gates of the town opened; a horseman issued from them all alone; it was Vercingetorix. Mounted on his war-horse, and wearing his richest armour, he galloped up in front of Cæsar, made a circle round the tribunal, then sprang from his horse, and without an entreaty, without a word, but with a firm and proud look, he cast his helmet and sword at the feet of the stern and unmoved Roman. The lictors led him away: Cæsar made him wait six years for the insulting solemnity of the triumph and for death.¹

On the news of this great success, the Roman senate decreed that thanks should be rendered to the gods of Rome by twenty days of solemn festivals. Cæsar dared not however, winter south of the Alps; he took up his quarters at Bibracte, in the midst of his legions. He had given up to his soldiers the captives taken at Alesia, so that every legionary had a Gallic slave to sell or keep.² For himself he reserved 20,000 Ædui and Arverni, whom he set at liberty in order to win over those two nations. They did in fact, give in their submission.

VIII.—EIGHTH CAMPAIGN: SUBJECTION OF THE BELLOVACI AND CADURCI (51 B.C.).

The war was not yet ended however. The Gauls of the north and west, with the exception of the Nervii, Veneti, and Eburones had not yet experienced any bloody defeats. In the preceding campaign their contingents had been small, and the losses had fallen principally upon the Arverni and Ædui. Their strength therefore, as well as their courage, was still unbroken, and experience had taught them what kind of warfare they must wage against the legions—surprises, partial attacks, but no more of those battles in which Roman tactics destroyed vast armies in

¹ All the Gallic chiefs came and gave themselves up with Vercingetorix. According to Dion (xl. 41), Vercingetorix might have fled, but confident of Cæsar's friendship, he yielded himself to the proconsul, who, reproaching him with having betrayed that friendship, loaded him with chains.

² The sale of slaves was very profitable. After the capture of Pindenissum, a small town in Cilicia, Cicero sold them to the amount of 12,000,000 sesterces in the space of three days, and the sale was not then ended. (*ad Att.*, v. 20.)

a day. The activity of Cæsar disconcerted this fresh plan.¹ In the middle of the winter he fell upon the Bituriges before they had completed their preparations, and carrying fire and sword throughout the country, forced the population to seek refuge from extermination



Roman Soldier.²

among the neighbouring nations. After this cruel lesson he allowed them to return to their devastated homes; and in order to reward the two legions which had just made this expedition in intensely cold weather, he gave every soldier 200 sesterces, and every centurion 2,000.

¹ For the winter he had divided his eleven legions in the following manner; two among the Sequani, the same number among the Remi, one among each of the following tribes, the Boii, Bituriges, and Ruteni, one again at Mâcon and Chalon, and he kept two with him at Bibracte. Each legion was commanded by a legate.

² Combatant without either helmet or cuirass, who appears to be opposing his enemy's spear, or rather, is preparing to hurl the stones which he carries in his cloak. Statue in the Gallery of *Uffizi* at Florence.

The centre of Gaul seemed to be definitely pacified, as the Romans said. But at this moment the north broke out, and first of all the Carnutes. This nation, which had given the signal for the great insurrection, was bound to fight to the very last. Caesar was re-entering Bibracte when he heard of the movement among the Carnutes; he set out again at once, took up his position with two legions among the ruins of Cenabum, and thence sent out his cavalry and auxiliaries to scour the country. It was a war of

Gaulish Soldier(?).¹

devastation and pillage, and the soldiers threw themselves into it with an eager desire for gain and a love of murder; a considerable portion of the Carnutian population perished of cold and want in the depths of the woods.

This execution was not yet ended when a general rising of the nations of the north-east obliged him to hasten with four legions to the help of the Remi, who were seriously menaced.

¹ This statue, and the one on p. 205, seated on scrolls, must have been ornaments to some villa, and probably represent Gauls. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 854A, Nos. 2155A and 2155B.)

Ambiorix, at length hearing the rumour of war in Belgica, had issued from the forests of Germany where he lay hidden, and this time the Bellovaci had risen in mass, supported by the nations of the valleys of the Somme and the Scheldt, and by those of the lower Seine. The proconsul marched towards their country; he found it a desert; and when he met them upon Mount Saint-Marc(?), in the forest of Compiègne, their position, protected by marshes, was so strong that he dared not attack them. He was himself obliged to think of providing against all surprise by



Gaulish Soldier(?).

constructing in the enemy's neighbourhood a veritable fortress for his four legions—a camp with a rampart twelve feet high, and surmounted by towers of three stories, connected by covered bridges, in which the soldiers could fight under cover; two trenches, each fifteen feet wide, were made in front of it. Several days passed in skirmishes between the foragers. Caesar dared not attempt a direct attack, which would oblige him to cross a marshy ground and then climb heights bristling with defences. He resolved to resort to his great resource—investment. Three more

legions were called up, and the works began. At the sight of the lines so rapidly pushed on by vigorous workers, the Bellovaci remembered Alesia with terror, and one night they sent out of the camp the women, children, and old men, and the numerous chariots which conveyed their baggage. Daylight having overtaken them in that operation, Caesar took advantage of the disorder to approach nearer, in order to find an opportunity of striking some decisive blow. He threw wicker-work bridges over the marshes, and reached a hill adjoining that occupied by the Gauls. The latter lighted great fires along the front of their camp, and behind this curtain of smoke and flames, which the Romans dared not cross for fear of falling into some ambushade, they escaped. Being overtaken in the neighbourhood of the Aisne, they lost the best of their infantry, all their horse, and their chief, Correus, who refused to yield.¹ This reverse discouraged them; they implored mercy of the victor; all the cities of the north-east likewise gave hostages. Caesar scoured Belgica, drove Ambiorix, who had entered the territory of his tribe with a few hundred fugitives, back across the Rhine once more, and then returned towards the Loire, for to the south of that river too, all the cities had revolted.

Duratius, a friend of the Romans, had put down the insurrection among the Pictones by seizing their capital. The war in the west was concentrated round that place, which the Gauls besieged and the Romans advanced to relieve. The lieutenant Caninius had hastened thither from the frontiers of the Province with two legions; Caesar sent him twenty-five cohorts more under the command of Fabius. The allies, fearing lest they should be shut in between the stronghold and two Roman armies, tried to regain the Loire. Just as they were crossing it, the cavalry of

Coin of Duratius.²

¹ These encounters are placed by M. de Sauley (*Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, p. 394 sqq.) and Napoleon III. in the forest of Compiègne, on the north of that town. Caesar's first camp must have been at Mount Saint-Pierre in Châtres, the second at Mount Collet; the Gauls upon Mount Saint-Marc. M. Peigné-Delacourt, who discovered a Roman wooden bridge beneath half a yard of peat in the marsh of Breuil-le-Sec, below Clermont (Oise), places the Roman camp on the hill which commands that town.

² Head of Diana; DVRAT. On the reverse, free horse galloping; above, an ædicula or monogram; in the exergue, IVLIOS. (Cf., p. 189, the explanation of this name on the coin of Votomapatris; De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 46.)

Fabius appeared and threw them back to the left bank; there the cohorts reached them, and this army too, was destroyed. The Andes, the remnant of the Carnutes, and the Armorican cities gave hostages.

There were brave men who did honour to these last days of Gaul. Let us piously recall their names, for history should do like that *old Mortality*, who went through woods and over mountains seeking the spots where martyrs had fallen, cleared away the moss and brambles from the stone of their sepulchres, and brought back to life their forgotten names. Correus, chief of the Bellovaci, who fell in an ambushade, fought hard. The river and the forests were near, he might have fled; he would not, but struck down every legionary who dared approach him, and only succumbed when the enemy had overwhelmed him from a distance with a shower of arrows.

Coin of Correus, Chief of the Bellovaci.¹

Guturvath was the chief of the Carnutes, and, like Correus and Vercingetorix, was the instigator of the desperate war which his tribe waged against the Romans. Caesar required that he should be given up, and ordered his lictors to beat with rods and then behead the man who had defended his country against him.

Coin of Guturvath, or Cotuatus, Chief of the Carnutes.²

Drapeth, a Senonian chieftain, had armed his very slaves for the war of liberty; even after the last disasters he continued to attack the Romans; being taken prisoner by them he starved himself to death.

Dumnac, chief of the Andes, plunged into the woods when there was no longer any hope, and left no trace behind him; like Ambiorix he died unknown, but free.

Comm, king of the Atrebates, had expiated by brilliant services to the Gallic cause his error in having at first been Caesar's friend. Labienus, dreading his influence, had enticed him

¹ Correus, named Cricirus upon coins. Head with helmet and winged horse. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 73.)

² Cotuatus or Gutruatus, war-chief of the Carnutes in the seventh and eighth campaigns. Head of Venus and a monogram. On the reverse, a winged lion. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 22.)

to an interview. It was agreed that at the moment when the Roman officer Volusenus took the Gaul's hand, the centurions who



Coin of Comm, Chief of the Atrebatas and Morini.¹

accompanied him should fall upon Comm and stab him with their swords. But his friends averted the blow, and Comm, though grievously wounded, escaped. When his people were treating for peace, and wished, in order to save him, to include him among the hostages, he refused; "I have sworn," said he, "never to meet a Roman face to face again," and he disappeared into the depths of the woods. Some fugitives joined him there. He continued the war with them, infesting the neighbourhood of the camps and cutting off convoys on their way to the quarters of the legions. One day he met the prefect Volusenus at the head of a detachment of cavalry. The sight of his enemy aroused his anger. The Gauls were fewer in number, but Comm entreated them to help him in his vengeance. By feigning flight he drew Volusenus far ahead of his men, then wheeled round, fell furiously upon him and wounded him with a javelin. The Romans hastened up; he could not despatch him, but his vengeance was satisfied; he sent deputies to Antony, and offered to lay down his arms on condition of being allowed to live where he would be sure of never meeting a Roman.

The last resistance was offered by an obscure town. The invasion of Caninius in the west had obliged Lucetius, the former lieutenant of Vercingetorix, to give up the idea of a fresh invasion of Gallia Narbonensis, and he had thrown some troops into the little stronghold of *Uxellodunum*² (probably Puy d'Issolu), in the territory of the Cadurci (Quercy).

Caninius immediately laid siege to it. The fortress, built amid steep rocks, was so strong that Cæsar had time to arrive from Belgica, and it was only by cutting off the supply of water from the besieged that they were forced to surrender. The

¹ Head with helmet. On the reverse, a horse running free. Coin of Comm, chief of the Atrebatas and Morini. (De Sauley, *ibid.*, No. 34.)

² At *Uxellodunum* Cæsar was on the frontier of Aquitania, where he had not yet made his appearance; he went and passed the summer there with two legions, visited Gallia Narbonensis, again traversed the whole of Gaul, and stopped at *Nemetocena*, among the Atrebatas, in the heart of Belgica. Before the end of the winter, 51-50 B.C., he returned into Gallia Cisalpina.

proconsul, whom such a prolonged war might have ruined, was desirous of making a terrible example of these last defenders of Gallie liberty. All whom he found in Uxellodunum had their hands cut off; scattered throughout Gaul, they proclaimed the fate reserved by the Romans for those whom they would no longer look upon as aught but rebels. A traitor gave up Lucetius (51 B.C.).¹

This atrocity was the last act of the Gallic war. No struggle left greater memories in the ancient world. "During these eight years," says Plutarch, "Cæsar stormed more than 800 towns, subdued 300 nations, and conquered 3,000,000 of men, of whom a third perished on the battlefield, and another third were sold." It matters little if the figures are exaggerated; they show how the minds of the ancients were impressed by these gigantic combats. Gaul had an end worthy of the renown that so many victories and conquests had given it. We, her sons, may be permitted to honour a heroic resistance.

But after this homage paid to the courage of our forefathers, let us acknowledge that, in view of the general interests of the world, Cæsar had brought to a glorious close the list of conquests of the Roman republic. A great war was ended and a great work commenced. The Roman frontier carried from the Alps to the Rhine; German barbarism driven back and restrained; Græco-Latin civilization spread along the banks of the Saône, the Loire, and the Seine, and thus gaining a sufficiently wide base to prevent its ever in days of misfortune being stifled by invaders,—such was the service which Cæsar had rendered not only to Rome, but to humanity. In this work he had employed eight years, eleven legions, the inexhaustible resources of Roman discipline, and his own genius and incomparable activity. Till then Gaul had been like the untamed horse we see stamped on Nervian coins, free and fiery in its movements; he had curbed it. But as soon as it had accepted its new condition, he set himself to obliterate the memory of its defeat and to close the sores of that terrible war. During a whole year he visited the principal cities to win over men's minds and calm their hearts.

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de Cæsar*, pl. 30.
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There were no confiscations giving the land over to his soldiers, for he had not bought them with ten years of victories and booty to make them, on the eve of Pharsalia, peaceful husbandmen in the Gallic plains. No heavy tribute was imposed, only what the new province had consented to pay during the war (40,000,000 sesterces, or £320,000). And even then there were numerous exemptions in favour of allies and towns who had managed to win that privilege, especially of the Gallic nobles who were to form a devoted faction in each city and remain clients of Cæsar. To these favours he added what Rome's subjects hardly knew, respect for the conquered, for their glory, for trophies, even those raised at his own expense. He had lost his sword in battle; one day his soldiers found it hung up in a Gallic temple and wanted to tear it down. "Let them keep it," said he, "it is sacred." He left them much more than this—their priests, their religion, their laws, and after the victory, he seemed to remain among them only to impose public peace upon them and to associate them with Roman greatness.

The fact was he had an interest in now attaching this valiant race. The conquest of Gaul had provided him with an army well-inured to war, and at the same time devoted to himself, with vast wealth and immense influence in the Republic. He could no longer re-enter Rome as a simple citizen.

¹ Bust of a man with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, a horseman holding a lance in rest. (*de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 44; De Sauley, *Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, No. 51.)



Coin of Epasnactus, Chief of the Arverni.¹

CHAPTER LV.

HOME POLICY DURING THE PROCONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR (58-49 B.C.).

I.—CLODIUS, CICERO, AND MILO.

IT was nine years since Rome had seen starting on the Flaminian Way the elegant scapegrace who mingled pleasure with the gravest business,¹ and who appeared to be as anxious about the folds of his toga as the success of an election. None had thought that with a constitution so impaired by excesses and labours he could withstand the fatigues of a long war. But they heard that he had beaten 400,000 Helvetii and 120,000 Suevi, then the Belgæ and Armoricans; again, that he had crossed the Rhine and carried the Roman eagles as far as Britain in the remotest west. And the letters of the officers and soldiers described those terrible struggles in the midst of wild countries, their rapid marches, their immense works, and above all the untiring activity of the man of pale complexion, delicate limbs and uncertain health, who thought he had done nothing so long as aught remained to be done; who swam great rivers and crossed mountains in winter-time; who in rain, in snow, in deep forests or swampy plains, never spared himself more than the lowest of the legionaries, unless when borne in his litter he dictated four letters at a time to his secretaries.²

¹ This brings to mind Servilia's note, received in the midst of a discussion among Catiline's accomplices. Cæsar wrote a good deal. "He was the first to introduce at Rome the custom of communicating with his friends by letter when business or the extent of the city did not allow him time to meet them. (Plut., *Cæsar*, 18.) All his letters are lost save those which have been preserved among Cicero's correspondence. His *Libri auspiorum, de Astris, de Analogia*, his *Apophthegmata*, and the *Anti-Cato* are also lost; there only remain his *Commentaries*.

² Respecting these details, see Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 45, 51, 57; Dion., xliii. 43; Plut., *Julius Cæsar*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 25; and Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 9; *hoc ripas horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est*. He sometimes went a hundred miles a day, and often outstripped his couriers. (Suet., *ibid.*, 54.) Like Alexander, he rode a horse which he alone had been able to break in. (Plut., *ibid.*, 18; Suet., *ibid.*, 57.) On ordinary marches he went on foot amid his

He was no longer the man whom the Roman idlers called the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline, but the great general who, without having for a moment distracted Rome's attention from her pleasures, had brought to her feet that Gallic race whose turbulent courage had so long troubled the ancient world. Thirty battles in which 3,000,000 men had been engaged were well worth Pompey's equivocal victories and the laurels he had gleaned in the track of so many less fortunate rivals.

Whilst to the means of influence which he already possessed, Caesar was adding the most powerful of all, the prestige of glory, what had become of the Republic? In order to understand these deplorable times properly and to judge the actors justly, we must glance into the sink of boundless ambitions, paltry vices, and aimless crimes, in which the people was represented by gladiators and a few drunken mendicants, the senate by trembling old men,¹ the laws by bargains, liberty by riots—a hateful time which spoils even Cicero and Cato for us, and in which the leaders of the senate, as well as those of the people, degraded and abased themselves as if to bring into greater prominence the inevitable master whose image, notwithstanding its distance, was ever present and seemed daily to grow upon the horizon.

We left Clodius master of the Forum with the approbation of the triumvirs. But he was too ambitious to be long contented to serve as the instrument of other men's ambition. By putting up to auction his favour and the influence which his office gave him, by selling impunity to Menula of Anagnia, to Brogitarus the rich priesthood of Cybele of Pessinus, to a hundred others everything they could buy, he collected sufficient money to satisfy the ruffians with whom he had surrounded himself. At the head of an armed band he pulled down Cicero's house on the Palatine, and in order that it might not be rebuilt on the same site he consecrated it to the Goddess of Liberty. A statue of a courtesan which his brother Appius had brought from Tanagra was placed in the shrine and represented the goddess: it was the true representation of the

soldiers, with his head bare in spite of the sun and rain. (Suet., *ibid.*, 54.) He shared their food; one day he caused a slave to be beaten for serving him with a better loaf. (Suet., *ibid.*, 47.) It was thus that, as Montesquieu says, he conquered his soldiers.

¹ *Desipientem senatum.*

liberty which he loved and which is called License. The consuls Gabinius and Piso whom he had won over by securing them the two rich governments of Macedonia and Syria, aided him in pillaging the orator's villas, whence they carried off the most precious furniture and the curiosities of all kinds which Cicero had collected. Thanks to the dejection of the senate, the indifference of the people, and the listlessness of Pompey, Rome saw a man established in power whose only policy was audacity. Vatinius, Caesar's principal agent during his patron's consulship, was cited before the prætor: Clodius overthrew the tribunal and drove away the judges. Pompey had given into the charge of one of his friends the young Tigranes his prisoner; the prince bribed the tribune who let him escape, and to cover his flight attacked and slew his pursuers. This was a direct offence against the triumvir, and others followed: for such was the self-confidence of this man, sprung from the proudest of the patrician races, that the conqueror of Asia seemed to him a meddlesome rival who must be crushed. Pompey's friends were threatened with accusations; he himself was the butt of raillery which he could not answer and which ruined his popularity, so that at length he came to desire the return of the exile (Cicero). Some tribunes proposed it; it was supported by the whole senate, even by Gabinius, on whom his patron Pompey imposed this recantation. But Clodius sent out his retainers; the consul was wounded, the assembly dissolved, and the matter adjourned. Dazzled by this success, he thought he could attack the other triumvir with impunity, and he asked the senate to rescind the *Julian Laws* as having been made contrary to the auspices.¹

It was too much, however, to struggle with Cæsar and Pompey at the same time. The latter wrote to his ally among the Gauls to know what he thought of the recall of Cicero,² and Sextius, a tribune-elect was the bearer of the letter:³ a double proof of the accord which still existed between these two powerful men, and of the high authority Cæsar still retained at Rome, where

¹ Cic., *pro Domo*, 15.

² "He is only waiting," says Cicero (*ad Att.*, iii. 18), "for a letter from Cæsar to get the proposition brought forward by one of his partisans."

³ *Pro Sextio*, 33.

Pompey, the senate, and the college of tribunes, dared do nothing of importance without making sure of his feelings in the matter. Cæsar ceased opposing the return of the orator, who would probably after this bitter experience give up the idea that he was an indispensable man; and the triumvirs allowed none but opponents of Clodius to attain office for the following year.

On the first of January B.C. 57, the new consuls¹ having demanded the recall of Cicero, the senate passed a decree most honourable to the exile; but when the projected law was brought before the public assembly, Clodius and his retainers prevented the voting. Cicero advised that he should be fought with his own weapons. There was then upon the tribunes' bench, Milo, an individual devoid of talent, but also of scruples, a desperate man, overwhelmed with debt, who could escape his creditors only by obtaining a province to plunder. For that he must belong to a party; he gave himself up to Pompey, and Cicero's friends furnished him with the means of enrolling a band of gladiators like Clodius.

Such was the powerlessness of the laws and the magistrates that nothing was now done but under the protection of one of other of these two bands of brigands. Oftentimes they came to blows. In one of these encounters Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was seriously wounded, and only escaped by hiding beneath some of the slain; a tribune was nearly killed. In order to cast the odium of this attempt upon their foes, the friends of Clodius wished to kill another tribune, one of their own party, and then accuse Milo of the murder. So great was the number of deaths "that the bodies blocked up the Tiber and filled the sewers, and the Forum was flooded with blood."² The senators summoned many Italians to Rome; they forbade observations of the heavens which each party produced according to its own requirements, and while Milo kept Clodius in check with his gladiators, the law of recall was passed. After an absence of seventeen months Cicero

¹ They were Lentulus Spinther, one of the judges who had condemned Clodius in his first trial, and Metellus Nepos, Cicero's old enemy, who was a relative of Clodius, but who had been compelled by his relations with Pompey to follow the policy of the latter. Appius, a brother of Clodius, who was afterwards Cicero's predecessor in the government of Cilicia, had succeeded in getting himself chosen prætor.

² Cic., *pro Sextio*, 35; *Ad Att.*, iii. 10; *Ibid.*, iv. 2, 5. [probably a gross exaggeration.—*Ed.*]

entered Rome again, borne aloft, said he, by the arms of all Italy (August 16, 57 B.C.). For a whole year the senate and Pompey had had no thought but this return of Cicero, while Cæsar had employed the time in bringing three wars to a victorious close.

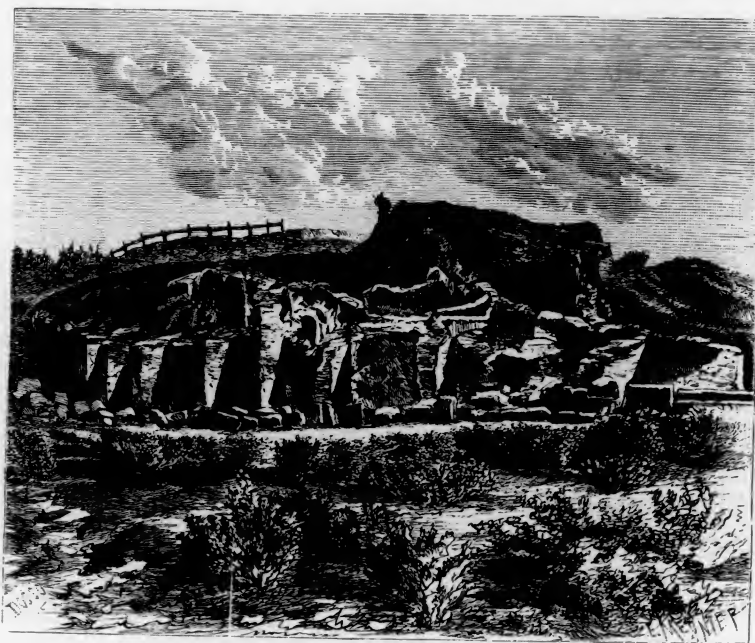
What were the character and policy of this man, for whom the senate had suspended all business for six months? The confidence which he formerly felt in himself and in the institutions of his country had been weakened by the triumvirate; his exile completely destroyed it. In misfortune all his philosophy had broken down, and he had fallen into a state of deep dejection. "Can I forget," he repeated to his friends, "what I was and what I have lost?" Rutilius had given a different example. From that time his conduct ceased to correspond with the greatness of the part he had played six years previously, and which he resumed for a few days only on the morrow after Cæsar's death. After all, what could he do, he, a *novus homo*, without any family connections with the aristocracy, and whom the nobles taunted with his origin? His scheme of universal conciliation had failed, like that of Drusus. Men of wealth who had crowded round him at a time when all fortunes seemed to be threatened, now went where their interest called them, to those who controlled public works and the tributes of provinces at their pleasure. The orders, the comitia, the senate! Idle words, empty forms, faint memories of a Republic which no longer existed. Might was right,¹ and the might lay with him who had most daring. Cicero, who was admirably qualified for the peaceful contests of quiet times, had not sufficient boldness to make a direct attack on the powerful men of the day. Against Catiline he had been energetic and resolute because a great party supported him and the cause was won beforehand. Now the standard he had then raised gathered no one round it, and he perceived that in a Republic which is drawing near its end eloquence may give fresh power for a time, but arms alone will secure it. He found that the nobles did not entertain a sufficiently vigorous hatred for his enemy Clodius, and that they grudged the indemnity for his wrecked and plundered houses. "I see clearly," he sadly wrote,² "that I have

¹ *Mensuraque juris vis erat.* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 175.)

² *Ad Att.*, iv. 5.

been a regular fool."¹ Accordingly, care for his own interests replaced political preoccupation, and he whom the senate and the people had proclaimed Father of his Country became Pompey's lieutenant and Cæsar's agent.

A short time after his return a temporary scarcity led to a riot; shouts of death to the senate were uttered, and the rioters



Ruins of Cicero's House at Arpinum.

threatened to burn the senators in the Curia. Cicero hastened to discharge his debt of gratitude to Pompey by supporting a motion conferring upon him the superintendence of provisions for five years, with the inspection of all ports and markets throughout the

¹ *Scio me asinum germanum fuisse.* Cicero at first possessed no fortune. In spite of the *lex Cincia*, the clients whom he protected made him rich presents; one of them, P. Sylla, lent him 2,000,000 sesterces (£16,000); citizens put him down according to the Roman custom in their wills, and these legacies amounted to 20,000,000 sesterces (Philipp., ii. 16); his government of Cilicia brought him in 2,200,000 (£17,600). His wife Terentia had had a dowry of 120,000 drachmæ (£4,440), and she possessed a forest near Tusculum, etc. We know he had four houses at Rome, and at least eight important villas. For the rebuilding of his house at Rome the senate allowed him 2,000,000 sesterces; for the damage done to his villa at Tusculum

empire.¹ Pompey liked these extraordinary functions, which placed him beyond the common law, but he would have wished to join to his mission a military command, an army, a fleet, the right of drawing at will upon the treasury, and finally, authority over all governors of provinces; in his mind he even added to these the conquest of Egypt in order to make that country the granary of Rome. The senate, who retained all their spite against him, and were secretly encouraged by Crassus and Cæsar's friends, refused the royalty demanded of them, and only granted the care of the provisions. It was still a very great office, for it made him "absolute master of the navigation and agriculture of the whole world."² He solemnly appointed fifteen lieutenants as if for a difficult business, and Cicero consented to be the first on the list. The orator would have accepted even less, for in the effusion of his gratitude he forgot the position which his talents had won for him. His chief anxiety for the moment was to obtain pontiffs who would annul the consecration which Claudius had made of the ground on which his dwelling had stood. Acting on the favourable decision of the college, the senators ordered the rebuilding of his house at Rome and of his villa at Tusculum. Clodius dispersed the workmen and nearly killed Cicero. On another occasion he attempted to set fire to the houses of Quintus and Milo. Being accused by the latter of these violences, he continued them, even while he was canvassing the ædileship, and Milo prevented his obtaining it only by declaring that he was observing the heavens. The election was thus delayed.

Milo's tribuneship came to an end; Clodius got himself elected ædile, which put a stop to all prosecution directed against him, and in his turn he accused Milo; Pompey defended him; but Clodius stirred up a riot in the crowd round the tribunal, and poured the most cutting ridicule upon the awkward advocate.

500,000; for the one at Formiæ 250,000 (*ad Att.*, iv. 2), and this he considered far too little, *valde illiberaliter*. He must have put his money to some use, too. Brutus did so, and we know at what a usurious rate—48 per cent. Victor Leclerc, the enthusiastic editor of Cicero, assigns him eighteen villas, and thinks that, counting the houses of call, the number may be raised to twenty-three. But it must be said that, like great artists, Cicero was a very bad manager.

¹ *Cic.*, *ad Att.*, iv. 1; *Livy*, *Epit.*, civ.

² *Plut.*, *Pompeius*, 49.

This scene must be read in Cicero's letters to gain a clear idea of the state at which the Republic and liberty had arrived. "Pompey spoke, or rather, tried to do so, for as soon as he rose the band of Clodius began its clamouring, and throughout the speech there was nothing but vociferations and insults. When he had finished, Clodius in his turn desired to speak, but our men did the same to him, and with such a noise that he lost ideas and voice. For two hours insults and obscene verses were showered upon him; on his side he cried out to his partisans amid the tumult; 'Who wants to starve the people?' and the band replied; 'Pompey!' — 'Who wants to get sent to Alexandria?' 'Pompey!' At length they came to blows. Picture to yourself our grave friend, with his solemn vanity and his triumphal airs, receiving these biting epigrams full in his face amid such tumults; he suffered cruelly."

Another matter increased his mortification. Ptolemy Auletes, being expelled by the Alexandrians, had come to Rome, counting for the recovery of his crown on the support of Cæsar, whom he had already paid, and on that of Pompey, who lodged him in his house. Feeling himself daily sinking in public opinion, Pompey was anxious, in order to get out of this unpleasant position by some brilliant expedition, to obtain the mission of re-establishing the prince. The Egyptians, crushed by the taxes imposed by Auletes, sent a hundred ambassadors to Rome to plead their cause. Some of them were slain on the way, others were bribed. One of them who would have revealed everything was assassinated. Pompey, nevertheless, continued his protection of his worthless guest, but did not succeed in getting himself appointed to reinstate him in his kingdom. A *senatus-consultum* conferred that mission upon the governor of Cilicia; and in order that Pompey might find no pretext for reversing the decision, threatening prodigies appeared, and the Sibylline books were made to speak: they forbade the employment of soldiers for restoring Egypt to the king. We shall see later on how this disgraceful affair terminated.

Clodius tried to make these presages serve two purposes by directing them against Cicero too. The gods were offended, said he, at the profanation of a plot of ground which he had consecrated to a goddess. The orator replied. But both sides

grew weary of this hypocritical contest carried on at the expense of heaven; they returned to blows and violence, and Cicero, supported by Milo, broke the brazen tablets in the Capitol, upon which were engraved the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius. The ex-consul himself became the leader of a band in the city, and he incurred the severe reproaches of Cato, who was just returning from Cyprus; in one of these frays the great orator Hortensius was nearly slain.¹

This mission to Cyprus, honourable as it was to Cato, who had accepted it against his own inclination, and displayed his integrity in it, was not so honourable to Rome. Under the pretext that the king of Cyprus, a brother of Auletes, had connived at the proceedings of the pirates, he was ordered, although he had received the title of Friend of the Roman

Hortensius.²

People, to abdicate his throne. Cato offered him as compensation the rich priesthood of the Venus of Paphos. He preferred to poison himself, and his kingdom was annexed to the province of Cilicia as domain of the Republic. Cato brought back 7,000 talents (nearly £1,720,000), rich furniture, and all the royal properties: we know that when

¹ Cic., *pro Milone*, 14.

² Visconti, *Iconographie romaine*, and Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1049, No. 3213. This bust was found at the villa Hadriana at the same time as that of the philosopher Isocrates.

Rome plundered palaces and temples she left nothing behind. It is unfortunate that the name of Cato should be connected with an expedition which looked as if it had been made by highwaymen.

But he was too much of a Roman not to be anxious, when the annoyance of having to commit an injustice was over, for the ratification of his mission, which had added a province to the empire and a treasure to the *erarium*. Now Cicero was desirous of annulling all the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius as having been accomplished in opposition to the auspices, and the sending of Cato to Cyprus was one of these acts. Hence arose a coolness between Cicero and Cato. Each regarding only his personal interests, and acting according to his personal likes and dislikes, it seemed as though there was no longer any political party left. The true master of Rome in the year 56 was the ædile Clodius, and who could say what Clodius wished? Pompey threatened by him and attacked by Cato, knew not what to do or say. He was afraid of being assassinated; he dared not venture out into the streets of Rome, and only went to the senate when the assembly was held near his abode. "They have a design against my life," said he to Cicero. "Crassus supports Cato, who gets up suits against my friends. They furnish Clodius with money, they stir up Bibulus, Curio, and many others against me. It is time I provided for my safety, unless I want to perish, abandoned as I am by this people that has ears for none but babblers, by a hostile nobility, by an unjust senate, and a depraved youth. I am therefore, going to summon the country-people." And Cicero adds; "Clodius is preparing his band, but hitherto we have the advantage in numbers, and we are expecting recruits from Picenum and Gallia Cisalpina. When the bills against Milo and Lentulus come on we shall be in force."¹

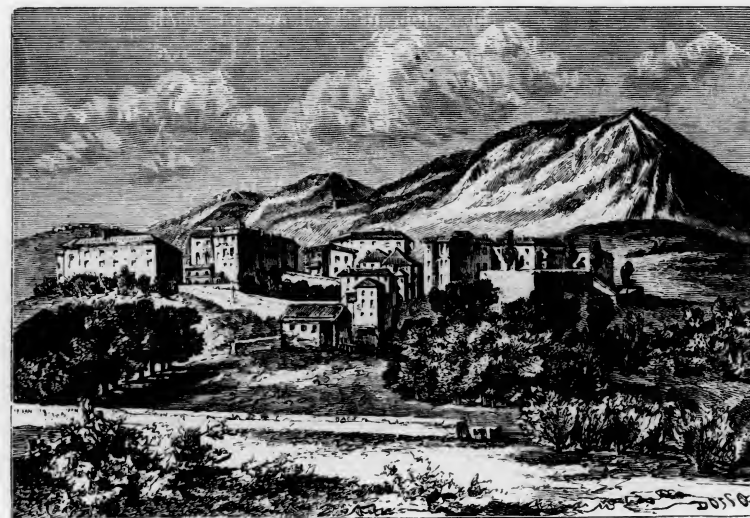
Thus real battles replaced legislative discussions, and the orator who had so often been successful on the platform promised himself wonders, not from his eloquence, but from the vigour of his recruits; so that we can clearly see what violence effected, but no longer where liberty existed. How beautiful are Cicero's words;

¹ *Ad Quint.*, ii. 3.

Legum omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus. But everyone wished to be the law's master and none was its slave.

Another thing stands out clearly from the body of facts just given—the growing unpopularity of Pompey among the senate and people, and consequently the necessity he experienced of entering into closer relations with the all-powerful conqueror of the Gauls, even at the cost of submitting to any conditions in exchange for his co-operation.

This is the secret of the conference at Lucca, and it explains



Lucca.¹

the events of the year 55 B.C., in which the fate of Rome was decided.

II.—CONFERENCE AT LUCCA (56 B.C.); EXTENSION OF CÆSAR'S POWERS.

While the capital of the Roman world was given over to miserable intrigues, Cæsar was pursuing his glorious career. He seemed to be wholly occupied in his struggle with the Belgæ, the Suevi, or the Britons, but without quitting the provinces he was

¹ Remains of ancient baths in the foreground. (From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

present at Rome. Gold, silver, and the spoils of conquest went thither to be divided among the ædiles, the prætors, and even the consuls and their wives.

But Cæsar's glory, this conquest of Rome, effected at the same time as that of Gaul, was a fresh source of irritation to the nobles, and their opposition was redoubled against the victor whom they would willingly have seen vanquished or slain. "Society" took part in the matter. Women then held a great place in Roman society. Every beauty gathered round her a court anxious to win her favour. Fêtes were given, at which all Rome was entertained, and along the enchanted shores of Baïæ and Puteoli they turned night into day, or floated indolently over the sleeping waves amid music, singing, and flowers.¹ Gallant adventures were frequent and much talked of, and the license in speech was as great as in manners. Cæsar had risen too high by his victories for men of pleasure not to find, between their cups, at the close of a joyous repast, some biting piece of scandal against the former sybarite, whose labours were a reproach to their frivolity. Catullus, the most famous poet of the time, who has been called a republican in spite of himself, brought savage epigrams to these suppers. The insults that are fit to quote were the least among them. And the women applauded these invectives against the man who deprived them for war of those whom they would fain have retained for their pleasure. Nor was Pompey spared more than he.

Suetonius has preserved the memory of the *famosa epigrammata* of another poet, Licinius Calvus, against the two triumvirs,² and these pieces, copied by some, recited by others with insulting commentaries, passed from hand to hand among the nobility. Wits often judge by the smaller sides of a man's character; the people, who simply feel, receive the vivid impression of great things unresistingly; they were proud of these Gallie victories which wiped out Rome's greatest humiliation and spread her name

¹ Cic., *pro Celio*, 15: *Libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, convivia, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia*. This pleading belongs to the same year as the conference of Lucca (56 B.C.).

² Calvus was afterwards desirous of being reconciled with Cæsar, and the general, who heard of it, wrote to him first. When Catullus made excuses for his verses he admitted him to his table the same day. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 73.)

far and wide.¹ Cæsar took care to let them be known in the city. A service of couriers perfectly organized quickly conveyed the news of his battles,² and the bulletins of the great army were a glorious reply to the malicious verses which the feigned republicans composed to destroy the proconsul's popularity.

For the time being, they were engaged in attempts to deprive him of his army and his provinces. The senate settled the proconsular provinces eighteen months in advance, and Cæsar's *quinquennium*, which had begun in 58 must end in 54; there was some ground therefore, for asking who should replace him.³ Domitius Ahenobarbus, his old enemy, who was canvassing the consulship for the year 55, loudly declared that when he quitted office, consequently in 54, he should put himself at the head of the army in Gaul. A tribune had attacked the *Julian Law* relating to lands, and the debate in the curia had been very stormy. Cicero had been engaged in the matter. The nobility and he thought the moment had come for settling Cæsar's pretensions, and Pompey's too. The one was threatened in his command by the sending of a successor, and in his popularity by the repeal of his laws. The other, scoffed at by the people and repelled as a turncoat by the nobles, found himself exactly where the jealousy of the senate had placed him five years before, on his return from Asia, when Cæsar had saved his honour by obtaining the ratification of the acts of his generalship. Finally, if the Conscript Fathers had no army, they had Milo's band of gladiators, which increased in numbers daily,⁴ and that was sufficient to get some vexatious proposition passed unexpectedly. It was high time then to take counsel. Cæsar prepared for

¹ Since Cæsar's brilliant successes, all opposition offered to him goes against the popular feeling and is unanimously condemned. (*ad Fam.*, i. 9.)

² Two of Cæsar's letters to Cicero arrived from Britain in twenty-eight and twenty-six days respectively.

³ Since the *Sempronian Law*, the consular provinces had been selected by the senate before the election of the consuls, which took place in July 1, and the men chosen only entered office on January 1 following. The appointment must therefore take place more than eighteen months before the proconsul in charge ceased his functions. If Cicero in the *de Prov. cons.* (end of May, 56) combated the proposal to dispose of Cæsar's provinces, if Domitius declared that after his consulship in 55 he would assume the governorship of the Gauls, it was because Cæsar's powers only expired in 54 B.C.

⁴ See (*ad Quint.*, ii. 6) how Milo bought under an assumed name the gladiators whom C. Cato could no longer support.

a striking display of his influence and a secret convention which should ensure its duration.

He was ending the winter at Lucca when the news spread in Rome that Crassus and Pompey had repaired thither to meet him,



Bestiarius.¹

that 200 senators were paying their court to him, with such a large number of important men that as many as 120 fasces of prætors and proconsuls had been seen at his door. Jupiter thundering in a clear sky would have caused far less terror than this terrible news; forthwith defections took place among the senators left in Rome. The most important was that of Cicero.

In the month of April, 56 B.C., he still spoke against the triumvirs with as much passion as Domitius, and he placed the grotesque Bibulus

above all the conquerors in the world. Terrified by this unexpected triumph, which attested Cæsar's power at Rome and even in the senate, he threw himself on his side, blushing at his own want of courage, but openly avowing it. "Yes, it is a recantation;" writes he to Atticus, "farewell to integrity, to truth, and fine maxims; but who could imagine what perfidy there is in our so-called leaders. They have put me forward

¹ Marble group which formed part of the Giustiniani Collection. The rarity of the subject renders it peculiarly interesting. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 871, No. 2220.)

and then abandoned me and pushed me over the precipice." And even while he quoted Plato he told himself that he had done enough for the Republic, that it was time to think of repose and security¹; "I must make an end of it; since those who can do nothing refuse me their friendship, I will seek friends among those who can do much," and he became "more supple than the ear-lap." C. Cato, one of the tribunes, made, it seems, the most violent propositions against Cæsar; Cicero styled them detestable and monstrous laws; and he never again let slip an opportunity of praising the proconsul of Gaul, declaring that instead of recalling him they ought to compel him to remain in his government, if he wished to leave it before the completion of his glorious labours. It is true that in his correspondence Cicero displayed totally different sentiments. This contradiction may be of service in estimating his character and courage, but it concerns his biographers only; his public adhesion, which must have induced that of many others, is of importance to the historian, for it explains the powerlessness of the republicans.

When Pompey, however, returned from Lucca to Rome there were violent altercations in the senate. Whilst some persisted in the proposal to recall Cæsar, others demanded for him the right of choosing ten lieutenants and drawing upon the treasury for the pay of the six legions which he had added to the four originally comprised in his government. Cicero opposed the former motion and supported the second; they dared not neglect his advice.² Did they think in their present ignorance about the conventions of Lucca, that by this concession they would win over Cæsar's friends, and with their support bring about the failure of the demand for a new consulship for Crassus and Pompey? Possibly so, at least the senatorial majority immediately turned against the two triumvirs, and decreed a national mourning, which was only assumed in public calamities. Preceded by the consul Marcellinus and clothed as on funeral days,³ the senators went down to the

¹ *Ad Att.*, iv. 5; *Ita et esse et fore auricula infima scito molliorem* (*ad Quint.*, ii. 13 [15A.]); Letter to Lentulus. (*ad Familiares*, i. 7.)

² *Ad Familiares*, i. 7.

³ Dion says further on (xl. 46) that this mourning consisted in laying aside the senatorial toga and assuming the dress of knights, that is to say, in appearing degraded to a lower class.

Forum in the hope of impressing the imagination of the people by this display, and obtaining from them some favourable resolution. It was not for the Republic and for liberty that they wore mourning, but for an oligarchy which felt its end drawing near. Therefore, when the funeral pageant advanced, when their haughty faces were cast down, with tears in their eyes, when those insolent hands were stretched suppliantly towards the crowd, the latter replied to this theatrical display of interested grief by angry jeering. In spite of the order of the senate, Pompey had retained his ordinary dress, and in energetic terms he censured this seditious proceeding. To his words Clodius added sarcasms and invectives; the uneasy senators hastily returned to the place where they had held their sitting, and as Clodius was nearly killed in the scuffle, the people wanted to burn the Curia and all who were in it.

As the pathetic policy had not succeeded, the senate tried authority, and drew up a decree, the terms of which we do not know, but which was doubtless intended to restore them the advantage in their struggle with Pompey. A large number of senators who were attached to or bribed by the triumvirs prevented its passing. Then Marcellinus, addressing himself directly to Caesar's associates, asked them; "Do you both wish for the consulship, then?" "Perhaps so," they replied. Everyone understood what was meant, and the senate, seeing its own impotence, ceased its functions. "It was impossible," says an old historian, "to assemble the number of members required by the law,¹ to pass a senatus-consultum on the election of the magistrates, and the year ended without the senate going out of mourning; they were present neither at the public games nor at the banquet held in the Capitol in honour of Jupiter, nor at the Latin *feriæ* at the Alban Mount. As though they had been reduced to slavery, they took no part in any public affair."² Even the courts were suspended.

The consular elections had not been made at the usual time,

¹ Probably a hundred at least; that is the number required by the senatus-consultum (*de Bacchanalibus*; see vol. ii. p. 245.)

² Dion, xxxix. 29 and 30. *Curie taciturnitatem annuam, . . . silentium perpetuum iudiciorum ac fori.* (Cic., in *Pison.*, 14.)

so that every five days it was necessary to appoint an interrex, whose principal duty was to hold the comitia when it was possible to assemble them. The president of these assemblies had great influence over the election, because it was his duty to present the list of candidates to the people; he could refuse to put down names which did not suit him. Crassus and Pompey waited till it came to the turn of a senator on whom they could count, and then put themselves down on the lists. Only one other candidate dared to present himself, Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cato's brother-in-law. On the day of the voting, as he was going to the Forum in the early morning with many of his clients, a band of men fell upon him; the slave who preceded him was killed, and he had only just time to get away, wounded, with Cato; the triumvirs were elected. They filled all offices with their creatures, and prevented the nomination of Cato as prætor. For the ædileship a regular fight took place in the Campus Martius, in which many were killed or wounded. Pompey's toga was covered with blood. At the sight of this blood-stained robe Julia thought her husband was slain, and fainted away. The accident brought on a premature confinement, and from that time she began to droop. In a year's time she died in giving birth to a child which did not live, and Cæsar, who would have been bound to Pompey by twofold bonds, as his wife's father and his child's grandsire, became estranged from him; in a few years he was his opponent, then his enemy. This family misfortune was to cause many disasters.²

The triumvirs had assumed the consulship in order to get something more. The tribune Trebonius brought forward a *rogatio* giving Spain and Africa⁴ to Pompey, and Syria with the neighbouring



Spain Personified.¹



Africa Personified.³

¹ On a denarius of the Postumian family.

² [If I read rightly Cæsar's character, historians have laid far too much stress on this family event. I cannot think that Julia's being alive would have made the smallest difference in the policy of either Cæsar or Pompey. Whether she would have returned to her father or stayed with her husband seems uncertain, but of no political importance.—*Ed.*]

³ AFRICA S. C. Africa, with an elephant's head as head-dress, holds a scorpion in her right hand, her left arm leans upon a horn of plenty; in front of her are some ears of wheat.

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 18, and Plut., *Pomp.*, 52. Africa continued to have special governors,

countries¹ to Crassus for five years, with the right to enrol as many soldiers as they liked. The plebiscitum did not pass without violence; Cato was once more dragged from the rostra and carried off to prison. The senatorial party had succeeded in putting into the tribuneship two of their own men. One of these, Gallus, in order to appear unexpectedly and oppose his veto at the right moment, came by night and hid himself in the Curia Hostilia, near the Forum. Trebonius, who knew of this, shut him up in it and kept him there all day; the other, Ateius, being unable to reach the rostra, was hoisted on to his clients' shoulders and cried that Jupiter was thundering; he was answered by blows, was wounded, and several citizens perished, after which Trebonius declared that the people accepted the law (55 B.C.).

Cæsar had faithfully carried out the arrangements agreed upon at Lucca.² A number of soldiers of the Gallic legions despatched to Rome under the young Crassus, preceded by a glorious reputation, had by their vote ensured the success of the consular elections, and the author of the Trebonian plebiscitum was one of his agents. Crassus and Pompey had now to keep their word. On the day after that on which the rogation of Trebonius had been voted, the two consuls got a law passed called *Licinia-Pompeia*, prolonging Cæsar's proconsulship. For how many years? Doubtless for five.³

Pompey, who was indebted to Cæsar for his extrication from a quandary into an eminent position, could not so soon break his word to him. Cæsar was therefore, as the writers of most authority say, continued in his proconsulship for five years. He had the right to choose ten lieutenants, and to draw, like Pompey, upon the public treasury for the pay of his legions, instead of furnishing it out of the spoils of war, thus leaving vast resources in his hands.

but they were placed under the superior authority of Pompey, who for his superintendence of provisions needed to hold command in the province which was looked upon as Rome's granary.

¹ Καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς. (Dion, xxxix. 33.)

² Ὡστερ ἐπίστησαν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 18.)

³ According to Cicero, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Appian, Plutarch, and Cæsar; for three according to Dion. Reason, agreeing with the oldest texts, says that the prolongation must have been equal in duration to the proconsular powers which Crassus and Pompey had just obtained, and that Cæsar could not consent, as would have happened on Dion's hypothesis, to leave his rivals in possession of armies, provinces and treasures, when he himself became simply a private individual.

Finally a second consulship was promised him for the year 48,¹ and a later law authorized him to canvass for it while absent.² The *triarchy*, or government by three, was re-established.

This time Crassus and Pompey thought they had established equality between themselves and their colleague; they had as many provinces, and they could have as many legions as the proconsul of Gaul. They even had the advantage over him of being in possession of the consulship, and Pompey still retained his superintendence of provisions, which permitted his remaining at the centre of government. But in meditating a struggle with the Parthians which should procure him renown and wealth equal to Cæsar's, Crassus over-estimated his strength; by taking Spain and Africa, which were peaceable provinces save for a few partial revolts, Pompey found neither glory nor spoil for his legions, and the right which he retained of remaining at Rome was the cause of his ruin. At the decisive moment Gaul and the Cæsarians divided the Pompeian legions from their leader, that is to say, when the inevitable rupture took place, Pompey was cut off before hostilities had commenced.

The year 55 passed away without any important events, and the triumvirs, confident of the future, allowed Domitius to obtain the consulship and Cato the prætorship for the following year; the hatred of either no longer seemed dangerous.³

III.—EXPEDITION OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS (54 B.C.).

Crassus was sixty years old, had a large fortune,⁴ but no large views. Loaded with honours, twice consul, his mind untroubled

¹ Our texts do not mention it, but neither do they speak of the agreements concluded at Lucca, because these things are not openly declared; subsequent facts prove that the engagement must have been entered into.

² See p. 252.

³ In the preceding year Cato would have been appointed prætor, had not Pompey, seeing that the prerogative century was giving him its voice, stopped the voting by declaring that he had heard thunder. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 52.) In the elections for the year 54 the canvassing had been shameful, but the aristocracy had made this great effort too late; the triumvirs were secure.

⁴ Though he had during his first consulship consecrated the tenth of his goods to Hercules, given a banquet of 10,000 tables to the people, and distributed to each citizen corn for three

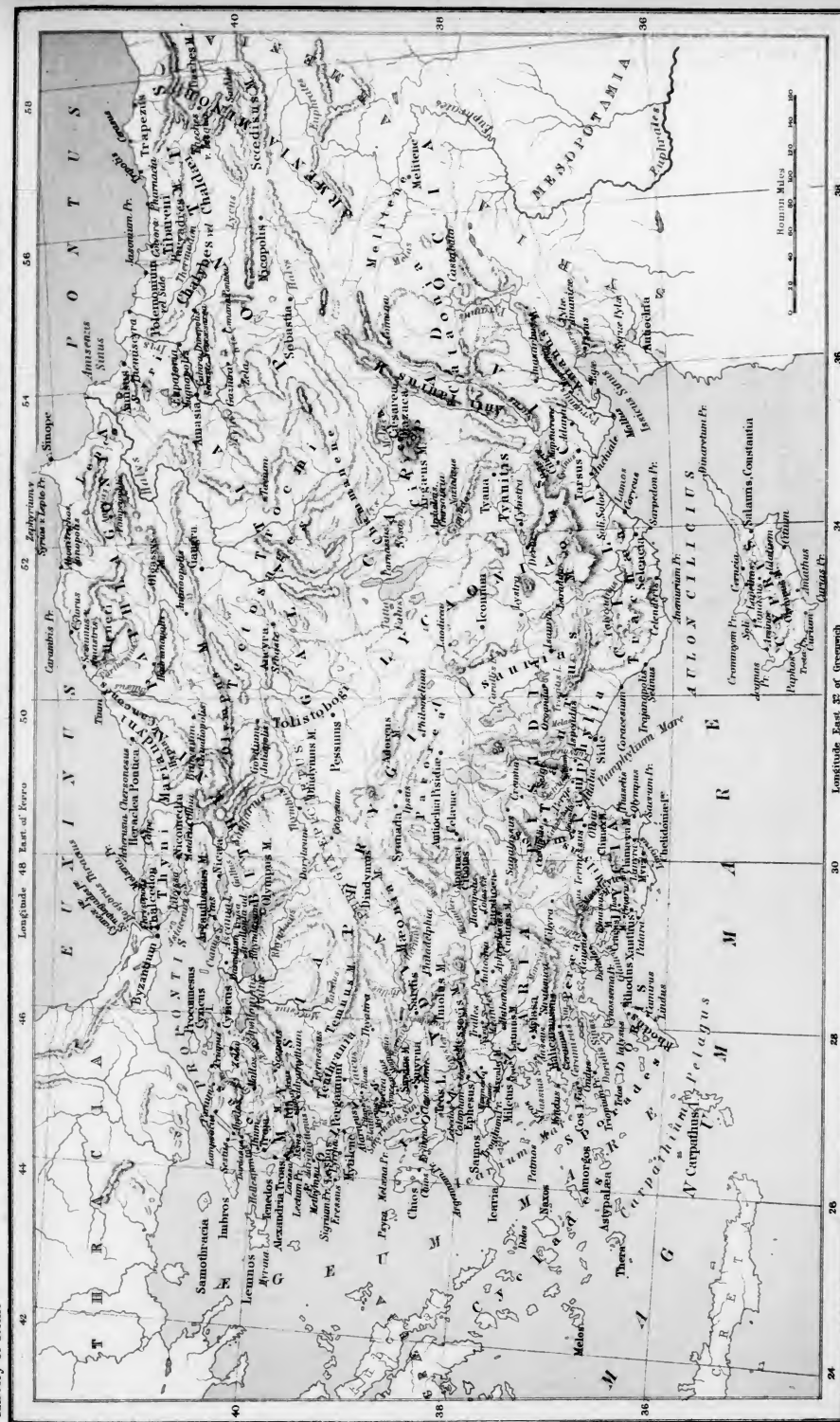
by high and patriotic ideas, he could have quietly enjoyed his wealth and a sufficient amount of public esteem; he would even have found in this voluntary repose what the sage seeks when he reached the wane of life, the *otium cum dignitate*. But his ambition was the ambition of small minds, who desire power, and either know not what to do with it or employ it ill. He wished to raise himself to the stature of Pompey and Cæsar. For sixteen years he had not appeared in the camps, and during these years one had pacified Asia, the other had conquered Gaul. Crassus was anxious to revive by fresh exploits the fading memory of his former successes and to equal the exploits of his rivals. The proconsul of the Gauls had penetrated into the extreme west; he, a new Alexander, would fain cross the Indus and seek, beyond the Ganges, the utmost limits of the East. Cæsar and Pompey encouraged him in his rash enterprise, in order to accustom the Romans to those great commands which were unknown to the true Republic. Crassus did not even wait till the expiration of his consular magistracy; by the 28th of October he had completed his final preparations. But an unexpected opposition broke out against this war. There were eight legions in Gaul, and others in Spain, Africa, and Italy, and now the Syrian expedition required seven more to proceed into unknown dangers, in contempt of treaties and of the Sibylline oracles. The senate had refused the necessary decree, and the people, stirred up by the two tribunes of the party of the nobles, had opposed the departure of Crassus; Pompey had to open a way for him through the crowd by walking before him. At the city gates he found the fierce Ateius, who poured libations and incense on a burning brazier, while he pronounced against him, against his army, and even against Rome the most terrible imprecations.

Since Pompey's administration the face of things had undergone no change in the East. Æmilius Scaurus, his quæstor, whom he had left in Syria with two legions to keep the Arabs in check, had sold peace and war there for three years. His two successors (59—58) had done nothing remarkable, either good or bad, during their brief administration. Yet Syria, placed between Egypt and

months, he still possessed, before the Parthian expedition, 7,100 talents (£1,730,000). (Plut., *Crassus*, 2 and 12.)

ASIA CITERIOR FOR THE WARS OF THE ROMANS IN THAT REGION FROM 48 TO 30 B.C.

History of Rome



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the Parthians, offered many resources to an enterprising spirit; towards the Euphrates there was glory to be won; towards Pelusium riches to be extorted; and besides only three governors had passed over this recent conquest; it was still a good mine to work. Gabinius, Pompey's former agent and the friend of Clodius, had after his consulship got this province given him by the tribune, in order to repair his shattered fortune there. A few fortunate expeditions against the Arabs and Jews, the abolition of royalty in Palestine, which he divided into five provinces, each ruled by a sovereign council, won for him the title of *imperator*. But the senate, urged on by Cicero, his personal enemy, and by the *publicani*, whose rapine he had stopped that he himself might have the more to take, had refused to decree *supplicationes* for him. A second revolt of the Jews had shown the indomitable character of that little nation. Gabinius had left to his quæstor, Marc Antony, a rough and coarse soldier of distinguished bravery, the task of chastising them, in order to leave himself free for a more lucrative expedition against the Parthians. Their king had just been assassinated by two of his sons, who had afterwards disputed the crown, and the weaker of the two implored the aid of Gabinius, promising to guide the legions. Already the Roman general had passed the Euphrates when he was won over by an offer of 10,000 talents, and retraced his steps to go to Alexandria, in spite of the senate and the Sibylline books, to re-establish Ptolemy Auletes, to whom he afterwards sold the half of his army. This shameful expedition was ended, and he was preparing to resume his march to the Euphrates, when Crassus arrived. At Rome an accusation was brought against Gabinius of an attempt against the majesty of the Roman people; he bought his acquittal. But in a second trial, in which Cicero was weak enough to defend him in order to gratify Pompey, he was niggardly towards his judges and was condemned to exile.¹

Crassus embarked his army at Brindisi, and as it was the bad season he dared not trust his fleet to sail round Greece and reach the coasts of Syria through the sea of the Cyclades. These

¹ Concerning Gabinius, see Cic., *de Prov. cons.*; App., *Syr.*, 51; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 4 *sqq.*; and *de Bell. Jud.*, i. 8. This proconsul, who has almost been ranked beside Verres, had yet done good in Judea, where he rebuilt twenty towns. Josephus speaks of him with esteem.

Romans were poor sailors but excellent roadsters. Crassus, disembarking at Dyrrachium, followed the *via Egnatia* through Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; he crossed the Hellespont, no doubt about Lampsacus, and reached Galatia, where he found king Dejotarus engaged, notwithstanding his great age, in building a new town. "What!" said Crassus, "at the twelfth hour of the day you begin to build!" To which the Gaul laughingly replied; "Why, then thyself dost not start very early upon so distant an expedition." Crassus traversed the whole of Asia Minor, and entered Syria from the north.

Arsaces VI.¹

The Parthians originally inhabited a great country bounded on the south, west, and north by the mountains of Persis, of Media, and Hyrcania, and extending on the east in barren plains towards Aria and Margiana. They resembled their neighbours, the Scythians, being, like them, excellent horsemen and incomparable archers. In the middle of the third century before our era they had one of those able chiefs who in a few years prepare a new fortune for a nation. Arsaces shook off the yoke of Alexander's indolent successors and founded the Parthian monarchy, all the kings of which took his name and were called Arsacides. The sixth was a great prince, a legislator and conqueror, who overcame the Grecian king of Bactriana, Eucratidas,² ruled from the Indus to the Euphrates, and in 138 B.C. took Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, prisoner.

Having become masters of Asia, the Parthians had quickly changed their camel-hair tents into sumptuous palaces, their skin dresses into flowing robes,³ their coarse manners into habits of refined effeminaey. They retained however, some remnant of their original vigour; a warlike nobility surrounded the prince. When they set out to war he could summon to his standard eighteen

¹ From a silver coin of Arsaces VI., also called Mithridates I.

² There remains an unique gold coin of this prince. It weighs twenty staters (221½ grains), the thickness is .12342 inches, and the diameter 3.2677 inches. I bought it in 1867, on the information of M. Chabouillet, for 30,000 francs, half of which was furnished by the budget of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and the remainder given by the Emperor. Our Cabinet could now easily dispose of it for 100,000 francs. This coin is given on a separate page, in colours, and of the size of the original.

³ *Illic et laxas vestes et fluxa virorum velamenta vides.* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 331.)



P. S. S. S. S. S.

GOLD COIN OF EUCRATIDAS

Any. Brattling

kings, to whom he had given as fiefs as many satrapies, and his horsemen, the *cataphracti*, clad in coats of mail, were held, after the defeat of Crassus, to be irresistible.¹

The Arsacides, who were enemies of the Armenians, sought the alliance of Rome at the commencement of the contests of Tigranes with the great Republic. In 92 B.C., Arsaces IX. sent deputies to Sylla,² and Arsaces XII. renewed this alliance during the war of Lucullus against the kings of Pontus and Armenia. But when he proposed to Pompey to fix the frontier between the two empires at the Euphrates, the proconsul returned no answer to these overtures, and refused to recognize the prince's title of King of Kings. This was a means of reserving for Roman ambition all future contingencies. The Civil war, which a few years afterwards shook the Parthian empire, seemed as if it must bring it to that state of semi-subjection which for States bordering on Rome was the forerunner of approaching absorption. Gabinius had been on the point of conducting Mithridates, one of the parricidal sons of Arsaces XII., back to Seleucia. Had he made this expedition he would no doubt have left a garrison in the royal town, as he had done at Alexandria, and the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, might have become the eastern frontier of Rome. But the promises of Ptolemy Auletes overcame those of Mithridates, and the Parthian prince, having attempted to overthrow his brother Orodes alone, was besieged, taken, and slain by him in Babylon.

Notwithstanding his death, there remained troubles enough in the kingdom for an able man to have profited by them. Crassus neither gave himself time to become acquainted with the country nor to enter into useful intrigues with the malcontents and the neighbouring nations, who would have furnished him with a numerous cavalry; he hastened to cross the Euphrates, took a few towns, dispersed some troops, and caused himself to be

¹ Among the troops of the king of Armenia there were also *cataphracti*, and Lucullus easily overcame them; but he was a different kind of general from Crassus, and had managed to choose his own battlefield. The Romans at length formed squadrons of *cataphracti*; no other horsemen were known in the Middle Ages, and we still have them in our cuirassiers. The Parthian cavaliers had no shield, that they might draw the bow more easily, and in the plains of Mesopotamia that projectile was far superior to the hand weapons of the legionaries. (Dion, xl. 15.)

² Vol. ii. p. 649.

proclaimed *imperator* for these slight successes. But instead of advancing boldly upon Babylon and Seleucia, since the enemy did not seem ready to defend themselves, and rapidly securing those two towns which held the Parthian rule in detestation, he returned to winter in Syria, where he allowed his army to relax its discipline (54 B.C.). He himself, in spite of his sixty-one years, only busied himself in visiting the temples and despoiling them of their treasures; those at Hierapolis and Jerusalem were plundered; from the latter he carried off 2,000 talents.² An embassy from Orodes having

Artavasdes.¹

demanding an explanation of this violation of the territory of the empire; "I will give an answer," said he, "at Seleucia." To which one of the envoys replied; "You will enter it when hairs have sprouted there," showing him the palm of his hand. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, joined him with 6,000 horsemen clad in mail, and offered a passage through his kingdom, where the Roman army would find provisions, secure roads, ground favourable for his tactics, and the assistance of 30,000 Armenians; Crassus refused.

Coin of Artavasdes.³Coin of Zeugma.⁴

Having decided to cross the plains of Mesopotamia in order to reach Ctesiphon, the new capital of the Parthian empire, more quickly, he passed the Euphrates a second time at Zeugma with seven legions and 4,000 horse. A violent storm broke down the bridges behind him. The legate Cassius wanted to follow the Euphrates and have a flotilla loaded with provisions descend the stream. But an Arab chief sent by the Parthians to draw Crassus into their arid plains

¹ Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1035, No. 3053.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 7.

³ Head of Artavasdes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; Victory marching. Bronze coin of Artavasdes.

⁴ ΖΕΥΜΑΤΕΩΝ, instead of ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ, the name of the inhabitants of Zeugma. Reverse of a great bronze piece of the emperor Philip, struck at Zeugma.

persuaded him that he had only to show himself to conquer, and that he must make haste if he wished to seize their treasures, which they were arranging to hide among the Hyrcanians and Seythians. The proconsul followed this treacherous advice and entered upon that sea of sand where his soldiers soon lacked everything, even confidence in their leader (53 B.C.).

The Parthians had divided their forces. Orodes operated in the north with his infantry with a view of stopping the king of Armenia as he came out of the mountains, and the *suren*, or commander-in-chief, collected an innumerable body of cavalry in the west to envelop the heavy Roman infantry amid the immense plains. The two armies met not far from the little river Balissus (Belik). The young Crassus, who had come from Gaul, where he had distinguished himself, to join his father, had taken command of the cavalry and urged on the decision with confidence. Suddenly the hostile army, apparently small in number, deployed. The close ranks of the Romans resisted the shock, but their arms of short range were useless. If they advanced, the Parthians fled; if they halted, the squadrons wheeled round the motionless mass and riddled it with arrows from a distance.¹ The light infantry which Crassus sent out against them soon took refuge in the midst of the square in disorder. He hoped that at length those terrible arrows would be exhausted, but as soon as the soldiers of the first line emptied their quivers they retired into the rearguard, where camels carried immense supplies. The proconsul ordered his son to break up this circle of men, horses, and arrows which incessantly enveloped the legions. The younger Crassus charged at the head of 1,300 horse, of whom 1,000 were Gauls. The enemy yielded, drew him far from the field of battle, with a part of the infantry which followed him at the sight of a flying enemy, then they wheeled round and surrounded him. What could their javelins do against these men all covered with iron? For a few moments there was a heroic struggle, a hand-to-hand fight; the Gauls dismounted from their horses in order to go and stab those of the

¹ See, on p. 177, an observation of Napoleon on this subject. The arm of the Romans was the *pilum*, which did not go very far, and especially the sword;

*Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis.* (Lucan, *Phars.*, viii.)

enemy in the belly. When their intrepid young leader, covered with wounds, was no longer in a state to fight, they carried him to a hillock and formed a kind of wall round him with their shields. But throughout the extent of the plain there were only hostile squadrons to be seen; flight and resistance were alike impossible. The young Crassus made his squire kill him.

The consul had taken advantage of the lull in the principal attack to reach a hill. He thought the victory was secured, when the enemy's cavalry came back, and with shouts of joy and insulting words paraded his son's head in the face of the legions. The fight began again and lasted till night with the same vicissitudes. At length the Parthians departed, shouting to the unhappy father that they left him a night to bewail his son. Lying on the ground in gloomy dejection Crassus felt the full depth of the abyss into which his ambition had plunged him. In vain did Cassius try to restore his courage; he himself had to give the order for retreat, abandoning 4,000 wounded. They reached the town of Carrhæ, but could not dream of shutting themselves up in it; in the evening the army noiselessly departed. Being led astray by their guides they were again joined by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced the triumvir to accept an interview with the *surenæ*. It was a trap; Crassus and his escort were massacred (June 8, 53 B.C.).

When they brought the triumvir's head to Orodes the *Bacchæ* of Euripides were being played before the barbarian king. The actor seized the hideous trophy, and sang as Agave, who held the head of Pentheus; "We bring from the mountains this stag which has just been slain; we go to the palace, applaud ye our hunting."

Some feeble remnants of the seven legions succeeded in recrossing the Euphrates; Cassius, who had started from Carrhæ before his general, and fortunately reached Syria, had time to organize a defence, and when the Parthians appeared in the following year he repulsed them (52). A second and more formidable attempt, which they made under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of their king, succeeded no better (51). Cassius, shut up in Antioch, allowed them to plunder the province, and when he saw them confident and in disorder he inflicted a defeat

upon them which freed Syria. It was a doubly fortunate success, for the senate had just made the mistake of sending, into the provinces threatened by the Parthians, two of its members most incapable of leading an army, Bibulus into Syria, and Cicero in Cilicia. It was by the drawing of lots that, in virtue of a recent law of Pompey's, these governments had been assigned to them. The decisions of the blind god had very frequently been rectified or forestalled, but this time nothing was done. Fortunately, Bibulus reached his province after the victory of Cassius, and Cicero never had occasion even to see the enemy who had just been driven back across the Euphrates. Emboldened by this defeat, and eager to add the glory of the warrior to that of the orator, Cicero ordered his brother Quintus, who had learnt the art of war under Cæsar, to make Rome's hand felt by certain mountaineers in Cilicia. Quintus burnt several towns, took the stronghold of Pindenissus, and caused his brother to be proclaimed *imperator* by the troops. From that time Cicero never ceased to claim a triumph, and until the middle of the Civil war, when the world was held in suspense by the great struggle between Cæsar and Pompey, he was to be seen wandering about in Italy or Epirus with his lictors, carrying their fasces crowned with laurels, a miserable vanity, which lowers our esteem for the foe of Catiline and Antonius, the author of the *de Officiis* and the *Verrine Orations*.

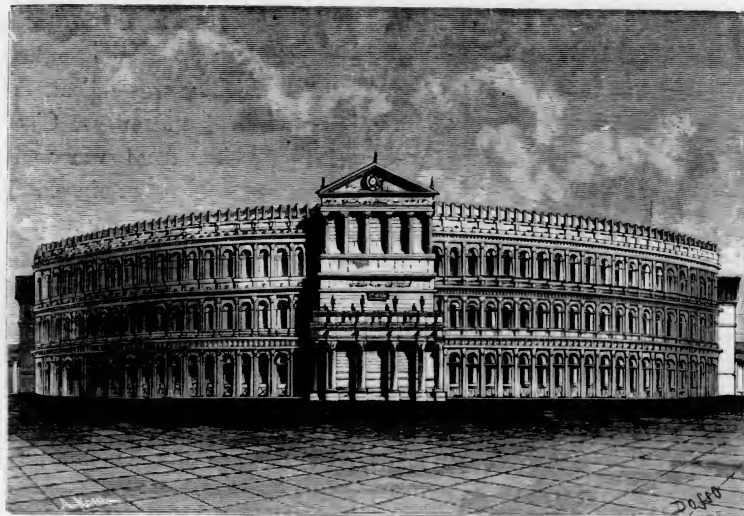
The disaster of Crassus long restrained the rule of Rome from spreading beyond the Euphrates. We shall see later on why it was difficult to cross the river, and why Rome only did so under valiant princes through the north of Mesopotamia.

IV.—FRESH DISORDERS IN ROME; POMPEY SOLE CONSUL (52 B.C.).

During the disastrous expedition of Crassus, Pompey had remained at Rome. He had sought to consolidate his influence by the magnificence of the games which he gave at the inauguration of his theatre; 40,000 spectators were accommodated, and 500 lions were slain. At the expiration of his consular year he had sent lieutenants to Spain, and under the pretext of fulfilling the duties of his office concerning provisions, he had remained near

Rome. This consulship, for which the city had so long been troubled, had produced no results,¹ none, at least, in useful reforms, but many for the ambitious general who had appropriated so many personal advantages. When we compare this sterility with the fruitful activity of Cæsar in 59,² we have the measure of the two men.

On laying down the fasces, Pompey left the Republic in the



Pompey's Theatre.³

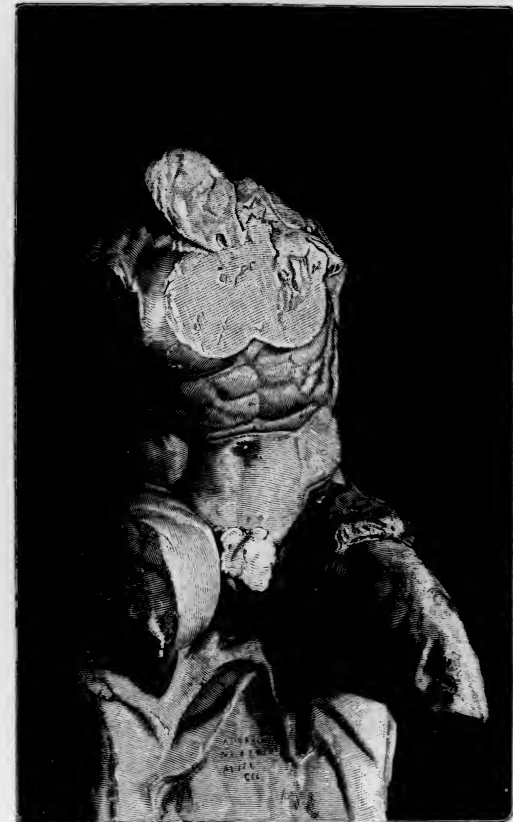
most deplorable condition. All was literally estimated in gold, the merit of the candidates as well as the innocence of accused persons, and the Forum was merely a market where men bought votes, offices, and provinces. Gabinius had sold Egypt for 10,000 talents to Ptolemy Auletes, and robbed the Syrians of 100,000,000

¹ The legislative activity of Pompey and Crassus during their second consulship was only marked by a useless proposal of a sumptuary law, which was not accepted (Dion, xxxix. 37), and by a law to raise the census requisite for being a judge, which had no effect except to increase the price for which judges sold themselves.

² See p. 54 *sqq.*

³ As restored by M. Victor Baltard (Ecole des beaux-arts). It was the first theatre at Rome built of stone. Hitherto the censors had only authorized temporary wooden theatres, but Pompey placed a temple on the summit of his, and the marble benches upon which the spectators sat having now become the steps of a sanctuary, were respected. The law was thus violated, as the Romans were wont to do it, without disrespect.

drachmæ; he had even revolted against Rome, despising the senatus-consultum and the Sibylline books, leaving his province notwithstanding the express prohibitions of the law, and refusing to hand over his government to the successor who was sent to replace him. The irritation against him in the senate was very great, less on account of the illegalities he had committed than of this immense wealth, which seemed as if it would leave nothing for his successors. In spite of Pompey's assistance he was condemned. A single fact will show how far the general depravity extended. C. Memmius, writes Cicero, had just read in open senate an election bargain made between him and his fellow-candidate, Domitius on the one



Torso found near the Theatre of Pompeii.¹

side, and the two consuls in office on the other. By this treaty Memmius and Domitius engaged, on condition of being appointed

¹ It is thought that this admirable torso, which was discovered in the fifteenth century near the spot where Pompey's theatre stood (now *Campo de Fiore*), formed part of a statue of Hercules seated, at the moment when the hero became a god upon Mount Ceta. The inscription cut upon the rock, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Apollonios son of Nestor, the Athenian, made it), gives us the name of the author of the masterpiece and the time when he lived, for the form Ω belongs to the last days of the Republic. Pompey may have employed the Athenian artist, then, upon the decoration of his theatre. This masterpiece is in the Vatican. (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*) [It roused the enthusiasm of Winckelmann.—*Ed.*]

consuls for the following year, either to pay to the consuls in office 400,000 sesterces, or to procure (1) three augurs to affirm that they had been present at the promulgation of a *lex curiata* which did not exist, (2) two *consulares* to declare they had been at a sitting for the distribution of consular provinces,—a sitting which had never taken place.¹ "How many dishonest folk in a single contract!" says Montesquieu. Let us add that 400,000 sesterces for such an audacious double lie was valuing the consciences of *consulares* and augurs at a very low price, but the people did not put themselves at a very high one; Verres had bought his praetorship for only 80,000 sesterces.

Hand in hand with venality went violence; every moment there were arrows, stones, helter-skelter flight; not a day passed without some murder²—even a consul was wounded. A certain Pomptinus had waited seven years outside the Pomœrium for a triumph which the senate refused to accord him over the Allobroges. At length one of the praetors, who was his friend, gathered together a few citizens at daybreak, and in defiance of the law which forbade all assemblies before the first hour, he got them to vote what Pomptinus wished. This persevering candidate triumphed, but amidst very great disorder; fighting went on at several points, and some were slain. For the most paltry ambitions, for the smallest things, the law was violated and blood flowed.³

Imagine, in such a state of society, Cato, who was then praetor, going without tunic or shoes to sit on his judgment-seat, and distributing among the populace, instead of the ostentatious profusions to which they were accustomed—radishes, lettuce, and figs, or proposing, after the extermination of the Tenechtheri and Usipii, that Caesar should be given up to the Germans as a violator of the public peace. It will be easily understood why such an opposition did not go beyond a protest which did no good, and made everyone smile except Favonius, Cato's ape.

¹ *Ad Att.*, iv. 18. When Cicero canvassed the aedileship all the people had been for him; yet the *divisores* undertook for 500,000 sesterces to cause his failure. (*I in Verr.*, 8.) During the elections of the year 54 the interest on money rose in the city from 4 to 8 per cent. (*ad Att.*, iv. 15.)

² Σφαγὰι καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. (Dion., xl. 48.) Cicero had said (*in Pison.*, 12); . . . *fracti fasces, iectus consul, quotidie tela, lapides, fugæ.*

³ Dion., xxxix. 65; in the year 54 B.C.

These two men, who thought themselves Romans of the ancient time, did not change, but many others had changed. We have seen the rapid change of front effected by Cicero at the time of the conference of Lucca. The excellent man who in a peaceful state would have honourably kept the foremost place, was in this stormy Republic drawn in opposite directions by his ideas and by his interests; now one side carried him away, now the other, for he was as poor in strength of character as he was rich in talents. For the time being, his interests attached him to Cæsar, whom he wearied with praises. He had commenced a poem in honour of the proconsul, and he was careful to let him know of it; when the poem was finished he sent it to him, and then began another.¹ Cæsar, who always treated the great orator considerably because he liked his wit, took his brother Quintus as lieutenant, and charged Cicero with the employment of a portion of the funds which he transmitted to Rome for his buildings. When Quintus reproached his brother for having obliged him to accept this lieutenancy, with its fatigues and dangers, in a country which seemed to Cicero himself to be at the world's end;² "The reward of this sacrifice," he answered, "will be the consolidation of our political position by the friendship of a powerful and good man." We see what the limit of his desires was. He did not even fear the imminent dictatorship of Pompey; he conversed about it without indignation, as about any other event. "Does Pompey wish for it? Does he not wish for it? Who knows? But everyone is talking about it." "And everyone," adds Appian, "wished it." Men said so openly; "For the present ills there is only one remedy, the authority of a single individual."³ Pompey protested against it, but all the while he secretly encouraged the disorders which rendered this dictatorship necessary. At least, among the conservatives, many thought they could trace his hand in the disturbances.

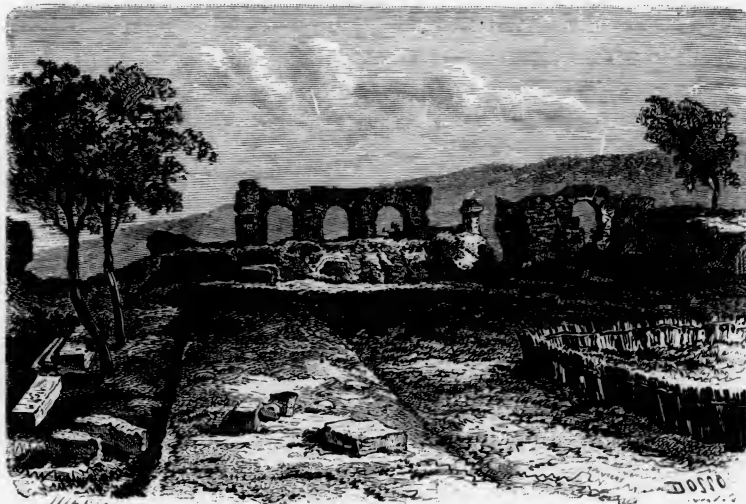
For the second time within three years the consular elections could not be held (in 53); the interregnum lasted seven months.

¹ *Institutum ad illum poema . . . cognovit Cæsar.* (*ad Quint.*, iii. 8.)

² *Ubi isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint, nescio.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Bell. civ.*, ii. 19-20. The picture this historian draws of the Republic is that of a society in a state of decomposition.

For the sake of peace the nobles drew nearer the threatening sphinx, whose wishes they guessed, but who still continued to conceal them. By appearing to believe in his disinterestedness they forced him, by well calculated flatteries, to allow two consuls to be elected in the seventh month. Either through the real powerlessness of this government to last any longer or through Pompey's intrigues, or rather perhaps through these two causes combined, the interregnum began again in the following year (52 B.C.). Milo and Scipio demanded the consulship with arms



Ruins of the Circus of Bovillæ.¹

in their hands. Clodius canvassed the prætorship in the same manner, and every day some sedition broke out.²

During these obscure murders, there was one which brought the disorder to its highest pitch. Milo, on his road to Lanuvium, his native town, of which he was chief magistrate (dictator), met Clodius on the Appian Way, near Bovillæ. Like the Roman barons of the Middle Ages, they neither of them travelled without being escorted by a band of fighting-men. The two troops had passed, when two of Milo's gladiators, who had remained behind,

¹ According to Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 49.

² *Armis et vi contendebant.* Livy, *Epit.*, cvii.)

picked a quarrel with some of Clodius' people. He, hastening up to the help of his men, was wounded, and took refuge in a hostelry. Milo thought it would not cost him any more trouble to despatch him, and as his band was numerous, the other party fled, leaving eleven dead on the spot. The door of the inn was then broken in, the innkeeper slain, Clodius stabbed through and through and his body thrown out into the road, where it remained till evening. A senator returning from his villa took it back to Rome¹ (December 13, 53 B.C.). Fulvia the wife of Clodius, his family the powerful *gens Claudia*, and the people, whose favourite he had long been, cried for vengeance; the body was exposed on the rostra, and the deeply stirred mob gave him for a funeral-pyre the edifice wherein the senate assembled. When they had burnt the Curia they tried to set fire to Milo's house, then to that of the interrex, but knights and senators hastened up in arms; fighting and slaughter still went on the following days. Vagabonds and thieves took advantage of these murders to ply their trade. Under pretext of searching for Milo's accomplices they penetrated into the houses and stole; in the streets they slew those whose rich costume or gold rings promised to make it profitable work to strip their bodies.² Politics, or what was so called, screened all excesses.

We can easily understand that these abominations ended by opening the eyes of those who kept them obstinately shut, that they might not see that the only means of saving perishing social life was the concentration of power in the hands of an energetic leader. A *senatus-consultum* decided that the burnt Curia should be rebuilt at the expense of the treasury by Faustus Sylla, and that it should bear his father's name. By this unexpected homage to the memory of the executioner of the Marians, the senatorial majority showed at the same time its sentiments regarding the nephew of Marius and the grateful remembrance it retained of the man who, thirty years before, had restored order by his dictatorship. But lately Cato was still attacking Pompey in the senate. "He disposes of everything," said he; "lately he lent Cæsar

¹ The murder took place of the 13th of the kalends of February, 52 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar; in reality it was on the 13th December, 53 B.C.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 22.

6,000 men without the one asking you for them or the other warning you about it. Arms, horses, a whole legion are the presents which individuals now exchange. With his title of *imperator* Pompey distributes armies and provinces, while he remains in the city and plans troubles and seditions in order to open by anarchy a road to the royalty."¹ But in face of the imminent dissolution of the State, Cato too came to despair of the Republic. He saw it threatened by two dangers; within by anarchy, which was only too certain, without by Cæsar, who had not yet however, justified his suspicions either by acts or words; and when he looked round for some one who would defend the aristocracy, he found, even in those whom Cicero had called the party of honest men, so much indifference that at length he decided to demand from a man the protection which the laws could no longer afford. "It is better," said he, "to choose a master than to await the tyrant, who must certainly rise from this huge disorder," and he supported the proposal made by Bibulus to appoint Pompey sole consul. He thought that, satisfied with this title, Pompey would use his power with moderation, that he would re-establish order in the town, and would be able to make Cæsar leave his army. By-and-bye Cato promised to bring him to a reckoning with the senate. If he failed, this dictatorship would at least have only been a passing and beneficent tyranny. Pompey confirmed him in this hope by pretending to act henceforth only according to his advice. He was elected sole consul on the 27th of February, 52 B.C.

This event was a grave one, for it completed Pompey's reconciliation with the senate and his rupture with the proconsul of the Gauls. For two years this result had been foreseen. The death of Julia had broken a bond which both of them might possibly have respected (54), and after the death of Crassus (53) they found themselves face to face without any intermediary to avert or break the shocks. A rivalry of three may last; a rivalry of two soon leads to a war. Pompey had long seen the falseness of his position; he was only waiting for the support of the senate

¹ Plut., *Cato*, 45. In the preceding year, 53, an attempt had been made to bring forward in the senate the question of the recall of Crassus (Cic., *ad Fam.*, v. 8); this was an indirect attack upon Cæsar.

to break with him; now he found the nobles and even Cato offering him, by a violation of all constitutional regulations, an unshared dominion.

Being proconsul of Spain he was legally considered as *absent*, that is to say, incapable of being elected to an urban office, and yet the consulship was bestowed upon him! This supreme magistracy of the city ought always to be shared, and he was sole consul. If he wished for a colleague, he himself, and not the comitia, was to choose him, and even then they exacted pledges against his disinterestedness by not allowing him to provide himself with this colleague, formerly necessary before the expiration of two months.¹ The consul had not military authority, the *jus necis*; in Rome, Pompey, remaining governor of a province, kept the *imperium*, and in order that none might dispute his right to exercise it in the town, the senators had also invested him with dictatorial authority by the formula of days of public peril: *Caveat consul*. Finally to the power they had added the means of action; a decree laid the treasury open to him and directed him to raise troops in Italy. He was master then, and as he wished to be, still keeping up appearances, since he had taken nothing by force and held all from the senate. But who does not see that the aristocracy founded the empire? It is sufficient to compare Pompey's powers with those of Augustus to see that they are nearly alike, for the imperial revolution was but the concentration in the hands of a single man for his lifetime of the rights which the Republic yearly divided among several.

While the nobles, through hatred of Cæsar and powerlessness to govern,² were sacrificing what they called Roman liberty to an incapable leader, the proconsul, whom they would fain have proscribed, disdaining their servile threats, was carrying on for Rome that wonderful campaign of the year 52 B.C., and held Gaul captive in Alesia.

¹ At the end of five months he associated his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, with himself.

² See (*ad Fam.*, i. 7, 5) Cicero's letter to Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He is free to undertake, or not undertake, for the reinstatement of Auletes, the expedition into Egypt, which the senate allow and the Sibylline books forbid; but he will be judged by the issue; *Si cecidisset . . . omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos*. Scipio restored to the censors their ancient rights (see p. 249, note 2); they dared not make use of them for fear of the enmity they would arouse, and, adds Dion (xl. 57), "no sensible man any longer requires the censorship."

In order to explain the violence of this hatred it must be recognized that the nobles had very serious reasons for detesting Caesar; but history should try to discover whether these motives were legitimate. The real question between them was the upholding or the overthrow of the Cornelian legislation, which had taken

Marius.¹

everything from the people and given it to the senate. Although many breaches had been made in this aristocratic fortress, some even by Pompey, it still held out and remained standing; the nephew of Marius wished to overthrow it. Without the commission of any illegality, simply by raising the popular party which had been crushed by Sylla, the nobles had been made to tremble for their power, and they trembled still more for their possessions. Caesar's consular laws, had they been carried into execution, would have dried up the source whence they drew their wealth; in one word, he could ruin them by instigating a plebiscitum authorizing the indemnification of the families despoiled

¹ Campana Museum. A statue undoubtedly contemporaneous with the inscription (Wilmann, 632) made for Marius when Augustus desired to have placed in his Forum the monuments in praise of all Rome's great men.

provinces, like that of Lucullus, or with land taken from the proscribed, like that of Caesar's most violent opponent, that Domitius who could promise each of his soldiers during the Civil war a farm out of his estates. Hitherto the spoilers had kept their robberies out of reach of attack by the law which forbade the sons of Sylla's victims access to public offices. They had hoped to make the proscription eternal by preventing any dangerous rogatio proposed by sons of proscribed men who should attain the tribuneship. Let Caesar bring about the restitution of their civic rights and the oligarchy would lose the immense domains acquired by murder.¹ Such were the fears concealed beneath an accusation of coming tyranny, and history, especially in our days, is not obliged to share this angry feeling; such too, is the reason why the senatorial majority would have preferred to let a civil war break out rather than see Caesar consul a second time: this is the secret of its advances towards Pompey.

The latter owed much to his former colleague, who in 59 B.C. had defended him against the nobles, who in 55 B.C. had loyally contributed to make his present fortune. But when Pompey felt secure of the great position made for him by the Trebonian plebiscitum, when to his superintendence of provisions, which gave him Rome and Italy, he had joined the proconsulship of Spain and Africa, which supplied him with provinces and armies, he no longer retained for the proconsul of the Gauls more than a polite consideration, which ceased with Julia's life. In vain did Caesar propose to consolidate their political, by a double family alliance, Caesar marrying one of Pompey's daughters and he marrying a grand-niece of Caesar; Pompey refused, and brought into his house the daughter of a mortal enemy of his former father-in-law.² Caesar's friendship, which he had suffered for ten years, weighed upon his pride, and the renown which had become so great was an annoyance to him. He no longer intended to share with anyone, and we shall see how he made use of his

¹ This was the first act of Caesar's dictatorship.

² Caesar had asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter Pompeia, then the wife of Faustus Sylla, and had offered him that of his great niece Octavia, at that time married to Marcellus. Pompey refused, and married for his fifth wife Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, and daughter of Metellus Scipio.

consular authority to annul the advantages which he had been compelled to obtain for the proconsul of the Gauls in 55 B.C.

First he wished to show that everyone must come to an understanding with him. He proposed fresh laws against corruption, violence, and canvassing,¹ giving them a retrospective effect of twenty years. The proconsul was hurt at this, for with these laws a partisan of the nobles might summon him before judges easy to corrupt or intimidate. Cato himself thought the arrangement iniquitous. Caesar's friends protested, but Pompey would not listen to them. In order to rid himself of Milo and his band he allowed proceedings to be taken against the murderer of Clodius. Cicero had long desired this murder, and Cato dared to say in full senate that Milo had acted as a good citizen, so did these unhappy times confuse the most upright consciences.² But the people were too much irritated for justice not to be done. The soldiers with whom Pompey surrounded the tribunal frightened the defender, who pleaded badly;³ the accused went into exile at Marseilles. When he received the oration, *pro Milone*, wisely recomposed by Cicero in the silence of his study; "If he had spoken as he can write," said the epicurean, "I should not be eating such good fish to-day." The skilful orator had had more courage when, at the time of the closer union between the triumvirs, it had been necessary to defend their friends. He had not hesitated to deny his whole life, his convictions, his old grudges, by taking up the cause of a Vatinius and a Gabinius, men of the worst character, or of many others of whom he said in

¹ The jury were sometimes bewildered and distracted by the numerous advocates who took up a case; he settled how many each side could have, only allowed two hours for the accusation, three for the defence, and forbade the eulogies which persons of influence came and made on behalf of the accused. The latter and the accuser had each the right of challenging five jurymen (judices). A citizen condemned for canvassing obtained remission of his penalty by denouncing either two other citizens guilty of a crime less than, or equal to his own, or a single one guilty of a greater crime. (Dion., xl. 52 and 55; Cf. Plut., *Cato*, 48; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 23-24.) "There was a great number of victims condemned," says Caesar (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 1), "by judges other than those who had heard the case."

² Read Cicero's speech against Piso and so many others, listen to the deadly insults exchanged in the senate, in the Forum, in the courts of justice, and it will be seen that the political arena bore a singular resemblance to that of the circus. The most inoffensive of these politicians, Cicero, demanded that Clodius should be slain, and later on, before Pharsalus, he thought that the assassination of Caesar would greatly simplify matters.

³ At a certain moment Pompey caused the crowd to be charged, and some were wounded and even killed. (Dion., xl. 53.)

secret; "May I die if I know how to defend them." In spite of his efforts to explain this conduct he felt the indignity and tried to forget himself in literary labours, which were powerless to console him.¹

Clodius being dead, Milo in exile, and their bands dispersed, calm was restored, so easy was it for a man having the desire to maintain order to keep peace in the city.² But Pompey, though capable of energetic action, was incapable of sustaining it long, because in politics he acted at random, without any fixed principle or plan of conduct, trusting, like a true Roman, to the fortune of the day, that is to say, to circumstances; to-day with Sylla, to-morrow with Caesar, restorer of the popular rights, then defender of the oligarchy. He did not even consider himself bound by the laws he had made.³ He had forbidden the eulogiums pronounced at tribunals by the powerful friends of the accused, but when Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, was summoned before the court he came and defended him, that is to say, ordered his acquittal;⁴ for the same crime Plautius Hypsaëus was condemned. He had got a decree passed that magistrates should not have a province until five years after they left office; the measure was an



Coin of the Plautian Family.⁴

¹ See his long letter to Lentulus. (*ad Fam.*, i. 9.)

² The censorship even recovered its rights. The consul Metellus Scipio caused to be restored to them their ancient privilege of erasing from the senatorial album all those who should appear to them unworthy of remaining in the senate. We have just seen (p. 245, note 2) that they used this power very timidly. A law of Clodius had only allowed the censors to exclude those senators who had undergone a condemnation.

³ *Suarum legum auctor idem ac subversor.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 28.)

⁴ Aurora with outspread wings, driving four horses.

⁵ Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 55) even says that he had summoned the 360 jurymen to his house and exacted from them an acquittal. To save Plancus, who was accused of canvassing, he again sent the judges a petition and a memoir, which was a eulogy of the accused. (Dion., xl. 55.) The body of jurymen was never very numerous at Rome, 450 according to the *lex Servilia*; all the senators according to the *lex Cornelia*, that is to say from 500 to 600; 360 if we must accept the passage from Plutarch quoted above; but the juries were far more numerous than ours for each trial, according to the nature of the crime, and consequently according to the *questio* which was to judge. Cicero speaks of thirty-two after the challenges of both parties (*pro Cluentio*, 27), of fifty (*ad Att.*, iv. 15), of fifty-six (*ib.*, i. 16), of seventy (iv. 16), of seventy-five (*in Pison.*, 40); in the trials of Milo and Saufeius they were fifty-one. (Ascon., pp. 53 and 54, Orelli ed.) The reason of this difference was that it seemed desirable to take the judices from the higher ranks of society, in order to obtain enlightened men, and to have many of them for each case, that it might be more difficult to bribe a majority of them. Urban *questores* divided the juries by lot among the different *questiones perpetuae*.

excellent one; he annulled it by demanding that his own proconsular powers should be prolonged for five years, with the right of taking 1,000 talents from the treasury yearly.¹ He had settled by the law *de jure magistratum* that none might canvass an office while absent from Rome, and almost immediately he introduced an exception which did away with it.

These contradictions prove that Rome would not have found in Pompey the man of resolution and firmness whom she needed; but the nobles did not trouble themselves about that. Blinded by their hatred, they helped the consul to entangle Caesar in a network of legislative arrangements which should reduce the proconsul of the Gauls to a state of impotence. The new judiciary law allowed the incrimination at any moment of all his acts, and Milo's trial had just shown what Pompey understood by the liberty of tribunals. The prohibition to canvass a magistracy while absent obliged him, if he wished to be consul a second time, to abandon his provinces and submit to the discretion of his enemies. Should he escape the judges, that is to say, exile, and succeed in obtaining from the people the consular fasces, the obligation to wait five years after quitting office for a provincial governorship would leave him disarmed for those five years in face of Pompey, who was master until 46 B.C. of the treasury and of large military forces.

The nobles would not at any cost allow him to attain a second consulship. The first had revealed a plan of reforms which would certainly be resumed and developed, and they thought their new ally had just decided upon a combination of measures which would avert this danger. But in this well-conducted legislative campaign the clever folk of the senate had taken everything into calculation save the amount of Caesar's resignation to such open envy and such undisguised threats. Against the judiciary law Caesar had contented himself with the protests of his friends, not to expose himself to the brunt of Roman justice. As regards the arrangement which placed an interval of five years between the exercise of a great office and the enjoyment of the proconsulship, he doubtless knew that what had been done by one consul could be undone by another. A consulship was necessary to him therefore, in order

¹ Dion., xl. 53; Plut., *Pomp.*, 55.

to break through the meshes so artfully woven by his ally of yesterday and foe of to-day, and this consulship he must be able to canvass from the depths of his provinces, for he was lost if he reappeared in the city for a single day without being protected by the *imperium*.¹ He required that the law touching absence should be modified, and he must have done it in such a manner, that Pompey, who was not in a position to break with him, was compelled to consent. A refusal would probably have led to the outbreak of the Civil war three years earlier. Cicero intervened. He repaired to Ravenna at Pompey's request, and on his return to Rome he made representations to his friend Caelius, who was then invested with the tribunitian power, with the object of getting the conditions accepted which he brought back with him.² Pompey himself urged the other tribunes to instigate a law consecrating the right claimed by Caesar. The plebiscitum was voted, and it must have been so unanimously, since the people, represented by their ten tribunes, accepted it, and the senatorial party, drawn on in spite of themselves by Cicero and Pompey, submitted to it.³ On the brazen table whereon the consular law against the absent was already graven, Pompey added the exception⁴ which had just been made in Caesar's favour. After the solemnity of this last vote he could no longer hope to find jurisconsults to call to mind that, according to the Twelve Tables, the *privilegium* was void and of no effect. He had threatened and had gone back

¹ As long as the magistrate was in office no accusation could be brought against him; now a man who intended canvassing the consulship must present himself at Rome before the consular comitia, that is say, more than six months before entering office, and get his name inscribed on the list of candidates. Caesar then, without the exception he asked for, would have remained six months at Rome as a private individual, and it would not have taken six days for the conqueror of the Gauls to have been brought to trial by Cato or some other member of the oligarchy, and very likely condemned to exile [if not worse].

² . . . *Ut illi (Caesari) hoc liceret adjuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno plebis. ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro [Pompeio].* (*ad Att.*, vii. 1, and cf. *ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)

³ *Lex lata est, ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur* (Livy, *Epit.*, cviii.; he repeats it in *Epit.*, cviii.). The law was presented by the two tribunes (Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3), which leads to the supposition that it was voted unanimously. In his letter to Atticus (viii. 3), Cicero again says; "It was Pompey who desired that the ten tribunes should propose the plebiscitum . . . , he too, who confirmed it by a law of his own kind." Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 26, 28) and Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 25) speak in the same way. Pompey, the senate, and the people had agreed then, to let Caesar canvass the consulship in his absence. By the treaty of Misenum, in 39, the same permission was granted to Sextus Pompey.

⁴ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 28; Dion., xl. 56; Cic., *ad Att.*, viii. 3.

of his threat, a double and dangerous game, which revealed his uncertain character.

Cæsar had gained his cause not by force, but by a law, for by granting him the benefit of absence they ensured him all the guarantees required by his ambition and for his safety. The plebiscitum, in fact, tacitly recognized his right to remain at the head of his army till he could legally canvass for the consulship, that is to say, till the middle of 49 B.C.¹ Cicero, who had again become his enemy, was forced to proclaim this result. "By giving him the benefit of absence they have given him the right to keep his army till the consular comitia."²

All this was very unrepugnant; but was there then a Republic at Rome? Who could say where the real right lay? Money and intimidation having long decided the votes, any law could be repealed, any election annulled for some informality, corruption, or violence, whatever faction the chosen candidate or author of the law might belong to. The Republic was dead since Rome no longer had free comitia—it may be said since the murder of the Gracchi.

V.—EFFORTS OF THE OLIGARCHY TO DEPRIVE CÆSAR OF HIS POWERS.

Pompey's second consulship in 55 had been barren; the dictatorship which had just been granted him, in 52, to re-establish the authority of the senate and destroy that of Cæsar, had not raised the one and had consolidated the other. The oligarchy had ill chosen the leader in whom they hoped to find a new Sylla. Cato was more resolute, but even his friends mistrusted the man of narrow and violent mind, whose death is his only claim to live in the memory of posterity. Notwithstanding his name and his zeal for the faction of the nobles, they never allowed him to rise higher than the prætorship. In this year, 52, he had solicited the consulship, and they had chosen in preference to him one Marcellus,

¹ According to a law of Sylla an interval of ten years must elapse between two consulships. Pompey had just broken this law, but Cæsar observed it, first because he needed the time to complete his work in Gaul, and secondly because he would not give his adversaries the right to erase his name from the list of candidates for illegality.

² *Ad Att.*, vii. 7.

who was to manage his office in favour of Pompey and his party. The new consul was one of those nobles who were enraged at hearing no name but Cæsar's resound in Rome for the last eight years. They had long been reduced to deploring his victories in secret; believing themselves now secure of the support of the conqueror of Asia, they ceased to restrain themselves when they ceased to fear. Marcellus began the attack; he directly challenged the proconsul of the Gauls in order to induce him to commit some imprudence which should justify an extreme measure. Cæsar had settled at Novum Comum, in Transalpine Gaul, 5,000 colonists possessing the *jus Latii*. This right, which gave the magistrates of Latin towns the *jus civitatis* at the expiration of their office, exempted them from corporal punishments. Marcellus, to show in what esteem he held the proconsul's acts, had an ædile or *duumvir* of Novum Comum beaten with rods, and as the man invoked the rights which he held from Cæsar; "Blows are the mark of the foreigner," said the consul; "go and show to him who protects thee thy lacerated back, that he may see how I treat the citizens whom he has made."¹ A few days later he resolutely proposed in the senate to recall Cæsar.

But Pompey still hesitated, and employed the time in visiting his villas. While his rival was finishing his long war in this campaign and getting all his forces at his free disposal, he went near Tarentum to nurse his health and philosophize with Cicero, who found him animated with the best and most patriotic intentions. He thought of going still further away, into Spain. Was this a ruse to deceive the credulous *consularis* and have his disinterestedness as highly celebrated as his glory? Probably so, but in this double game he lost the advantage which a firm decision and bold offensive would have given him.² By remaining inactive and silent

¹ Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 26) and Plutarch (*Cæsar*, 29) say that he was a magistrate, Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 28) that Comum even had the *jus civitatis*; Cicero (*ad Att.*, v. 11) v. 11) denies it; *Marcellus fedit in Comensi: etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus*. The authority of Cicero overrides that of Appian and still more that of Plutarch. But he may have been ill-informed of the antecedents of this Transpadan, who was only secured against the rods if he had held a magistracy. (See vol. ii. p. 470, note 3.) The *jus Latii* had been given to the Transpadani by a *Pompeian law* in 89 B.C., at the same time as the *jus civitatis* was granted to peninsular Italy.

² [This was evidently the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else.—*Ed.*]

he allowed the senate to come forward and seize the leading part, so that, at the time of the explosion, the question lay not between him and Cæsar, but between Cæsar and the aristocracy, and Pompey was only their general. It could not be otherwise; Pompey, representing no principle, was not Cæsar's real adversary, and since the senate alone had retained any authority in the State, it was they who must fight the last battle for the Republic.

The elections for the year 50 were no longer in favour of Pompey: the consuls chosen, Æm. Paullus and one C. Claudius Marcellus, were zealous partizans of the senate. In the other offices candidates of the same opinions triumphed. The nomination of the younger Curio to the tribuneship appeared to be another victory for Cæsar's foes. "This Curio was a bold man, lavish of his own fortune and honour, as well as of those of others; ingenious in doing ill, skilful in speaking well, but only to the misfortune of the State."¹ Overwhelmed with debts, "he had nothing," says Pliny, "to allege as his income but the hopes which he founded upon the discord among the leaders."² Cæsar, who knew how to make use of ruined men, secretly bought over the future tribune *ingenti mercede*; Appian says for more than 1,500 talents, which is a very large sum. A magistrate cannot be bought publicly like a property. Cicero, who was very curious about these sales, knows nothing about this one, and Velleius doubts it; there is no need to doubt anything but the amount.

The aristocracy being masters of all the points of vantage in the city, were anxious to hasten on the struggle. For a time they thought that the Bellovaci had rid them of Cæsar. In May, 51 B.C., it was whispered that he had lost his cavalry, that the seventh legion was beaten, and he himself cut off from his troops and surrounded.³ When the truth was known it only made them more anxious to get Pompey to declare himself openly.

At one of the sittings of the senate (12th of July, 51 B.C.)

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 4.

² *Ut qui nihil in censu habuerit præter discordiam principum.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, 120.)

³ Cælius to Cicero. (*ad Fam.*, viii. 1.)

⁴ Cælius to Cicero. (*ad Fam.*, viii. 4.)

he was asked about a legion which he had lent to Cæsar;⁴ "It is in Gaul," he replied, and promised to recall it. But when they reached the principal object of the deliberation, the ruling of the provinces, he left Rome in order to avoid declaring himself either for Cæsar's recall or for keeping him in his proconsulship. But to encourage his new friends to proceed without him, he had let fall these words in the midst of the debate; "Every man owes obedience to the senate." M. Marcellus did in fact, resume the matter, notwithstanding Pompey's absence; but either because the wise counsel of Sulpicius, the other consul, who saw the storm gathering,¹ had moderated the blind ardour of the nobles, or because Cæsar had claimed from the senators whom he had bribed some return for his largesses, each time the deliberation began the senate found there was no house, and on the 30th of September the question was adjourned till the 1st of March in the following year.

When the nobles granted the proconsul this imprudent truce, which allowed him to complete his work in Gaul and prepare for the Civil war, they had troops in Italy. The army raised by Pompey to re-establish order in the city had not been disbanded. Being stationed at Ariminum, on the frontier of Cæsar's government, it could in a few marches close the passes of the Alps against him. But great assemblies do not know the value of time; like the people of Athens who were listening to their orators when Philip was passing Thermopylæ, the senate was still engaged in deliberation when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon.

M. Marcellus however, who saw his consular year expiring without fulfilling the wishes of the oligarchy, wished to impose it upon his successors. The resolution of the 30th of September was in these terms; "The consuls for the next year shall bring forward in the senate the question of replacing Cæsar at the session of the 1st of March [50]; till this question be settled the senate shall meet every day of the comitia; six of the senators who are judges

¹ *Tanquam ex aliqua specula prospici tempestatem futuram, . . . monente et denuntiante te.* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, iv. 3.) Sulpicius, says Dion (xl. 59), saw that the people were not willing to depose before the lawful time a magistrate who had done no wrong. In Dion's opinion Cæsar's powers ended in 50 B.C. But Hirtius (*de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 53) says that Marcellus had put the question to the vote, *contra legem Pompei et Crassi et ante tempus*. Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 21) speaks to the same effect; *ut ei ante tempus succederetur*.

in the courts of justice shall be required to leave them in order to repair to the Curia; none shall be allowed to oppose it; those who attempt to do so shall be declared public enemies; the senate shall take into consideration the services of the soldiers in the army of Gaul and restore to civil life the veterans who have a right to retirement and those who have valid reasons for obtaining it."¹ The threat was clear: to deprive Caesar of his command and disorganize his army; to render the veto of the tribunes worthless beforehand; and to place those who attempted to avail themselves of it in danger of capital punishment. Three tribunes resisted this proposal, and the colleague of Marcellus opposed it; but the senatorial majority adopted it. This revolutionary decision, into which all kinds of illegalities were crowded, was a regular declaration of war. The senate had had the courage to take it because they relied upon Pompey, who had come forward more that day than he had ever before done. "If Caesar refuse to obey the decree," he had said, "or let one of his partisans offer any obstruction to it,—it is all the same thing." "But if he asserts that he is consul and retains his army?" they asked. "But if my son raises a stick against me?" he replied. Pompey was coming back to the Syllan system—everything by and for the senate.² Though he did not demand the suppression of the tribunitian veto, which he had re-established, he at least treated it as a piece of old-fashioned lumber; the problem becomes clearly defined, as is due on the eve of great solutions.

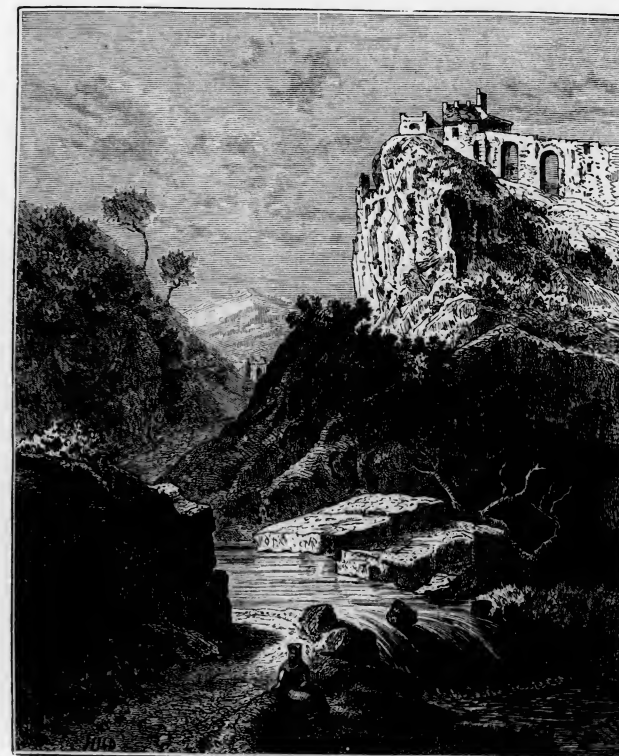
Caesar made no reply to these challenges. He had seen long and clearly that they wished to compel him to lay aside the *paludamentum* before assuming the consular toga in order that they might cancel his acts and rid themselves by exile of the popular leader and his threatening reforms.³ But the difficulty was to make him commit this imprudence. The defections which they tried to cause around him by offering leave to his soldiers did not succeed. His ten legions, whose pay he had doubled⁴ and whom

¹ Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8.

² Dion, xl. 60; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 30; *Cumque vulgo fore prædicarent, ut si privatus redisset Milonis exemplo, circumpositis armatis, causam apud iudices diceret.*

³ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 26. In the time of Polybius (vi. 39), the pay for a foot-soldier was 5½ *ases* a day, or 1,920 *ases* a year, i.e., 120 denarii; Caesar raised it to 225 denarii, at which

he maintained in a great measure at his own expense, were devoted to him as never army had been to its leader. A centurion had once been heard to say at the doors of the senate, placing his



Aricia (la Riccia).¹

hand on the hilt of his sword; "What you refuse Caesar, this will procure him."² So he let his foes deliberate, decree, and threaten in words; he even passed that winter in the heart of Gaul, at

amount it remained until Domitian. It should be remarked that, in the year 50, 225 denarii would not be, as a means of exchange, worth more than 120 a century earlier. The increase decided upon by Caesar, which was formerly regarded as a means of bribing his army, was therefore, a measure rendered necessary by the increased price of everything, produced by enormous influx of precious metals into Rome.

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

² Plut., *Pomp.*, 62. The same saying is attributed to one of the centurions of Octavius. Both are probably unauthentic.

Nemetocenna (Arras), and his agents at Rome seemed to be only occupied in building for him a delightful villa near the grove of Diana at Aricia. So much did men deceive themselves as to his resources that Atticus thought to embarrass him by claiming an old debt of fifty-eight talents. But at this very moment Cæsar was just completing the payment of Curio's enormous debts and purchasing the defection of the consul Paullus at the price of 1,500 talents,¹ which he sent him in the form of a loan to complete his basilica. Lastly, by a clever move, he imposed silence upon Cicero. The latter was then just returning with the title of *imperator* from his government of Cilicia, where he had



Atrium
Basilicæ.²

done himself honour far more by his irreproachable conduct than by equivocal successes over the poor mountaineers. None the less he demanded the triumph. On Cato's motion the senate refused. At the moment when the orator's former friends inflicted this cruel wound on his vanity, he received from the governor of Gaul a letter full of admiration and a promise that, if Cæsar were consul, he would obtain the passing of the demand. This bait reduced the vain Cicero to neutrality, and Cæsar wanted nothing more.

On the 1st of March, 50 B.C., the deliberation commenced. The proconsul's powers, which had been extended for five years by the *lex Licinia-Pompeia*, did not end till 49, but the nobles were unwilling to wait so long, and the consul C. Marcellus put to the vote his recall on the 13th of November in the present year, which would have given his accusers seven months, far more than was necessary to obtain a condemnation. The majority were about to adopt this motion, notwithstanding the silence of the other consul, when Curio rose and praised the wisdom of Marcellus, but added that justice and the public interest required that the same measure should be applied to Pompey. "We must make

¹ Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1; Val. Max., ix. 1; Plut., *Pomp.*, 62. This sum again is a very large one, and I think it must also be reduced. Cæsar's exchequer was supplied by the tax upon the Gauls, which was a light one, by booty, which was not equal in value to that which he would have gained in the rich provinces of Asia, and above all, by the sale of captives, which was very productive, but yet not sufficiently so to enable Cæsar to spend in the same year, and for only two men, from £640,000 to £720,000.

² Coin of the gens *Æmilia*.

an end," said he, "of exceptional powers, and return to the constitution, which does not allow them." If they refused he would oppose his veto. This was a good move. Amid the factions Curio alone seemed jealous for the Republic. "When he left the senate the people scattered flowers in his path to honour the courageous man who accepted this difficult struggle;"¹ the nobles dared not brave his opposition.

At length however, Cæsar had settled everything in Gaul. In the summer of the year 50 he crossed the Alps on the pretext of commending to the municipia and colonies on the banks of the Po the candidature of his quæstor Marc Antony² for the augurate, but really in order to get nearer Rome and obtain from the Cisalpines a demonstration which should re-echo even in the senate. Everywhere indeed, the inhabitants went out to meet him, and sacrifices and feasts celebrated his arrival in each city. During this triumphal march into Italy his legions assembled in the territory of the Treviri; he returned into Gaul to review them. No doubt tacit promises were exchanged at this ceremony between the leader and his soldiers; they knew of the designs formed against their general, and even had there been a lack of affection for him, their interest would have warned them that they must share his misfortunes or his prosperity. If Cæsar were deprived of office and condemned, who would pay them for their services? Would he who, but for Cæsar, could not have got a foot of land given to his legions in the East?

About this time Pompey fell ill at Naples.³ When he recovered the inhabitants returned solemn thanksgivings to the gods; from Naples this movement spread to the neighbouring cities; Puteoli was wreathed with flowers, and throughout Campania feasts were held in honour of his recovery. "Campania," says Juvenal, "had given him a wholesome fever." "Had he died

¹ Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 11 and 13. *Καὶ παρέπεψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος.* (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 27.) *Justissimus quisque et a Cesare et a Pompeio vellet dimitti exercitus.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 48.)

² The death of Hortensius had just left a vacant place in the college, and Antony was nominated before Cæsar's arrival in Cisalpine Gaul.

³ This, it appears, often happened to him, for Cicero writes to Atticus (viii. 2); *In unius hominis quotannis periculose agrotantis anima positas omnis nostras spes habemus.* (Juv., *Sat.*, x. 283-6, and Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 35.)

then," adds Cicero, "he would have died in full glory and prosperity." Pompey let himself be dazzled by these commonplace acclamations, which have so often deceived men in high position, and his confidence increased.

In order to revive the debate about Cæsar and play the part of the disinterested citizen, he one day offered the senate to lay down his powers, well assured that they would not accept the offer. When Curio urged him to carry out this promise he found



Roman Ruin at Naples (the Ponte Rossi).¹

pretexts for delaying; "Let Cæsar begin it," said he; "I will follow his example." The result of this sitting to which he had come with such fine proposals was the despatch of an order to his rival to place two legions at the disposal of the senate. The decree said, it is true, that each of the two proconsuls should furnish one legion for Syria, where an invasion of the Parthians

¹ From a photograph by Parker, No. 2141, which shows the brick construction, *opus latericium*.

was threatening, but Pompey had lent one to Cæsar, and he demanded it back again. The proconsul of Gaul gave them both. Before their departure he distributed 250 denarii to each soldier; they were so many friends whom he would find in the opposite camp. Of course they were not sent to Asia; the consul Metellus stationed them at Capua, though he suspected their fidelity.

This prompt obedience caused great astonishment. They thought the explanation was to be found in what Appius Claudius, who had brought the two legions from Cisalpine Gaul, told of the temper of the whole army.¹ "Cæsar's soldiers," said he, "are discontented and weary; they only long for rest and peace," as if a soldier serving under a glorious leader ever had enough of war. Appius was believed, and one more illusion lulled Pompey to sleep.

The struggle however, was becoming imminent. A clear-sighted observer who was at Rome at the time wrote to Cicero; "War is inevitable, and this is the ground of it. Pompey cannot suffer Cæsar to be consul before leaving his legions and his provinces, and Cæsar is persuaded that there is no safety for him but in retaining his army."² But in Italy there were no preparations, no measures of defence; and when they asked Pompey what force would stop the enemy if the Cæsarians crossed the mountains, he replied, with memories of his youth before him; "In whatsoever spot in Italy I stamp upon the ground, legions will rise." The consuls shared his security, and Marcellus, who was the most strongly opposed to Cæsar, was quite resolved to have it out. On which side was, I will not say right, but strict legality?

Cæsar had three laws in his favour:—

1. The Vatinian plebiscitum and the senatus-consultum of the year 59, which had given him the governorship of the two Gauls for five years.

2. The consular law, *Licinia-Pompeia*, which in 55 had renewed his proconsulship for an equal length of time.

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 30. This Appius was the nephew of a censor then in office, and who amidst such affairs amused himself by proscribing pictures and statues, as another magistrate turned informer in the name of the *lex Scantinia de pudicitia*. Accordingly the witty and malicious Cælius writes to Cicero; *Curre, per deos atque homines! et quam primum hec risum veni.* (*ad Fam.*, viii. 14.)

² Cælius, *ad Fam.*, viii. 14.

3. The plebiscitum of the ten tribunes in the year 52, which authorized him to canvass a second consulship in his absence.¹

The two first of these laws secured him ten years of proconsulship, 58—49; the third, in which it is easy to see an indirect confirmation of the two former, conferred upon him the right to retain his provinces and his army till the time when he could legally demand a new consulship. As he was very careful not to let his foes find any argument of right against him, he had never attempted to canvass the consular fasces before the middle of the year 49, because a *Cornelian law*, which Pompey had overridden, but which everyone else observed, required that a man could not hold a second consulship for an interval of ten years.

The senate had not raised the question of the duration of Caesar's rights so long as union had existed among the triumvirs; in 56 the majority still admitted that the proconsulship of the Gauls only ended in 54.²

But when the leaders had secured Pompey by giving him a kind of dictatorship, they asserted that the *lex Vatinia*, which had been carried in 59, marked the starting point of Caesar's government; consequently, according to the principle of law that a year begun is considered as ended, *annus ceptus pro pleno habetur*,³ the decennial proconsulship ended in 50, a theory impossible to defend, since, if this law had made Caesar proconsul in the year 59, he would have held the military *imperium* at Rome during his consulship, which was contrary to the laws, a theory moreover, maintained with variations of date, and in Cicero with contradictory arguments, which prove that hatred against Caesar alone dictated the opinion of his adversaries. Pompey, for example, fixes the term of Caesar's powers on the 1st of March, 50, then on the 13th of November in the same year.⁴

Thus at Rome the nobles, since their reconciliation with Pompey, thought that the powers of the proconsul expired in 50. He, on the contrary, maintained that the proconsular year dated

¹ *Vide* p. 250 and 251.

² *Vide* p. 223.

³ Dig., L. 48.

⁴ Cf. Cic., *de Prov. cons.*, 15; *ad Att.*, vii. 9; *ad Fam.*, viii. 8, 9, and 11; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 26 and 28; Dion, xl. 59.

from the day when the proconsul entered his provinces, and common sense, as well as the letter of the law, leads us to accept this opinion. Now, he had only crossed the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul at the end of March, 58; he ought not therefore, to leave it till the end of 49, and of this there was no doubt in his army or throughout Gaul, where, towards the close of the military operations of 51, it was said that only one more summer remained for him to pass beyond the Alps,¹ that of 50. The arrangements to be made for his candidature obliged him indeed, not to quit Cisalpine Gaul, that is to say, the neighbourhood of Rome, in the early part of 49, and he did not claim to retain his command beyond that date. Accordingly, when the senatus-consultum of the 7th of January, 49, declared him a public enemy unless he immediately quitted his provinces, he replied that they were illegally depriving him of six months *imperium*.

Indeed, all the subtle and wise calculations made on this score fell before the perfectly plain law which allowed Caesar to canvass the consulship although absent.² Cicero acknowledges that in granting him this privilege, they had by that very fact authorized him to retain his army until the consular comitia of July, 49; *quum id datum, illud una datum*. The whole question lies in these six words, or rather, these six words decide it. Accordingly, when the consul Marcellus opened the discussion in the senate upon the redistribution of the provinces, he abandoned the theory that Caesar's powers had expired, and by what was perhaps a clever manœuvre, but certainly not a very honourable one, he demanded that Caesar should be obliged to come to Rome to solicit the consulship. But from the law of 52 he left out the essential part, Caesar's right to canvass *whilst absent*.³

¹ Hirtius, *de Bell. Gall.*, viii. 39.

² *Ad Att.*, vii. 7; and above, p. 266, note 2.

³ Marcellus certainly knew the text of the law of 52, but it may be that many did not know it. The public archives at Rome were not well organized. The laws and senatus-consulta were preserved in the *ædium* and confided to the keeping of the scribes, the questors, and the *ædiles*. It was necessary to apply to them to obtain a knowledge of the text of the laws and to the *librarii* to obtain a copy. Accordingly Cicero said (*de Leg.*, iii. 20); *Legum custodiam nullam habemus, itaque eæ leges sunt quas apparitores nostri volunt. A librariis petimus, publicis litteris consignatam memoriam nullam habemus*. In the *Verrine Orations* (iii. 79) he says again; *Quid mirabimur turpis aliquos ibi esse, quo cuius pretio licet pervenire?* Dion Cassius bears witness to the same "errors and confusions" (liv. 36). These *librarii* or

What gave the consul courage to do this was the fact that at Rome, Caesar's position was looked upon as very critical. It was known that he had only 5,000 men in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the eight other legions were in the depths of Gaul, where it was hoped that, at the first order to retire, a general insurrection would break out, which would render it necessary to leave them beyond the Alps. If Caesar, abandoning the conquest which was



Roman Ruins at Capua.¹

the cause of his glory, called all his troops round him, the seven Pompeian legions in Spain would enter Gaul and follow the Caesarians into Italy, where Pompey, with his fresh levies and the two legions from Capua, would place Caesar between two dangers, from which he could not escape. Then too, they worked upon his army; promises of defection were made, and

notaries were freedmen; they purchased their office and might well sell their services, that is to say, incorrect copies.

¹ Engraving taken from the *Aeneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

Pompey's military reputation dispelled all fear: their confidence was unlimited.

To the question of Marcellus; "Should a successor be sent to the proconsul of the Gauls?" the majority replied in the affirmative. "Should Pompey's powers be taken from him?" A feeble minority declared themselves for the motion. But Curio in the name of public interest changed these questions into the following; "Should the generals abdicate at the same time?" and 370 voices against twenty-two supported the proposal, a proof that though the senatorial majority preferred Pompey to Caesar, they preferred the Republic to Pompey. Outside, the most vehement applause greeted the courageous tribune; Curio had found the true solution to this memorable conflict, one which would preserve peace and did not compromise the future. Had Caesar returned to Rome without his army, but with his glory, he would still have had over the disarmed Pompey the ascendancy of genius, and an influence in the State which would have allowed him to lead the government gently into the right path. But the nobles desired Caesar's ruin, and they knew that if the two rivals abdicated, Caesar, even when disarmed, would still be formidable to them. They could not therefore, accept any measure which dealt alike with both proconsuls, and Pompey would have none of it.¹ Marcellus broke up the meeting, crying; "You carry the day! You will have Caesar for a master."

A few days later, at the beginning of December, a report spread that the army of Gaul was crossing the Alps; Marcellus proposed to call up the two legions from Capua; Curio maintained, as was perfectly true, that no movement of the troops had taken place. Then Marcellus said; "Since I am prevented from deliberating with the supreme council upon the dangers of the State, I alone will provide against them;" and passing through the city, accompanied by Lentulus, the consul-elect, and some senators of the party,² he repaired to Pompey, handed him his

¹ Pompey was even unwilling that Caesar should be able to become consul after having quitted his army; a long conversation with him persuaded Cicero that he desired war, that he might not be obliged to confine himself to his government of Spain. (*ad Att.*, vii. 8). "Caesar made the greatest efforts to maintain peace," says Velleius Paterculus, too (ii. 49), "but Pompey's friends rejected all his offers."

² Dion., xl. 66.

sword, and ordered him to assume for the defence of the Republic the command of all the troops stationed in Italy. Pompey accepted, but true to the last to his hypocritical moderation, he added; "If no better expedient can be found."

The expedient indeed, was a detestable one, for the consul substituted himself for senate and people; of his own authority he invested Pompey with the dictatorship, trampling upon the *senatus-consulta* as well as *plebiscita*. It was impossible to violate the constitution more openly, and thus it was a senatorial minority that first began the call to arms and the revolution. Curio treated this unheard-of¹ proceeding as it deserved and opposed the raising of troops. But his office was drawing to a close, and the nobles who had at length entered upon the policy of violence no longer thought of allowing themselves to be stopped by a tribune. Before the 10th of December, 50 B.C., he fled to Caesar, who, thanks to him, now appeared to be a victim of Pompey and the oligarchical faction. Two other partizans of the proconsul however, Cassius Longinus and his former quaestor, Marc Antony, were about to take their seat on the tribune's bench. Caesar was too well aware of the power of this office not to take care always to get some of his own party elected to it.

He was then at Ravenna with the thirteenth legion, 5,000 foot and 300 horse. Curio urged him to attack. In order still to act under cover of the legal appearances which his foe had just cast aside, he sent word to the senate that he consented to retain, until his election to the consulship, only Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, with one legion. If this proposal were rejected, he still offered to lay down his command, provided Pompey would yield up his, adding that, in case these conditions were not accepted, he would be obliged to come to Rome himself to avenge his wrongs and those of the country.² Curio carried this letter, and on the

¹ This is the expression of which Dion makes use (xl. 66), though he is not favourable to Caesar; he adds that Pompey, eager to have soldiers, did not trouble himself either from whose hands he received them or by what means they reached him.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 32. Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 59) says that Cicero proposed to leave Caesar Illyria, with two legions, that he might await his second consulship, a fresh proof that the orator fully believed in Caesar's right to canvass the consulship while absent. On Pompey's refusal, Caesar's friends consented also to the disbanding of one of the two legions, but Lentulus and Cato obtained the rejection of all proposals.

1st of January, 49, he delivered it in full senate to the new consuls, Corn. Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus. This Marcellus was a brother of the consul of 51 and cousin to the one who had had the fasces in 50, three consulships in three years in the same house. By its exclusive selections the oligarchy itself, before it expired, increased the evil of which it was dying. The consuls refused to make Caesar's letter known; Cassius and Marc Antony demanded that it should be read, without however, getting a regular deliberation entered upon. In the midst of a confused debate, Lentulus was so far carried away as to declare that if the senate persisted in its servility, he and his friends were resolved to act, and the majority, swayed by fear,¹ adopted the motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and agent; "If on a fixed and early day Caesar has not abandoned his army and his provinces, he will be treated as a public enemy." They forgot that another senate had declared Cinna, Marius, Sylla and Lepidus public enemies, and that of those four outlaws three had re-entered Rome in triumph. But "they desired war," says Cicero, and they had need of it to satisfy at once their hatred and their covetousness.²

The veto of the tribunes at first hindered Scipio's motion from being drawn up in the form of a decree, and the crowd in the Forum, to whom they declared that Caesar only desired to return as a private individual and give an account of his administration to the sovereign assembly, were angry that a hearing should be refused to him who appealed to the justice of the people.

In order to silence these remarks and this opposition, Pompey, who was encamped with his troops at the gates of Rome, sent a few cohorts into the city, and at the meeting of the 6th of January the senate passed a decree charging the consuls to watch over the safety of the Republic; this was the declaration of war. As the tribunes persisted in their veto, the consuls invited them to leave the curia if they wished to avoid some outrage. At these

¹ *Inviti et coacti*, says Caesar (*de Bell. civ.*, i. 2).

² *Vidi . . . nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem [Caesarem] non tam cupere quam non timere.* (*ad Fam.*, ix. 6.) On another occasion he writes to M. Marius (*ad Fam.*, vii. 3); . . . *In bello rapaces, in oratione ita crudeles, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem es alienum amplissimorum virorum.*

words Antony rose, and taking the gods to witness the violence done to the popular magistrates, he cried; "It is because they speak in the name of prudence and equity that they are shamefully driven out like criminals and homicides." Then, as if seized with prophetic fury, he announced war, murders, proscription, and called down the divine vengeance on the head of those who provoked all these evils.¹ But the Pompeian soldiers approached; they were about to surround the Curia. Antony and Cassius hastened out, followed by Caelius and Curio; the following night all four, disguised as slaves, fled to Cæsar's camp. In the eyes of many he already had law on his side; with these men with him he appeared to have popular right, and the oligarchy placed him in a position of legitimate defence (January 7, 49 B.C.—November 19, 50 B.C.).

Whilst the tribunes were proceeding in all haste towards Ariminum, the senate voted the decree of proscription and distributed the provinces in contempt of constitutional rules. They bestowed commands upon senators who had no right to them, so that ordinary private individuals were seen preceded by lictors in Rome. Scipio and Domitius could not yet be proconsuls; the former was given Syria, the latter Transalpine Gaul. Others were sent to Sicily, to Sardinia, to Africa, and to Cilicia; Considius received the difficult office of taking possession of Cisalpine Gaul; to Cicero was confided the more modest mission of watching over the coasts of Campania, which no one threatened. They all started without any legal title, for the comitia curiata were not called together to confer the *imperium* upon them, and they fulfilled none of the religious and military formalities imposed upon magistrates on their entry into office. The party which pretended to fight on the side of the laws began by violating every law.

If the picture that has just been drawn of the internal state of Rome is a true one, Cæsar's ambition was legitimate, and his victory was as desirable as it was certain, for he had the strength to conquer as he had the genius to make use of victory, and give

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 33. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust to Cæsar speak (i. 4) of the murder, ordered by Cato, Domitius, and their party, of forty senators and a great number of youths. No trace of this deed is found elsewhere. Cicero and Cæsar would certainly have mentioned it.

the world that repose for which it longed. Humanity advances, according to the times, by the power of one as well as by the liberty of all. But it was not a question of sacrificing liberty. Where was liberty in the bloody saturnalia which had so long made the life of the Roman people the most tragic of stories? Where was it for the great body of Latin nations which, instead of moving onwards towards the future with a calm and assured step, was swaying in violent convulsions? It is a strange thing that in our age of democracy and revolutions wrought in streets and palaces men side with the faction of the nobles against the popular leader; with Sylla's heirs against the successors of the Gracchi; with the revolution brought about at Rome in the interest of a few persons against that which took place on the passage of the Rubicon and profited the greatest number.¹ Everyone allows himself to be misled by the false inscription of the Roman republic placed upon monuments, which might still be read upon the standards of the soldiers of Probus. No doubt the man who had just rendered Rome the immense service of bringing to her feet the dreaded Gallic race, and driving back the Germanic invasion for three centuries to come,—no doubt this man was about to violate the law which forbade proconsuls to issue from their provinces in arms. But what of his opponents? and indeed, after the declaration of war by the consuls, were there any laws at all? It is asking too much of human nature, in sooth, to think it possible for the victorious general, who would most certainly have been proscribed at Rome had he re-entered it without the protection of a public office, to have committed himself to the discretion of intriguing nobles.² We cannot perceive that those who pretended to save liberty intended to save aught but the oligarchical interests.

The question of legality may be summed up in two words:

¹ This prejudice dates from early times. The parliamentarians and men of letters of the seventeenth century retained it when absolute monarchy was at its height. Guy Patin said to a First President that if he had been in the senate when Cæsar was slain he would have dealt him the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a *literary* opinion which all the Ciceronians shared, after the example of their master, and which many among them still keep.

² Cato loudly declared that he would take the execution upon himself, and Cæsar was promised the fate of Milo. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 30.)

the nobles commenced the war in order to carry out their illegal senatus-consultum of the 10th of January, 49 B.C.,¹ and this war Caesar accepted to defend the sovereign plebiscitum of 52 B.C.

¹ Illegal in the sense that it violated a formal law, the plebiscitum of 52; without the laws of 55 and 52, the senate would have had the right of shortening the duration of Caesar's powers, but since the passing of these laws they no longer possessed it.

² From an engraved stone (an amethyst, .59055 inch by .43307 inch) from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1441 of the Catalogue.



Mars bearing a Trophy.²

CHAPTER LVI.

THE CIVIL WAR AND CÆSAR'S DICTATORSHIP.

I.—PROGRESS OF THE MONARCHICAL IDEA.

THE poet Lucan, in a famous passage, represents Cæsar implored by his sorrowing country to desist from his crime. Crime? no, but a necessary revolution, hid from Lucan's eyes by the epic illusions wherewith he consoled himself at Nero's court. It was indeed the favour of the people which made Cæsar master of Rome, not his army or his genius. The first and irresistible cause was the need in which the empire stood of a firm and regular government.

Everything tended towards a monarchy, which the loss of equality, the disorganization of the empire, and the desires of the steady classes rendered inevitable. What had the tribuneship of Caius, the consulships of Marius and Cinna, Sylla's dictatorship, Pompey's commands been, but so many temporary royalties? For a century past this idea had made way and gained over, unknown to themselves, many minds even among the highest classes. The peace for which Lucretius asks,³ the new wisdom which counsels men to flee public life and its dangerous seductions, as well as the temples and their vain terrors, the repose which Atticus seeks

¹ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 183.

² *C. Marius et . . . L. Sylla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Pompeius occultior, non melior: et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quesitum.* (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 38.)

³ *Placidam pacem.* . . . (i. 41.) The philosophy of Epicurus had made great progress at Rome. In the question between liberty and tyranny, it declared in favour of the latter, men being too senseless and wicked for the wise man to expose himself to danger with the view of delivering them. (Plut., *Brut.*, 12.) Epicureanism was veritably a doctrine of renouncement: "Epicurus," says Plutarch, "held the sovereign good to be in profound repose, as in a harbour protected from all the winds and waves of the world," and Lucretius is as much occupied in his poem in delivering mankind from the ambition for honours and glory as in freeing it from the yoke of superstition. The height of wisdom, to his thinking, is to attain peace of mind.

remote from business and at peace with all the rivals,¹ and even Cicero's uncertainties, are they not indications of the disgust inspired by the unbearable anarchy called the Roman republic?

When the aruspices, being consulted in 56 about some prodigies at which the people were frightened, had replied that the Republic was threatened with falling into the power of a single man, the notion had been revealed to them, not by the entrails of victims or the flight of birds, but by public opinion, of which they were an unconscious[?] echo.² Did not Cicero himself write; "What do you mean by men of the good party? I know none. Is it the senate, who leave the provinces without any administration, and who dared not hold their own against Curio? Is it the knights, whose patriotism has always been wavering, and who are now Caesar's best friends? Is it the tradesmen and country-people, who only ask to live in quiet, no matter under what regime, were it even under a king? . . . Caesar is now at the head of eleven legions and as much cavalry as he likes. He has on his side the Transpadane, the people of Rome, the majority of the tribunes, all the debauched youth, the influence of his name, and his incredible audacity."³

Plutarch, who saw documents which are lost to us, writes on his part; "Some candidates were seen to draw up the lists in the Campus Martius and buy votes in a shameless manner, whilst others led thither armed bands, who with arrows, slings, and swords drove off their opponents. More than once the rostra were stained with blood; the city was carried away amid the anarchy, like a helmless vessel in a storm. The wise only hoped that this madness would bring forth nothing worse than monarchy, and resigned themselves thereto."⁴ "The Republic is incurable," said

¹ Atticus was at the same time, or by turns, the friend of Cicero and of Clodius, of the younger Marius and of Sylla, of Caesar and of Pompey, of Brutus and Antony, and finally of Augustus, who took his granddaughter into the imperial house.

² *Ad unum imperium provinciae redeant exercitusque.* (Cic., *de Harusp. resp.*, 19.)

³ *Ad Att.*, vii. 7. Caesar had not then more than nine legions.

⁴ *Caesar*, 28. Cf. App., *Bell. civ.*, 19-20, and Dion, liii. 19; . . . παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἵν' ἐμπορευόμενος αὐτοὺς σωθῇναι. In the conversation of Cratippus with Pompey after Pharsalia, the philosopher "demonstrated to him that in the position in which affairs then were a monarchy was necessary in place of a bad government." (Plut., *Pomp.*, 75.) A century and a half later, Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 9) recognized this truth; *Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur.*

they again; "there is no remedy but monarchy, and this medicine we must ask of the gentlest doctor."¹

Those who sought for the great patient the most accommodating physician, the one who would cost least, were bent

¹ Two letters were long attributed to Sallust which he was supposed to have written to Caesar, the one before Pharsalia, the other after the war in Alexandria. They belong to the reign of Augustus, and from their date lose much of their historical importance, but they are none the less curious as a *résumé* of the opinions of those who accepted a monarchy. "In the name of the gods, Caesar, take the Republic in hand, for you alone can remedy our ills. Do not permit the great and invincible empire of the Roman people to fall through age and powerlessness, or to crumble away amid our senseless discords. If the country, if your ancestors, could make themselves heard, they would say to you; 'O Caesar! we have caused thee to be born in the most illustrious city, thee, our glory and support! We ask thee to save our empire from approaching ruin; for if, consumed by the ill which saps it, or struck by the blows of fate, it reaches the point of decadence, who doubts that the whole world would be forthwith given over to devastation, war, and carnage?'"

It is in the name of public peace, in the name of universal order, that the writer asks the victorious general to provide for the safety of Italy and the provinces. "The task is an immense one. It will be needful to crush the faction of the nobles, to establish equality, and give new laws to land and seas; but for great works, great rewards!" And he points out some of the necessary reforms; "The people has perished: there remains but a corrupt multitude, devoted to an infinite variety of trades and ways of life, without ties, without union, and altogether unfitted to take part in the government. Perhaps by infusing new men into it, it might reawaken to the sentiment of its dignity. Call in, then, fresh citizens who, mixing with the old ones, may go and found colonies. Our military force will gain thereby, and the people, bound to honest occupations, will cease to produce public misfortune. I know what wrath, what storms will break loose among the nobles. They will exclaim with indignation that everything is to be upset, that citizens are treated as slaves; that a free city is being transformed into a kingdom if one man be allowed the right of giving citizenship to many. But no matter, the public weal demands it; to hesitate would be a crime—cowardice. . . . They slew Drusus because he attempted this reform; redouble then, your pains to secure friends and numerous supports.

"When the people shall be thus regenerated, strengthen good customs, restrain the expenditure of each, abolish usury, and destroy the power of gold. Let wealth no longer give the power of deciding concerning the life and honour of citizens, let offices be accorded to merit, not to fortune, and let the law of C. Gracchus for drawing lots for the centuries of the five classes be put in force again; and finally, let military service, equally divided, weigh upon all. The citizens hereby rendered equal will no longer seek to surpass each other in aught but virtue.

"In our days a few effeminate and shameless nobles form a faction which insolently rules the nations and the senate. In former times the wisdom of that great body strengthened the tottering Republic; now being itself oppressed, it decrees according to its rulers' caprices, to-day one thing, to-morrow another. What is good and what ill the hatred of the nobles alone decides. Increase then, the number of senators, and establish the vote by secret ballot, that we may no longer see a few nobles approving, condemning, ordering, and directing everything according to their fancy."

Thus the summoning to Rome of new citizens to regenerate the people, the spreading of the Roman element through the provinces by means of colonies, the re-establishment of equality by destroying the excessive influence of the nobles, the giving of a better composition to armies; finally, a total reorganization of everything, *land and sea*—such are the writer's earnest desires, and such had been Caesar's.

upon selecting Pompey,¹ who thus attained his end very easily; the consuls resigned their power into his hands, that he might overthrow Cæsar, who was the last obstacle; and he reckoned upon succeeding in that without any difficulty. He did not even think there was any need for long preparations. At Ravenna,² Cæsar had only one legion, and did not his persevering negotiations prove his weakness and his fears?

II.—CROSSING OF THE RUBICON: CÆSAR TAKES POSSESSION OF ROME AND ITALY (49 B.C.).

But suddenly the news arrived that he had crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, and taken Ariminum, where he had shown his soldiers the fugitive tribunes in their slaves' dresses; that all his forces were on the move, carrying with them Gaul, which had promised him 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse; that his legionaries, far from hesitating, were full of ardour and gave him credit for their pay, whilst each centurion furnished him with a horseman; finally, that all the cities were opening their gates to him, and that he in person was rapidly advancing by the Flaminian Way, enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants. "Where is your army?" demanded Volcatius of Pompey. "Stamp your foot upon the earth," said Favonius in irony, "it is high time." And the sham great man, cut off from his legions in Spain, was reduced to acknowledge that he could not defend Rome. He attempted to escape Cæsar's first impetuosity by stopping him with a pretended negotiation, which he entrusted to one of the proconsul's relatives

¹ All had been prepared beforehand to give Pompey the means of overthrowing Cæsar; the kind of dictatorship he had exercised at Rome, where he had borne the consulship, while retaining, contrary to law, the proconsulship of Spain; the army which he commanded in Italy; the seven legions in Spain, absolutely useless in that pacified province; the immense fleet which he had at disposal as superintendent of provisions; the thousand talents which he had the right to draw annually from the treasury; the law concerning magistracies, which substituted a new order for the old one, solely destined to hinder Cæsar from obtaining the consulship; . . . *omnia contra se (Cæsarem) parari; in se novi generis imperia constitui . . . ; in se jura magistratum commutari*, etc. (Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 85.)

² Ravenna is about a hundred leagues from Rome. The passage of the Rubicon must have taken place on the 12th of January, 49 B.C., corresponding to the 24th of November, 50. If the calculation were made according to the sixty days fixed by Plutarch for Cæsar's conquest of Italy, it would be necessary to put it as far back as the night between the 15th and 16th of November.

and the prætor Roscius. Cæsar held to the conditions contained in his letter to the senate, and expressed a desire to have an interview with Pompey. On their return the deputies loudly praised his moderation. His demand for simultaneous disarmament appeared fair to everyone;¹ it was so, and he made it in all sincerity, for he knew that if the two generals disarmed at the same time and the elections were free, he would certainly be chosen consul. Pompey knew it as well as he, and that is why he desired war. He prevented an answer being sent to Cæsar's ultimatum, and warned the senators and magistrates that they must retire upon Capua.² This was no mere advice; he declared that whosoever remained in the city would be treated as a public enemy.



Bronze Knocker found at Capua.³

Thus from the very beginning of the campaign he left his foe in possession of the capital, an immense advantage in a state where the capital was still nearly everything.

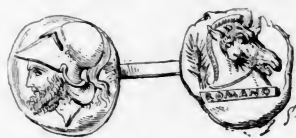
The order was executed, and the senators, who were yesterday

¹ Dion, xli. 5.

² Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 33; Plut., *Cæsar*, 65; Dion., xli. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 37.

³ *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 17. This beautiful door-ornament forms part of the collections of the Duc de Luynes in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. The head of Medusa with which it is ornamented in high relief is, says M. de Chanot (*op. cit.*, p. 69), one of the most perfect specimens of the Gorgon, according to the ideal of the best classical art.

so threatening, were seen fleeing hastily before one legion. Presently the Appian Way was covered with a disorderly crowd, less irritated perhaps, against the man who seemed to be pursuing them than against him whose haughty carelessness had made no preparations for their defence. At Capua the confusion reached its highest pitch. There was a lack of money, although it had been exacted from all the neighbouring towns and taken from the temples;² even men were lacking, for fear had spread everywhere. At Rome mourning had been assumed

Coin of Capua.¹

Coins of Iguvium.

and public prayers ordered as in times of great calamity. "In Italy levies were difficult to make: some refused to serve; others came up unwillingly; the greater part cried out for some compromise,"³ and Cicero found out that his former hero was a very poor general.⁴ In the hurry of their flight the consuls had left the treasure-chest at Rome. Pompey wished them to return for it, but an army was needed for its escort, and the two legions at Capua barely sufficed to keep in check the gladiators whom Caesar maintained in that city. Moreover, the latter was rapidly approaching, preceded by this declaration; "I come to deliver the Roman people from a faction which oppresses them, and to re-establish their tribunes in their dignity." Pisaurum, Ancona, Iguvium, Aesulum, were taken, or rather, opened their gates, driving out the Pompeian garrisons.

¹ Head of Mars. See vol. i. p. cvi., for another specimen of the coins of Capua.

² *Pecunie a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur.* (Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 6.)

³ Plut., *Pomp.*, 59; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 36.

⁴ *Quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium jam ante cognoram; nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγικώτατον.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 16.)

In order to reduce Caesar's army, leave had been offered to the soldiers and great promises made to the leaders. One of them, Labienus, the most renowned of his lieutenants, had yielded; though Caesar had placed full confidence in him. During the year 50 he had entrusted him with the command of Cisalpine Gaul, his outpost and fortress. But Labienus, proud of his military glory and of the wealth he had acquired,¹ thought he had done much more towards conquering Gaul than his leader. On the approach of the Civil war he calculated the chances of the two parties, imagined that Pompey would be the stronger, and at the outset of hostilities went over to his side, a great joy for the Pompeians, who took this flight for the signal of the defections which had been commenced. Cicero already saw "the new Hannibal" overthrown, but not a single soldier followed



Coin of Pisaurum.

Labienus; Caesar did not even deign to keep the traitor's baggage.² This politic generosity, his clemency to prisoners, whom he left free to enlist among his troops or to return to their party, the discipline observed by his soldiers, shook the zeal of many. From the very beginning he had used this politic speech; "Whoso is not against me is for me," in contrast to Pompey, who declared all to be enemies who followed not with him. Caesar thus won to his cause the indifferent and the timid, who are always the most numerous; he also attracted upright minds by addressing to all the cities in Italy messages in which he conjured Pompey to submit their differences to arbitration.³ His letters to Oppius and Balbus were quoted; "Yes, I will use leniency, and I will do all to bring back Pompey. Let us try this means to gain hearts and consolidate victory; terror has only succeeded in making my predecessors hated and has upheld no one. Sylla forms an exception, but I will never take him for a model. Let us seek success by other ways, and let us recommend

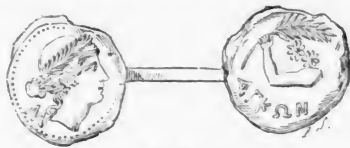
¹ *ad Att.*, vii. 7, and Dion, xli. 4.

² Labienus joined Pompey at Teanum on the 22nd or 24th of January, 49 B.C. (*ad Fam.*, xiv. 14.)

³ *Ἐς ἑκὼν ἔτα.* (Dion., xli. 10.)

our cause by benefits and clemency."¹ Honour to the man who wrote this noble letter in face of a party whose chiefs would have made a different use of victory.

Pompey, on the contrary, assumed kingly airs; he and those about him had naught but threats in their mouths.² "One would have said they were so many Syllas." This royalty had been his secret idea for two years past; "If he deserted Rome," says Cicero, "it is not that he could not have defended it; if he abandons Italy it is not necessity which compels him thereto; his sole design since the commencement has been to upset land and sea, to raise barbarous kings to revolt, to cast upon Italy armed waves of savage nations, to assemble innumerable soldiers under him—a power like Sylla's, that is what he craves, and all that those who accompany him wish for." Accordingly, many slipped quietly away and went back to the city.³

Coin of Ancona.⁴

Coin of Luceria.

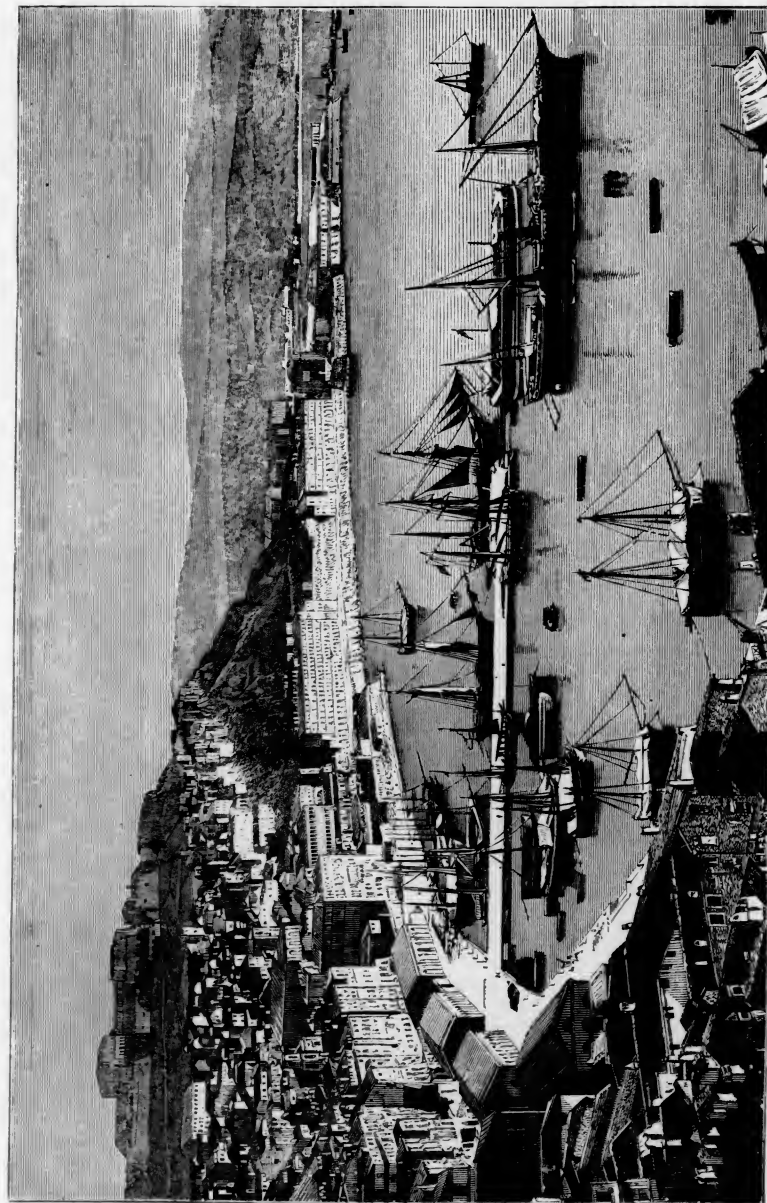
Two great roads led from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul, one passing through the country of the Etruscans, the other through that of the Umbrians; Caesar rapidly closed them by seizing the strongholds of Arretium, on the *via Cassia*, and Iguvium, Pisaurum, and Ancona, on the Flaminian Way. The disaffection against the senate and their general was so great that Picenum, where Pompey had hereditary domains and innumerable clients, offered no resistance. The cities drove out their senatorial garrisons and opened their gates to Caesar. Asculum made him master of the *via Salaria*, the Sabine approach to Rome, Cingulum, which surrendered to him, in spite

¹ Cic., *ad Att.*, ix. 7c.

² *Sermones minacis, inimicos optimatum, municipiorum hostis, meras proscriptiones, meros Syllas.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 11.) *Sullaturit . . . proscripserunt*, etc. (Cf. Dion, xli. 10.) Is this an allusion to the massacres spoken of by the pseudo-Sallust? (*Epist.*, i. 4.) The clemency of Caesar, says Hirtius (*de Bell. Afric.*, 88), was a gift of nature in him, but also a policy, *pro natura et pro instituto*. It is so much the more to be praised.

³ *Bonorum sermones Romae frequentes dicuntur.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 11.) *Urbem jam refertam esse optimatum audio.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 1.)

⁴ See vol. i. p. cxii., for the explanation of the emblem on the reverse, a bent arm.



Port of Ancona.

of the favours with which Labienus had loaded it, put him in possession of the valley of the *Velinus*, whence he could descend into those of the Anio and Tiber. All the approaches to the capital were thus in his hands.

But Pompey had no army at Rome; having taken refuge in Campania he soon found he was no longer safe there, and retired as far as Luceria. This march revealed his design of crossing the sea and carrying the war into the eastern provinces, where the senators would see Pompey surrounded by a retinue of kings. There indeed, great resources were at his disposal. He thought he could count upon the devotion of the cities and princes from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, from the Danube to the cataracts of Syene, from Cyrenaica to the depths of Spain, which his lieutenants ruled. Finally the immense fleet which he had collected during his superintendence of provisions formed a connection between all these provinces and gave him the uncontested empire of the seas. Cicero blames him for having abandoned Italy, and posterity has followed Cicero, who was not a great general.¹ But having made the mistake of despising his enemy, which prevented his forming anything like a serious army before the commencement of hostilities, and then that of believing in defections of which only one took place, he could not, with his fresh levies, contest Rome with veteran legions who had grown accustomed to conquer during nine campaigns of the most terrible warfare. The retreat beyond the Adriatic was a military necessity, and had perhaps been a long foreseen one.²

Cæsar perceived the plan as soon as Pompey withdrew from Capua. Being reinforced by two legions, twenty-two cohorts of Gallic auxiliaries, and 300 cavalry from Noricum,³ he advanced by forced marches towards the south in order to cut off the fugitives from the road to Brundisium. The resistance of Domitius at Corfinium delayed him for seven days. There were in and around the place thirty-one cohorts, senators, and knights, but in that country, the former centre of the Social war, the people were not

¹ *Vehementer contemnebat hunc hominem.* (*ad Att.*, vii. 8.)

² *Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 10.)

³ These auxiliaries from Noricum prove that Cæsar had attached to his cause the nations on the right bank of the Upper Danube, settled to the north of his province of Illyria.

at all eager to fight for Sylla's heirs against the nephew of Marius. The troops of Domitius mutinied, and the town was given up with the immense stores it contained. The usual cruelties were expected; in order to forestall them, Domitius tried to poison himself. The physician only gave him a narcotic, and he was able, like the others, to implore the pardon of the man whom he and his party would certainly not have pardoned. They asked for their lives. "But," said he, "I left my province in order to defend myself, not to avenge myself," and he guaranteed them against all insult from his soldiers; he even allowed them to carry off their wealth without binding them not to serve against him again, a noble imprudence which cost him many men and much time and money; a few weeks later Domitius tried to raise Gallia Narbonensis against him, and compromised Caesar's expedition beyond the Pyrenees by retaining three of his legions beneath the walls of revolted Marseilles.

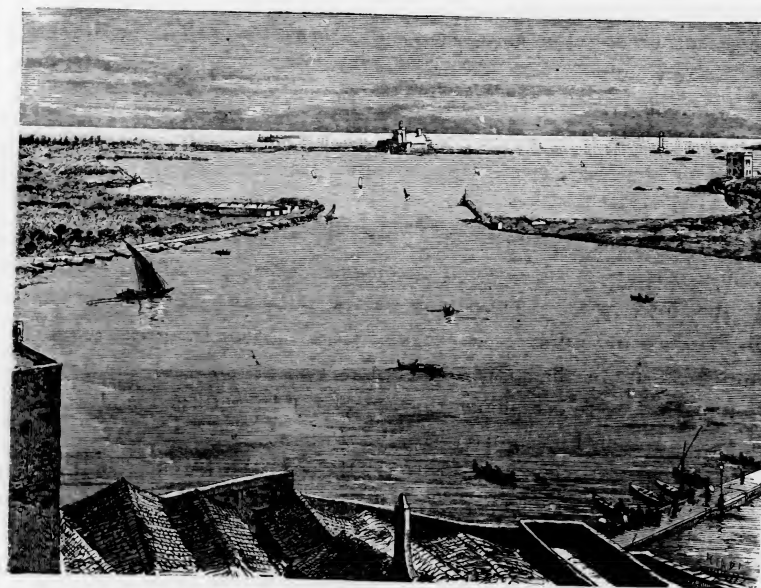
This unusual clemency produced a profound sensation. "Often," writes Cicero, "I chat with the inhabitants of municipia and villages. Their field, their dwelling, their little savings, these are their only care. They dread him in whom they lately trusted, they love him who frightened them,"¹ and, let us add, "who now reassures them." These peasants, caring very little about politics, but very much for their own interests, belong to all ages. They trembled when they heard rumbling overhead the storm let loose by passions which they did not understand, and they prayed for the success of him who seemed likely to restore calm. The aged *consularis* ended by going over to their opinion, and he came to wish that Caesar might reach Brundisium soon enough to forestall Pompey and impose peace upon him.²

This peace Caesar ardently desired; at every opportunity he repeated his demand for it, and there is no doubt that, but for Pompey's vast pride, which brooked no equal, and the violent hatred of the oligarchy against the popular proconsul, peace would have been easily concluded. From Ariminum, Caesar had sent a message to Pompey, in which, while recalling his just grievances, he renewed the very acceptable proposals which he had already made.

¹ *Ad Att.*, viii. 13.

² *Ibid.*, 14.

Let Pompey start for Spain, and he, Caesar, would disband his troops. Then the consular elections would take place with full freedom, and the senate and people would have recovered their rights. If any misunderstanding should hinder these overtures being immediately accepted, let the two generals meet in conference, and all difficulties would be smoothed away.¹ On learning these conditions there had been great rejoicing among those who dreaded Civil war, "but



Harbour of Brundisium (Brindisi).²

they had filled Pompey with fear, for he well knew that if the people were taken as judges, his rival would win."³ Accordingly he had made an evasive answer, in which the clearest words were to the effect that the proconsul of the Gauls must return to his

¹ *De Bell. civ.*, i. 9. After the capture of Corfinium he charged C. Balbus to see the senators, to assure them that he ardently desired peace, and to tell Cicero in particular that he would consent to recognize Pompey's authority if he were certain to have guarantees for his life: *Nihil malle Cesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere.* (*ad Att.*, viii. 9.) "Do you believe that?" adds Cicero, and to me, as to him, such great abnegation appears suspicious. But I believe in Caesar's sincere desire to make a peace which could not but turn out to his advantage.

² From Yriarte, *les Bords de l'Adriatique*, p. 609.

³ *De Bell. civ.*, i. 10.

province, and that until he had disbanded his troops the levies would continue in Italy. Caesar could not trust these threatening words;¹ he did not halt in his march. Yet on the road to Brundisium, and even before that town, he twice again asked for an interview. "The consuls are far away," answered Pompey, "we cannot treat without them." These blind men, whose eyes the loss of Italy should have opened, would neither see nor hear; while fleeing they dreamed of victories, murders, and proscriptions. Does not Cicero, the most pacific of them, say; "The assassination of Caesar would be a happy solution."² And Pompey never doubted that he could return from the East, like Sylla, master of the world.

The resistance of Corfinium had upset Caesar's calculations; when he appeared beneath the walls of Brundisium the consuls and their five legions were already on the other side of the Adriatic, at Dyrrachium. Pompey had sent them away "for fear they should attempt something in favour of peace."³ He himself, left in the town with twenty-two cohorts, only awaited the return of his vessels in order to embark. Caesar tried by great works to shut him up in the town by closing the entrance to the harbour. Before they were completed the consular fleet returned and Pompey set sail, March 17 (January 25).

During the operations in Italy, three Gallic legions, commanded by Fabius Maximus, had gone and taken up their position at Narbo, in order to prevent the Pompeians leaving Spain; the three others, slowly drawing near the Alps, could be directed, according to circumstances, against the Gauls if they should rise, or to the help of either Caesar in Italy or Fabius in Gallia Narbonensis. The line of operations extended, accordingly, from Brundisium to the foot of the Pyrenees, and Caesar no longer had any dread of being taken in the rear. At the same time Valerius had made himself master of Sardinia without striking a blow, and Curio of Sicily,⁴

¹ Pompey said a few days before that he was certain to beat Caesar. (*ad Att.*, vii. 16.)

² *Ad Att.*, ix. 10.

³ Dion, xli. 12.

⁴ Cato had been ordered to defend Sicily, and Cicero, who was very courageous for other people, reproaches him with not having offered resistance; . . . *potuisse certe tenere illam provinciam scio.* (*ad Att.*, x. 12.) But Curio arrived with his legions, and Cato had not a soldier; he did well not to oppose him with a few provincial militia, who would not have stopped the Caesarians, and would have drawn misfortunes upon the province.

and thus the two granaries of Rome were in his hands. Sixty days had sufficed to drive the senatorial party out of Italy, subdue the peninsula with its islands, and guarantee the security of the two Gauls.

This extraordinary activity extracts from Cicero, in spite of himself, a cry of admiration and dismay; "Oh, what fearful rapidity! This man is a marvel of vigilance," and his friend Caelius, who had remained among the Caesarians, wrote to him; "What do you think of our soldiers? In the depth of winter they finished the war by a march."¹ But he was mistaken in his calculation.

For want of vessels Caesar had been unable to pursue his rival. To prevent Pompey returning and assuming the offensive, he occupied Brundisium, Sipontum, and Tarentum with troops, then he returned to Rome, which he had not seen for ten years, and where everything had resumed its usual course; "the praetors sitting in court, the aediles preparing the games, and the people of the winning side taking advantage of the circumstances to put out their money at large interest."² When the victor re-entered it on the 1st of April (7th of February), he found there enough senators to reconstitute a senate, which he opposed to that which Pompey held in his camp. Two tribunes, Marc Antony and Cassius, convoked it upon the Campus Martius, whither Caesar repaired. He reminded them that he had waited ten years, according to law, to solicit a second consulship, and that he had been legally authorized to canvass that magistracy, though absent; then he set forth his efforts to avert war, his repeated offers to disband his own troops if Pompey would dismiss his. He begged the senators to assist him in the government of the Republic, unless they preferred to leave the burden to him, and finally, he asked that an embassy should be appointed to go and treat for peace with the Pompeians.³

This last proposal was quite a serious one, since Caesar never

¹ Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 15.

² *Ad Att.*, ix. 12.

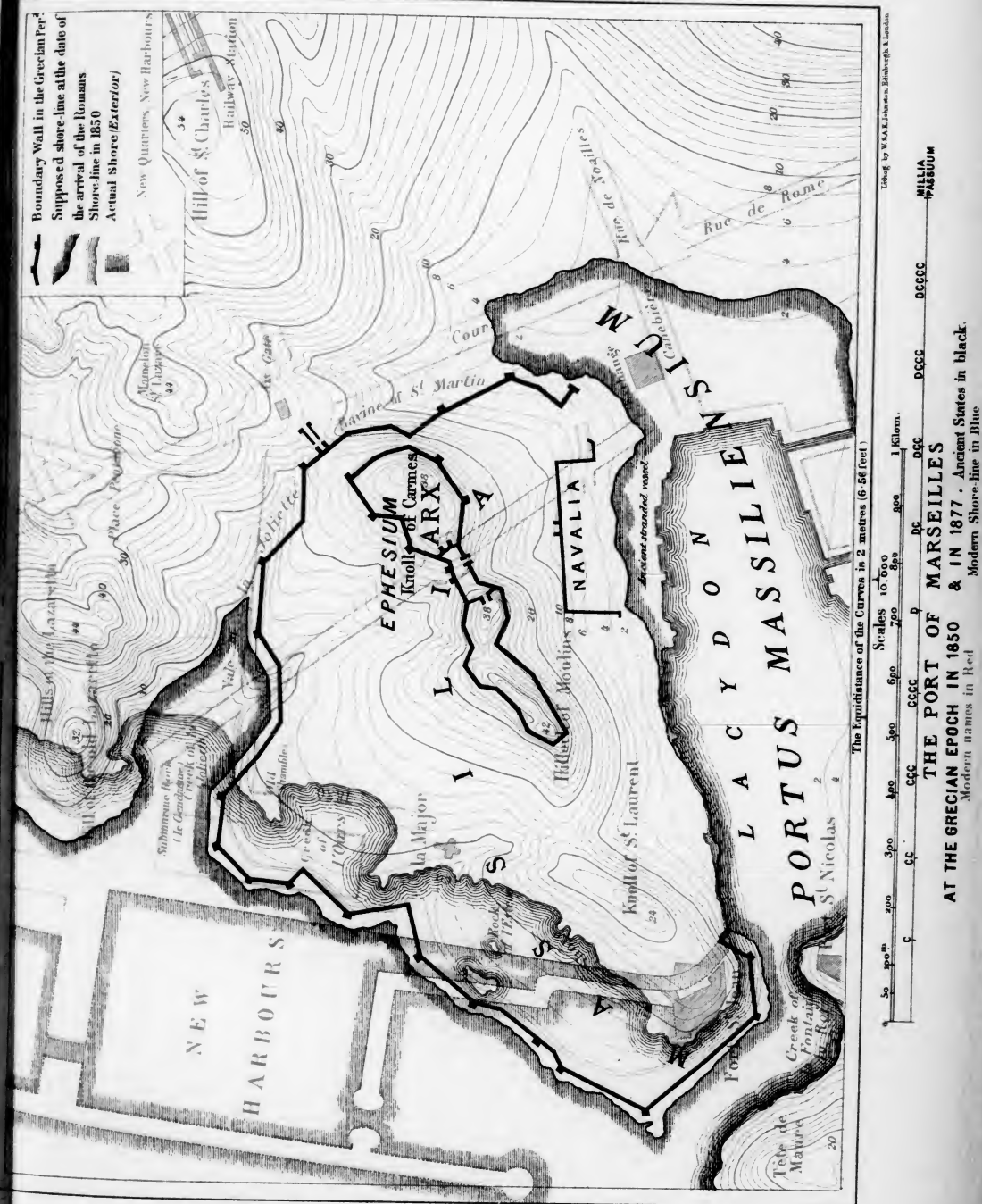
³ *De Bell. civ.*, i. 32. From the crossing of the Rubicon till Pharsalia, five attempts at negotiations may be counted. (Cf. *ibid.*, i. 8, 24, 26, 32; iii. 10, 19, 57.) Paternus has therefore, the right to say; *Nihil relictum a Cesare quod servandae pacis causa tentari posset; nihil receptum a Pompeianis.*

lost any opportunity of renewing it; but no one was willing to undertake the matter, so much did they dread Pompey's threats against those who had remained in Rome. Cæsar did not insist; while pushing on the war energetically he was willing to gain the advantage of moderation; that is why he always spoke of reconciliation and concord, without however persuading anyone for the popular instinct was not mistaken; it was felt that the revolution was inevitable, and that Cæsar must become master. To show that this royalty did not forget its origin, he assembled the people and promised them a gratuity in corn and money. But money was already failing him; he obtained the authorization of the senate to take the treasure deposited in the temple of Saturn. This was the gold reserved for times of extreme necessity, and the law forbade it being touched save in case of a Gallic invasion. One of the tribunes, L. Metellus, opposed the proposal. "I have conquered Gaul," said Cæsar; "this reason no longer exists; moreover, the time for arms is not the time for laws;" and when the tribune stood before the door, Cæsar threatened to have him killed; "Know, young man, that it is less easy for me to say it than to do it." Cæsar had taken up arms to defend the tribunitian inviolability, he said, and now in his turn he violated it. Metellus, yielding to violence, retired. We know nothing of his life except this act of courage; it has preserved his name in history.

III.—CÆSAR IN SPAIN; SIEGE OF MARSEILLES (49 B.C.).

Pompey being driven out of Italy, the greatest danger which threatened Cæsar at this moment was a rising in Gaul. He hastened thither, after having confided the government of the city to Lepidus, son of the consul who had revolted against the Syllan government in 78, the command of all the troops left in Italy he gave to Marcus Antonius, and that of Illyria to his brother Caius Antonius. The latter was to harass the Pompeians on the east coast of the Adriatic, or close the road against them if they attempted to penetrate by that way into Italy, as report said.¹ “I

¹ Cicero (*ad Att.*, x. 6) mentions on the 22nd of April the report of Pompey's march through Illyria.



am about to fight an army without a general," said Cæsar; "then I shall attack a general without an army." This pithy saying explains the whole war. Marseilles, Pompeian at heart, stopped

him on the way; it pretended to remain neutral, but it had just received into its walls Domitius, whom Cæsar had treated so generously at Corfinium without succeeding in winning him over. Before the commencement of hostilities, Domitius



C. Antonius, Cæsar's Legate.

had been invested by the senate with the command of Transalpine Gaul, and from Marseilles he could stir up all the province in which

his ancestor, by his victories and public works, had established the influence of his house.¹ Cæsar hastened to shut him up in the place, which he caused to be attacked by three legions, under the command of Trebonius, and by a fleet which Decimus Brutus built in thirty days in the Rhone at the port of Arelate. During these operations, the three legions of Fabius moved from Narbo towards Spain to seize the passes of the Pyrenees; three others and 6,000 Gallic or German horse made ready to support them. The centurions, tribunes, and friends of Cæsar had lent him the necessary money, which he would not raise by confiscations.



Marseilles Personified.²

Terentius Varro, the author, commanded in Further Spain;

¹ See vol. ii. p. 477.

² The style of this charming marble head, found in the territories of the Volcev-Arecomici and preserved at Nîmes, seems to fix the execution of the work at the time when Pompey gave the Massiliotes the country of the Arecomici, a short-lived rule, to which Cæsar put an end. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875, p. 129. and pl. 34.)

Petreibus, an old soldier, in Lusitania; Afranius in Hither Spain; the two latter joined together, and with five legions stationed on the north of the Ebro, near Herda (Lerida),¹

Coin of Varro.²

they made a stand against Fabius when he had crossed the mountains without the least resistance. On arriving, Cæsar found the two armies face to face; his own men, established in a difficult position between the Segre and the Cinca, could only obtain provisions by drawing their

Puerta de los Botes (Lerida).³

convoys from countries situated on the right and left of those two rivers; Cæsar made bridges over them; but the waters, swollen by the sudden melting of the snow, carried these away, and he

¹ See vol. ii. p. 754, for the present state of Lerida. The ancient town must have been concentrated on the plateau, and consequently have occupied a very strong position.

² VARRO PROP. Head of Jupiter Ternumatus. On the reverse, MAGN. PROCOS; dolphin and eagle separated by trident. Coin of the family Terentia.

³ Puerta de los Botes (Roman gate). (Delaborde, vol. i., pl. lxxi.)

saw himself, as it were, surrounded and starved out; a bushel of wheat (*modius*) was sold in the camp for fifty denarii, and the ill-fed soldiers lost their strength. The situation was becoming serious, for during these long delays, Pompey, had he been the great general he was reputed, might with his powerful fleet have recrossed the Adriatic, recovered Italy and Rome, delivered Marseilles, and crushed Cæsar between the legions of Petreibus and those which he brought with him.

Juba I.¹

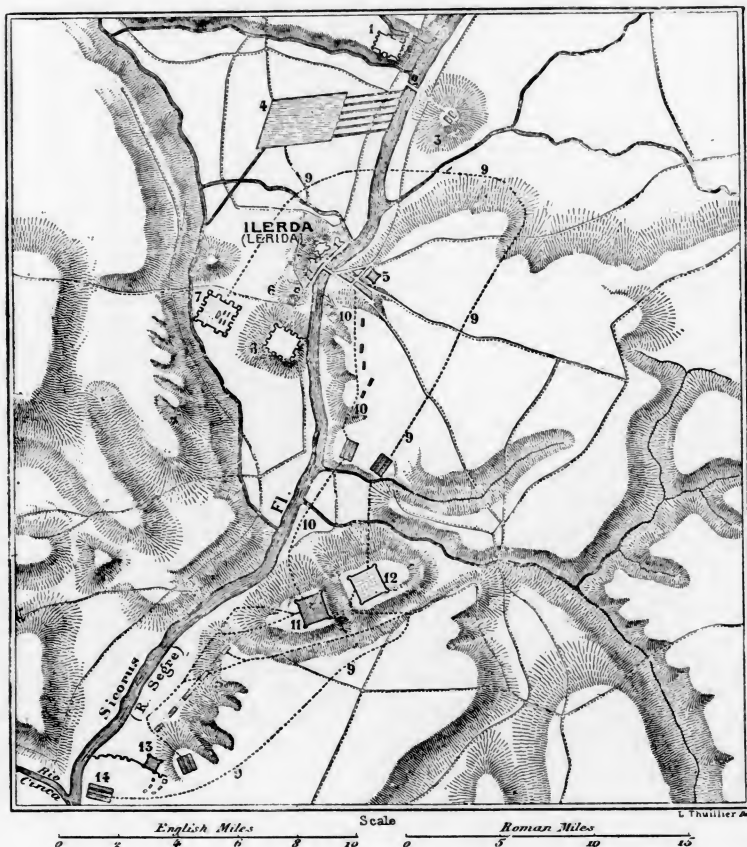
Meanwhile Curio with two legions, had crossed from Sicily into Africa, where Varro commanded for Pompey. During his tribuneship, anxious to obtain the honour and doubtless the profit of confiscating a kingdom, he had proposed to despoil Juba, king of the Numidians.² The prince had naturally retained a feeling of resentment, which made him a devoted Pompeian. He put all his forces in movement, and joined them with those of Varro, so that Curio, being defeated on the banks of the Bagradas, slew himself. The victors butchered the legionaries whom they took prisoners. Dolabella, whom Cæsar had entrusted with the building of a fleet on the Adriatic, was also beaten by Octavius and Scribonius Libo; and finally, C. Antonius, in Illyria, fell into the hands of the Pompeians.

When they heard at Rome of these disasters to the lieutenants, and of the critical position of the leader, whose dangers the letters of Afranius exaggerated, his cause was thought lost. Several senators who had hitherto remained neutral hastened to reach Dyrrachium. It is sad to find among them Cicero, who had hitherto remained in Italy. A few months earlier this decision would have looked like devotion to the Republican cause; now it might be called by a hard name. For his defence it must be said that he had soothed himself with the idea of acting as mediator between the two rivals. But after the visit Cæsar had paid him on his return from Brundisium, he had perceived that nothing was wanted of him but his name under decrees about to be passed, and he had been wounded to the quick at this discovery. From that time he had

¹ Juba I., from a gold coin of that prince. (Visconti, *Icon. grecq.*, vol. iii., pl. 55.)

² Dion, xli. 41.

thought, in spite of Caesar's letters and the advice of Atticus, who had remained at Rome, of secretly rejoining Pompey, while all the time he said; "Ah! I see plainly which will prove the better policy." He meant a neutrality, which would have saved his life



Plan of the Environs of Lerida.¹

and his fortune. Let us not accuse him of weakness, but note his clear-sighted intelligence, for though he loved with a sincere

¹ Petreius and Afranius occupied a fine position at No. 8, which has served in modern wars to cover the entrance into Aragon. They were there masters of both banks of the Segre, Lerida having a stone bridge which allowed them to cross on to the right bank at will. Fabius, Caesar's lieutenant, had established himself a league and a half away from the enemy, between the Noguera Ribargorsana and the Segre, over which he threw two bridges, 4,000 paces apart.

love that Republic in which eloquence had raised him to honour, he also knew that, whoever proved victor, the Republic would perish on the battlefield.¹ Hence this despondency, this uncertainty and apparent vacillation, which we cannot but condemn, for this example of a great man has perhaps in other times justified indifference and cowardice, or furnished treason with sophistries. At length he forgot prudence and the jests he had made about Solon's law against neutrality, not because the senatorial party was in the right, but because it seemed to be becoming the stronger. Such indeed, was the rule of conduct which Caelius had long counselled. "As long as they keep to words," he had written to him, "I shall be with the honest folks; if it comes to blows, I shall range myself on the side of those who deal the hardest."² But Caelius had gone over to Caesar; Cicero "went, like Amphiaras, to cast himself living into the gulf."³

In Spain however, events had taken an unexpected turn. Caesar had had boats built of light wood, osier, and leather, which could be carried anywhere. He took them to the banks of the Segre, far from the enemy's scouts, rapidly entrenched himself upon the other side, and could then quietly build a bridge for his

When he sent his troops to forage on the left bank of the Segre, the Pompeians attacked them. Plancus, who was in command, withdrew to the hill (No. 3), where he was able to defend himself till his leader came to the rescue. On his arrival, Caesar, in order to press the enemy closer, established his camp in No. 7; then he attempted to get possession of a hill which stood between the enemy's camp and the town, at No. 6, but did not succeed. When the rising of the Segre had swept away his two bridges and interrupted his communications with the high lands by which supplies reached him, he drained off the river and drew away some of the water into a natural hollow (No. 4), whence a fresh canal led it into a stream which flowed into the Segre below Lerida. This work allowed him to receive his provisions and to cross over on to the left bank, where he in turn impeded the efforts of the Pompeians to revictual. Afranius then crossed the Segre, in order to escape by descending the right bank. At first he left two of his legions encamped in No. 5, and with the remainder of his forces he reached positions 11 and 12, following line No. 10. Caesar effected the same movement along line No. 9, and then supported his left on the Segre, at the spot where it receives the Cinca, and his right on the mountains, position No. 14. The Pompeians established in No. 13 found themselves surrounded. (De Laborde, vol. i., pl. 72, and p. 42 sq., after the *Mémoires militaires* of Colonel Guischard.)

¹ *Uterque regnare vult*, wrote he to Atticus (viii. 11). He repeats it (x. 7); *regnandi contentio est*, and in the *pro Marcello* he again says, in the year 46 (if this speech is really his), that the Civil war had been only the conflict of two ambitions. That of the Pompeians appears to him much to be feared; *Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletium non abstinere . . . tegulam in Italia nullam relicturum.* (*ad Att.*, ix. 7; xi. 6; *ad Fam.*, iv. 14; Cf. *Dion.* xli. 56.) Appian also says (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 48); *ὅτι γὰρ ἀέθλον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέφεσθαι.*

² *Ad Fam.*, viii. 14.

³ It is Cicero who thus speaks of himself when he went to join Pompey. (*ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)

convoys to use; next, imposing gigantic works upon his soldiers, he drained the river by numerous canals in order to diminish its depth and make fords which would leave him free in his movements. Some successful skirmishes led to the defection of several tribes, and the Pompeian generals were reduced to quit their position at Ilerda, where Caesar, with his numerous Gallic cavalry, would have at length starved them into surrender. But to beat a retreat before so active a general was a difficult undertaking. They attempted it, however. Not one of their movements, by night or by day escaped his vigilance; he guessed all their plans, forestalled them in all the positions they tried to occupy, surrounded them, and at length saw the soldiers of the two generals "raise their shields above their heads,"¹ a signal equivalent to our laying down arms (June 9, 49 B.C.). He granted them their lives and disbanded them, saying; "If you go and rejoin the Pompeians, tell them how I treated you." This campaign, in which "by the influence of his manœuvres" Caesar subdued, without fighting, an army equal in strength to his own, was the admiration of the great Condé and of Napoleon. Either through imprudent slowness or calculated delay, Varro had not effected a junction with his two colleagues in time. All resistance was now impossible to him; he appeared at Corduba before the victor, who took away his military chest, swelled by numerous exactions.²

Having conquered and pacified this wholly Pompeian province in forty days,³ Caesar set out again for Marseilles, whither his foe, who had an immense fleet at disposal, had only succeeded in sending the insignificant reinforcement of sixteen galleys led by Nasidius. Shut up within their walls by two defeats inflicted by Decimus Brutus, the skilful leader who had so well conducted the war against the Veneti, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremities. On the arrival of the proconsul they decided to enter into negotiations, and gave up their arms, their vessels, and all

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 42.

² Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, i. 37-87. Respecting this clemency, it must be noted that Afranius, having seized all Caesar's soldiers who had come into his camp, under protection of a tacit truce, had put them to death. (*Ibid.*, 76, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 43.)

³ Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, ii. 32.

the money in the public treasury. Here again Caesar did himself honour by his clemency; he had no occasion however, to exercise it towards Domitius, who fled before the town opened its gates.

Like Alexander, he troubled himself about what men thought of him. About barbarous towns he had few scruples. Who spoke of their ruin? Marseilles was celebrated; it was the Athens of Gaul; he spared it. He left it its liberty, its laws, and walls. But he took away its arms, vessels, and treasure; he deprived it of several of its subject towns, amongst others, of Agde and Antibes, which he made into two Roman colonies, and he founded, at the mouth of the Argens,¹ Frejus, which he destined as a rival to the Massiliotes on the east coast, as Narbo was on the west. A few years later, under Augustus, Frejus became one of the arsenals of the empire, and Strabo calls Narbo the port of all Gaul. In this latter town, and at Béziers and Arles, he settled those soldiers who had completed their term of military service.

These last operations ensured the submission of all the western provinces of the empire, those which furnished the bravest soldiers.² Caesar now secure of not being troubled in the rear, could go in search of the general whose best army he had just destroyed.



The Golden Gate at Frejus.

¹ A river, the great alluvial deposits of which have choked up the navigable lagoon which used to separate the town from the sea. On the Roman buildings at Frejus, which quickly had all the monuments which appeared necessary for a colony, thermæ, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and in addition, great military establishments, an aqueduct thirty-seven miles long, etc., see the interesting study by M. Lenthéric, *Frejus, le port romain et la lagune de l'Argens*.

² There has been mentioned a rising of the Volcæ-Arecomici (Nîmes) and Allobroges (Dauphiné and Savoy), who on the pretext of fidelity to the Roman senate are said to have seized this opportunity afforded by the Civil war to draw the sword once more upon their conquerors. Caesar is said to have punished them severely, and Nîmes to have long kept in one of her squares an inscription recalling their chastisement. This inscription is false; the fact which it seemed to prove must therefore be suppressed.

He was still beneath the walls of Marseilles when he heard that on the proposal of Lepidus the people had proclaimed him dictator. Many of the prescribed formalities had been omitted; a prætor and the people, instead of a consul and the senate, had invested him with the office. But, amid the din of arms, the mere appearance of legality seemed to suffice. As he was on the way to take possession of his new magistracy at Rome, he came upon his ninth legion in open revolt at Placentia because they had not yet received the gifts promised at Brundisium. The example was a dangerous one, and Caesar punished it severely; twelve of the ringleaders were condemned to die by the axe. One of the twelve having proved that he was outside the camp during the disturbance, the centurion who had accused him was executed in his place.

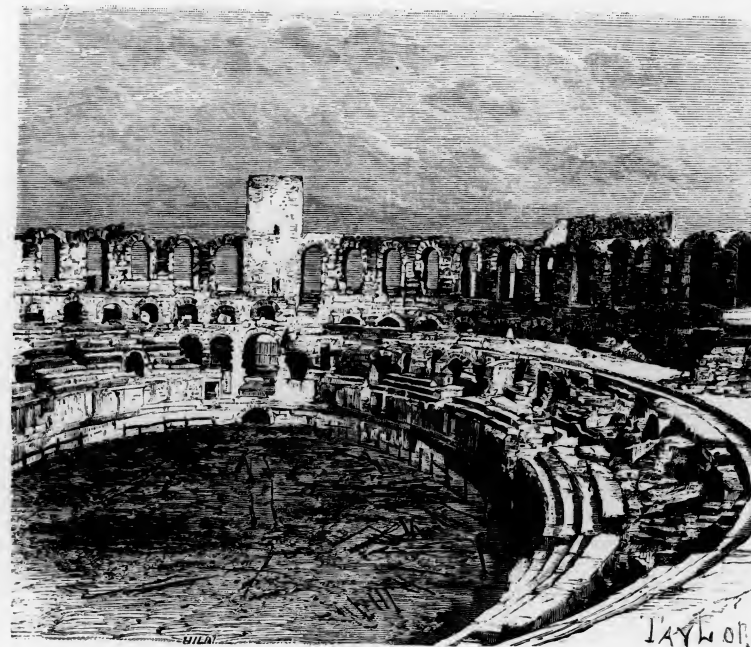
He only kept the dictatorship for twelve days, just long enough to accomplish a few measures necessary for the tranquillity of Rome and Italy. Since the commencement of the war, pecuniary difficulties had been general and credit unobtainable; all the coinage seemed to be withdrawn from circulation, and a general abolition of debts was feared, which would have led to a fearful confusion.¹ Caesar resorted to a happy expedient employed in earlier times. He appointed arbitrators to estimate the value of the movables and fixtures according to their prices before the war, and ordered that the creditors should receive all or part of these goods in payment, after deducting from the loans the interest already paid.² To stimulate the circulation of specie, he forbade anyone to hold more than 60,000 sesterces of coined money, a difficult measure to carry out, especially when he added, through respect for ancient right, that a slave should not be allowed to depose against his master.³ There was some money however, invested in landed property; the price of land rose, and commerce found capital. The people had hoped for something more; he appeased them by a large distribution of corn. All those who

¹ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 42; Dion, xli. 37. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust say that Caesar, in not abolishing debts, deceived the hopes of many, who fled to Pompey's camp, where they found an inviolable asylum, *quasi sacro utque inspoliato fano*. (*Epist.*, ii. 2.) Cicero repeats the same several times.

² Caesar, *de Bell. civ.*, iii. 1; App., ii. 48; Dion, xli. 38.

³ It may be that this law was passed before his departure for Spain.

rightly or wrongly had suffered from the former government naturally obtained his protection. At the outset of hostilities, many banished men, whose condemnation Pompey had obtained during his third consulship, had come and offered him their services, and he got a law brought before the people by the tribunes to recall them from exile. Milo, the murderer of a fellow



The Amphitheatre at Arles: View of the Interior (p. 293).

tribune, and Antonius, the involuntary conqueror of Catiline, were however, excepted from the amnesty. Sylla's law inflicting political incapacity upon the children of proscribed persons was still in full vigour; it was repealed; and finally, he rewarded the Cisalpines for their long fidelity by granting them the rights of citizenship.¹ Before abdicating, he presided at the consular comitia, which appointed him consul with Servilius Isauricus: the other offices

¹ He organized τὴν πολιτείαν ἄρτι καὶ ἀρχαῖς αὐτῶν. (Dion, xli. 36.) Cisalpine Gaul was so Roman that it had already given birth to Catullus, Bibaculus, Cassius of Parma, Corn. Gallus, and Livy. Yet it continued to be looked upon as a province until the year 42 B.C.

were given to his partisans with all legal formalities. He himself had only assumed the fasces at the period fixed by the law which had promised him them after the tenth year of his command.¹

Thus the Republic lasted, to Caesar's advantage; nothing was wanting to him that belonged to a regular government; decrees of the senate, elections by the people, sanction of the curiae and auspices. As a proconsul, Caesar became a rebel as soon as he left his province; but now that he was a consul legally instituted, the right, in the eyes of this formalist people, was on his side and the revolt on the side of his enemies. The latter themselves recognized that in losing Rome they had lost their legal standing, or at least the power to make their position legal; for although there were 200 senators in Pompey's camp, and his soldiers were called the true Roman people, they dared not pass decrees there nor proceed to elections; when the year was over, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus laid down their title and took that of proconsuls, according to custom.

IV.—THE WAR IN EPIRUS AND THESSALY; PHARSALIA (49—48 B.C.).

At the end of October, 49, Caesar arrived at Brundisium, the rendezvous of his troops, in order to cross over thence into Epirus. "Pompey had a whole year to make his preparations. Accordingly he had got together a considerable fleet furnished by Asia, the Cyclades, Coreyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Everywhere vessels had been built and large sums levied on the princes, tetrarchs, free nations, and tax-farming companies in the provinces of which he was master.

"He had nine legions of Roman citizens, of which five had come with him from Italy, one of veterans from Sicily—he called it *Gemella*, because it was made up of two others—one from Crete and Macedonia, composed of veterans who, having been disbanded by preceding generals, had settled in those provinces, and two that Lentulus had raised in Asia. Numerous recruits had joined him from Thessaly, Bœotia, Achæa, and Epirus, and he had

¹ January 1, 48 B.C., according to the Roman calendar; in reality, about the end of October, 49 B.C.

joined to these troops the soldiers who remained of the army of C. Antonius.¹ He expected two other legions which Scipio was bringing from Syria; he had 3,000 archers from Crete, Sparta, Pontus, and Syria; two cohorts of slingers of 600 men each; 7,000 horse, of which 6,000 came from Galatia with Dejotarus; 500 from Cappadocia with Ariobarzanes, and the same number from Thrace, these being commanded by the son of Cotys; 200 had joined him from the shores of the Propontis, under the orders of Rascipolis, a man of extraordinary courage. Pompey the



Mounted Archer.²

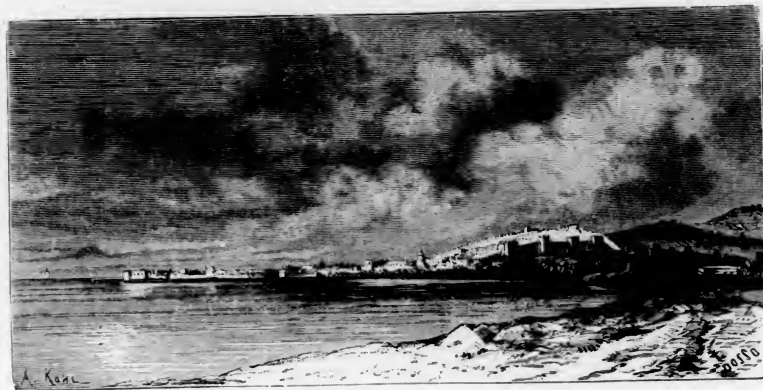
younger had brought over in the fleet 500 Gallic and German horsemen whom Gabinius had left at Alexandria as Ptolemy's guard, and 800 raised among his slaves and herdsmen; the tetrarchs of Galatia had furnished 300, the Syrian Antiochus of Commagene 200; the greater part were mounted archers. In addition to these he had Phrygians, Bessi, partly mercenary and partly volunteers, Macedonians, Thessalians, and men of other countries.

¹ Pompey even received some men from Athens. He separated his Greek contingents from his Oriental auxiliaries, "because," says Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 75), "they were more accustomed to keep their ranks in silence."

² From the column of Marcus Aurelius, also called the Antonine column.

"He had drawn a great quantity of provisions from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, the country of Cyrene, and other lands. His intention was to pass the winter in Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and other maritime towns in order to prevent an entrance into Greece, and with the same object he had disposed his fleet, which numbered no less than 600 vessels, all along the coast.¹

Cæsar could not name among his allies either so many nations or so many kings. Yet without mentioning the legion of the Alouette (Alauda) or the aid furnished by the Gallic and Spanish cities, by the Cisalpines and nations of Italy, he had enrolled



Plan of Dyrrachium.²

German horse, whose courage he had often put to the proof, and no doubt the example of the king of Noricum, who had sent him troops at the very commencement of the war, had been followed by other chiefs on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. Thus it was the East and the West which were about to grapple and fight, not for a senate and a liberty which were no longer known,

¹ Cæsar, *de Bell. civ.*, iii. 3-5, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 49. The Pompeian forces might easily amount to 80,000 men; but the strength of Republican feeling must not be judged by the number of Pompey's troops. These legions had been enrolled before the rupture, in virtue of legitimate orders, according to ancient customs, with the formality of the oath, which placed every soldier in danger of extreme penalties if he failed to keep it. As for the auxiliaries, all these nations and kings of the East, Pompey's clients, were bound to his fortunes, and had no power to refuse him their aid. Then there had come to him the familiars and protégés of the nobles whom they had drawn along with them, and in their trains the volunteers and adventurers who were attracted by his reputation and the hope of making a fruitful campaign under him.

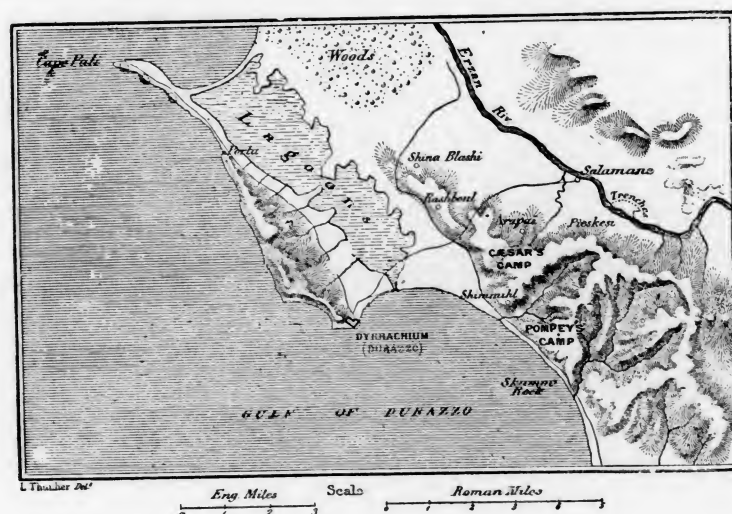
² Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, pl. 27.

but for Cæsar or Pompey, whom each of the two great divisions of the empire wished for its master, after having had them turn by turn for conquerors and benefactors. The forces however, did not appear equal; Cæsar had neither fleet nor money, nor stores, and his troops were less in number, but for ten years they had lived in tents and conquered; their devotion to his person, as well as their confidence in his fortune, was unlimited. If Pompey's army was the stronger, there was less discipline among his soldiers, less obedience among their leaders. To see the strange dresses in the camp, to hear the officers' orders given in twenty different languages, suggested those Asiatic armies to whom the soil of Europe has been always fatal. At the prætorium again, so many magistrates and senators obstructed the chief, though he had been given full power to decide on everything.¹ Since they were fighting for the Republic, said they, it was certainly fitting that the commander-in-chief should show the Conscript Fathers, constituted into a council at Thessalonica, a deference which would be a good augury and a good example. But did this deference suit the necessities of war?

The ancients did not like sailing in winter time. Accordingly, though the passage between Brundisium and Dyrrachium was only twenty-four hours long, Pompey did not expect to be attacked before the spring, and he had quartered his troops in Thessaly and Macedonia. It was this very severity of the season which decided Cæsar. With his transport fleet he could only cross by surprise, and this surprise was only possible in winter, when the Pompeian squadrons had taken shelter from heavy weather in the harbours. In spite of his numerical inferiority and a dangerous sea, Cæsar therefore again assumed the offensive. On the 4th of January, 48 (5th of November, 49), he embarked in transport vessels seven legions, which only formed 15,000 foot and 500 horse. Had he met the Pompeian fleet it would have been all over with him; but, as he had expected, the empty Pompeian galleys rode quietly at anchor in the roadsteads of Oricum and Coreyra; his daring stroke was well calculated. The seven legions crossed without meeting a single hostile vessel, and landed

¹ Dion, xli. 43; Plut., *Pomp.*, 64.

at the foot of the Aëroceraunian Mountains in the roadstead of *Palcassa* (Paljassa). "They found he had arrived before they heard he had started." Pompey's admiral was the unfortunate *consularis* whom fortune always opposed to Cæsar, and whose fate it was to be always outwitted by him. Bibulus, hastening up too late, avenged himself on the vessels which Cæsar sent back empty to embark Antony and the remainder of his troops at Brundisium; he captured thirty of them, which he burnt, with their pilots and sailors. Then, in order to expiate his negligence, he refused to



Dyrrachium and neighbouring Coast.

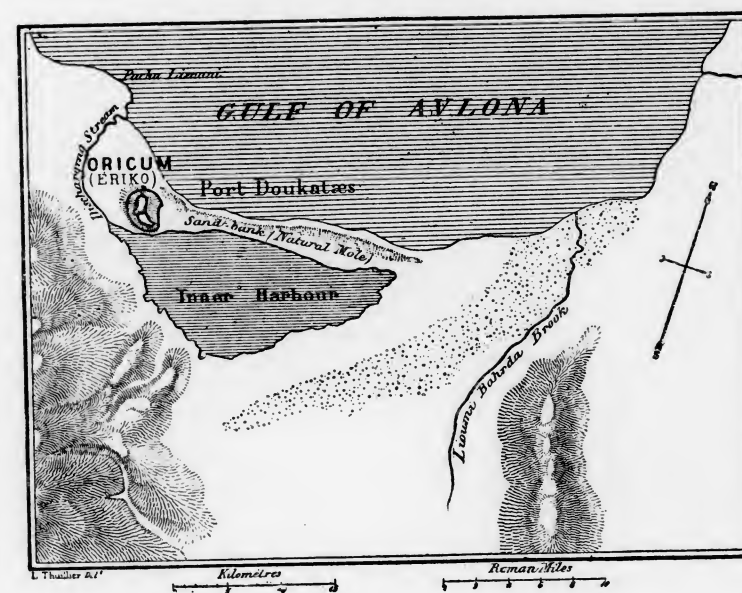
quit his vessel, and wearied himself out so much with watching sea and shore that he was seized with an illness which carried him off.

The first town Cæsar came upon was *Oricum* (Eriko). The Pompeian officer in command tried to defend it, but the inhabitants declared that they could not fight a consul of the Roman people, and opened their gates; at Apollonia, on the mouth of the *Aoiis* (Voïussa), the same thing happened. He attached more importance to the possession of Dyrrachium (Durazzo),¹ on account of its

¹ Dyrrachium stood at the end of a little chain of steep hills running parallel to the sea and separated from the continent by large lagoons. To the north, a strip of sand connected these

harbour, which was the best on that coast, and its strong position. Learning that Pompey had forestalled him by establishing his stores there, he halted on the banks of the *Apsos* (Beratino) to protect the places which had yielded to him, and the cantons of Epirus, whence he drew his supplies.

Again he proposed peace, less in the hope that it would be made than to conciliate public opinion. He wrote to Pompey; "You have lost Italy, Sicily, the two Spains, and 130 cohorts of

Plan of the Harbour of Oricum.¹

Roman citizens; I have to lament Curio and my army of Africa. We both know then, that the fortune of war has various chances, and since we are still equal in force, let us submit our differences to the senate and people, and meanwhile let us disband our armies."

Cæsar risked nothing in making these proposals. As dictator he had filled up the number of the senate in such a way as to

cliffs with Cape Pali; to the south, the lagoons communicated with the sea by a narrow discharge-channel, so that to reach Dyrrachium by land there were but two narrow approaches easy to defend. Cæsar had established his camp on the plateau of Arapa; Pompey placed his further south. (See Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, p. 370 sq.)

¹ Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*.

have nothing to fear from the Pompeian senators, and as consul in charge he remained master of the situation for all the year 48. Pompey however, refused, and Caesar reports some words of his which cannot have been his official answer, but which certainly

express his secret thoughts; "What will they say of me when I am seen returning without a single soldier into that Italy which I left at the head of a powerful army? And what have I to do with a country, or even with a life, which I should owe to Caesar."¹

One day Vatinius, on Caesar's behalf, and Labienus, on that of Pompey, were discussing aloud, between the two armies, the conditions of an arrangement. The soldiers listened; they might perhaps take seriously the great words about an impious war and a country in tears, and compel

their leaders to treat; suddenly a shower of arrows, according to Caesar's account, came from the Pompeian ranks, and Labienus broke up the conference, crying; "Peace! you will never get it till you bring us Caesar's head." It is certain that the Pompeians, unless Caesar has maligned them, thought of massacres; a ship sailing from Brundisium having been taken at sea, all on board were butchered; Cicero's remark, quoted above, gives a colour to these stories.²



Coin of Bibulus.

Meanwhile, urgent messages ordered Antony to cross the straits with the first favourable wind; but the days passed by and

¹ Caesar says (*de Bell. civ.*, iii. 18) that he was informed, after the war, of these words, which doubtless escaped Pompey in intimate conversation, and were afterwards reported to the victor by one of his intimates.

² Again he says (*ad Fam.*, iv. 14); "I knew how insolent, covetous, and cruel those whose party I followed would be after the victory."

Antony did not arrive. It is related that Caesar, little accustomed to these delays, was anxious to go himself for his legions, and that one evening he quitted the camp alone, went on board a river-craft, and ordered the pilot to sail out to sea. A contrary wind, which began to blow almost immediately, raised the waves, and the pilot, frightened at the storm, refused to proceed. "What dost thou fear?" said his unknown passenger; "thou bearest Caesar and his fortune!" All these founders of empires believe, or pretend to believe, in a fatality which protects them until they have accomplished their work.

He was obliged however, if the anecdote is true in spite of the silence of the *Commentaries*, to return to shore; but the tempest served him on another occasion. Since the death of Bibulus, the Pompeian fleet was without a leader; by an unfortunate want of firmness, or in order not to entrust so important a command to another *consularis*, who might be less docile and less sure, Pompey allowed the eight lieutenants of Bibulus to manage their squadrons at their own will. They did not agree; the watch was less actively kept, and one day, when the south wind was blowing, Antony arrived off Apollonia in a few hours with four legions and 800 horse. Driven by the storm, he passed Dyrrachium, and could only land at the port of



Tomb of Bibulus¹ (Restored).

¹ This tomb is not that of Pompey's admiral. The inscription engraved upon it is to the effect that the senate and people conceded, *honoris virtutisque causa*, the ground whereon the monument stood to one Bibulus, a plebeian aedile, for him and his posterity. (Orelli, No. 4698.) We know nothing of this aedile, but the Bibuli, being plebeians, doubtless belonged to this house. Was this tomb—one of the rare monuments left us of the Republican epoch—situated within or without the walls of the city? This subject has been much discussed. The inscription announces a great favour, and leads to the supposition that an exception had been made to the law of the Twelve Tables, which forbade burial in the city. But on the other hand, how is it that Cicero, who in the *de Legibus* (ii. 23), composed in 52, mentions the exceptions made to that law, does not mention this one, which hardly seems as if it could have been made later?

Nymphæum, a hundred miles at least, from Cæsar's camp. Two of his ships had been intercepted by the enemy; one of them carried 200 recruits, who, being sea-sick, yielded, and in spite of the promise that their lives would be spared, were butchered; the other carried 200 veterans; they forced the pilot to run the ship on shore, and were saved.¹ Pompey found himself between the two Cæsarian armies; it would have been easy for him to crush Antony. He tried to do so, with delays which allowed the two leaders to effect a junction (April, 48).

The movement of the Pompeians had led them away from Dyrrachium. Cæsar stole a march upon them, and posted himself between them and the town, which was their headquarters. They followed him and camped on Mount Petra, whence they maintained communications with the sea. Then commenced a struggle of four months' duration. Cæsar, unable to bring his rival to decisive action, conceived the bold idea of enclosing in a line of entrenched positions an army which was superior to his own in number. At Alesia and in Spain this manœuvre had succeeded, because he had been able to starve out his foes. Here that result was impossible, since the Pompeian army had command of the sea. His veterans, ever admirable, commenced gigantic works with their usual activity. Each of the hills surrounding the Pompeian camp was protected by a fort, and lines of communication connected them. Two motives had induced them to follow this plan: as the numerous cavalry of his foes rendered supplies difficult to obtain in a ruined country, he wished to shut them in, so that he might have his own movements free for foraging; and then he was anxious to show the world the great Pompey imprisoned in his camp and not daring to fight.

Napoleon has severely condemned these manœuvres; "They were extremely rash," says he, "and accordingly Cæsar was punished for them. How could he hope to maintain with advantage the long line of contravallation six miles in extent, surrounding an army which commanded the sea and occupied a central position? After immense labours he failed, was beaten,

¹ Cæsar adds, *Hic cognosci licuit, quantum esset hominibus presidii in animi fortitudine.* (*de Bello civ.*, iii. 28).

lost the choicest of his troops, and was compelled to quit the field of battle." Pompey opposed him with a line of circumvallation protected by twenty-four forts, and this line he constantly expanded in order to weaken his opponents' line. Every day skirmishes took place between the two armies. Once the whole of the ninth legion was engaged, and for a moment Pompey thought he had victory in his hands. But the veterans sustained their reputation and drove back the enemy. In one of these daily attacks the foe hurled so many projectiles into a fort that not a soldier was without a wound. They proudly showed Cæsar 30,000 arrows which they had collected and the shield of one of their centurions pierced with 120 darts.

It has been remarked that French soldiers have been starving when they have gained their greatest victories.¹ Cæsar's men were also accustomed to scarcity, caused by the rapidity and boldness of his manœuvres. Nowhere did they suffer so much as at Dyrrachium. Cæsar had certainly sent detachments into Epirus, Ætolia, Thessaly, and even Macedonia, but only rare and scanty supplies could be drawn from those countries, exhausted as they were by the presence of so many armies, for, in addition, Metellus Scipio had arrived there with his two legions. The soldiers were reduced to pounding roots to make them into a sort of paste, and when the Pompeians taunted them on the scarcity of food among them, they threw in one of these cakes, crying that they would eat the bark of trees rather than let Pompey escape. The latter had corn in abundance, but he lacked water and forage; Cæsar had diverted the streams which flowed down from the mountains, and the Pompeians were reduced to the brackish water of the sea-coast. Accordingly the baggage animals and horses died in great numbers, and the exhalations arising from so many dead bodies tainted the air and caused diseases which killed many men. At length Pompey thought he had found a favourable opportunity, and guided by deserters, he prepared a night attack, and very nearly cut off a whole legion which was encamped on the shore. Antony only succeeded in saving it after heavy losses. In order to make immediate amends

¹ This remark of General Foy (*Mémoires sur la guerre d'Espagne*) is flattering to our patriotism, but does not do credit either to the prudence of the generals or the foresight of the commissariat department.

for this check, Cæsar penetrated the enemy's camp at the head of thirty-three cohorts. But his right wing having mistaken the way, left between itself and the rest a gap, into which Pompey immediately threw himself; the broken ranks of the Cæsarians fled in disorder; in vain did Cæsar confront the fugitives; a panic had seized his troops; he himself was carried away, and left thirty-two standards in the enemy's hands.

That day Pompey might have ended the war. The easiness of his success made him fear an ambushade, and he dared not follow up his victory. It was proclaimed however, as a decisive affair, and on announcing it to all the provinces, he resumed the title of *imperator*. It was said in his camp that Cæsar had decidedly gained his renown very cheaply; he could conquer barbarians, but he fled before Roman legions; it was to treason that he owed all his successes in Spain. Some prisoners had been taken; Labienus, who was anxious to prove his zeal to his new friends, claimed them, and after having marched them round his camp in derision, caused them to be put to death, saying to them; "What! my companions, have the veterans learnt to flee!" Cato had got a decree passed by the senate that no town should be plundered, no citizen put to death off the battlefield; he veiled his head that he might not see how military leaders, when once the sword is drawn, obey the decrees of the civil power (May and June, 48 B.C.).

While the Pompeians were declaring the war at an end, the Cæsarian legions, who had soon recovered from their fright, demanded the punishment of the guilty, and were anxious to return to the fight. But Cæsar had other plans; his position was no longer tenable; provisions would soon fail, and Scipio was approaching; by advancing to meet that leader he would certainly draw after him the now confident enemy, and he might perhaps find an opportunity for a battle. In any case he would gain space, collect provisions, and lead the Pompeians away from their fleet.

Leaving his wounded and sick therefore, at Apollonia, he passed through Epirus, by Gomphi, which he sacked, because it closed its gates against him, and entered Thessaly. All the towns in the valley of the Peneus, except Larissa, yielded to him, and

his soldiers found themselves in this fertile land in the midst of of an abundance which they had not known since they left Brundisium.

As he had foreseen, Pompey followed him, in spite of the advice of Afranius, who wished to return to Italy.¹ Cato and Cicero had been left at Dyrrachium with the baggage; the criticism and republican regrets of the one, and the peevish temper of the other, annoyed the *imperator*. Dissatisfied with himself and with others, Cicero had brought into the camp only his mocking spirit, his discouragement, and his well-founded fear of the proscriptions which would follow the victory; he regretted the laborious leisure of his villas, *Tusculanenses dies*, and he had willingly let the army depart in which he was treated as a prophet of misfortune.²

Scipio, who had been sent by Pompey into Asia to obtain soldiers and money, had lost much time in Syria and Asia Minor, living luxuriously in those rich provinces, which, if we may believe Cæsar,⁴ had then to suffer ills almost as great as in Sylla's time. A formal order from Pompey at length obliged him to quit his headquarters at Pergamus, but he still marched slowly. His appearance during the fights before Dyrrachium might have changed into a disaster the check inflicted on the consular army. Cæsar had time to send Cassius Longinus with one legion into Thessaly to close the Vale of Tempe,⁵ and Domitius Calvinus with two other legions into Macedonia, where he occupied in force the valley of the Haliaemon. Thence he kept watch over the great military road, the *via Egnatia*, which Scipio was following, and which would have led him from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium. The Pompeian general marched straight towards Calvinus, but on

Coin of Thessaly.³

¹ [This was the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else.—*Ed.*]

² *Ad Fam.*, vi. 6, ix. 6 and 9; vii. 3; *ad Att.*, xi. 3, 4, 6, etc.

³ Minerva fighting, the name of the people, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and of two magistrates, ΑΛΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ.

⁴ Certain details given by Cæsar, as the arrangements made for stealing the treasure of Ephesus (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 3), which were stopped by a letter from Pompey, are improbable. The books *de Bell. civ.* are not equal in authority to those *de Bell. Gall.*, and there is even some doubt as to the true author of the work.

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 98.

arriving in his neighbourhood he stole a march on him, leaving his baggage behind the Caesarians in a fortified camp guarded by eight cohorts, and he marched upon Cassius. The latter, frightened by the appearance on his rear of the Thracian horsemen of king Cotys, who seemed to have crossed Olympus by footpaths, retired from Tempe on to the heights of the Pindus range. Scipio was thus free to enter Thessaly when it suited him. But by so doing he risked giving up his line of supplies and retreat to the Caesarians in Macedonia; he remained in that province and in the Vale of Tempe till Calvinus had struck his camp to rejoin Caesar near the source of the Peneus.¹

Pompey on his side had effected a junction with his father-in-law's legions near Larissa. He was still desirous of prolonging the war in order to exhaust his foe; but the young nobles who surrounded him thought the campaign very long, and so much circumspection made them suspicious. "If he does not decide upon fighting," said they, "it is in order to retain his command, so proud is he to drag about *consulares* and praetorians in his train." They called him Agamemnon, king of kings, and Favonius exclaimed that they would not eat figs at Tusculum that year, for Pompey would not abdicate in time. The impatience was increased by the certainty they felt of triumphing without difficulty. Already they disputed about dignities as though they had been at Rome, on the eve of the comitia, and some sent to secure the most conspicuous houses round the Forum, whence they could best solicit votes; the consuls were chosen for the following years, and the spoils of the Caesarians divided. They would begin with a general proscription, which should be judicially carried out, as befitted men who were fighting in defence of the laws; they had even drawn up the form of sentence. They were less agreed upon the division of the booty. Fannius wanted the estates of Atticus, Lentulus those of Hortensius and Caesar's gardens. The wisest became blind; Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther daily entered into a sharp dispute about Caesar's chief pontificate. The chances were even among the three candidates, for if Lentulus had his age and services in his favour, Domitius enjoyed a great influence, and Scipio was Pompey's

¹ See in vol. ii. the map on p. 101.

father-in-law. "Thus," said he who dispelled these vain hopes, "instead of occupying themselves about the means of conquering, they only thought of the way in which they would make use of the victory."

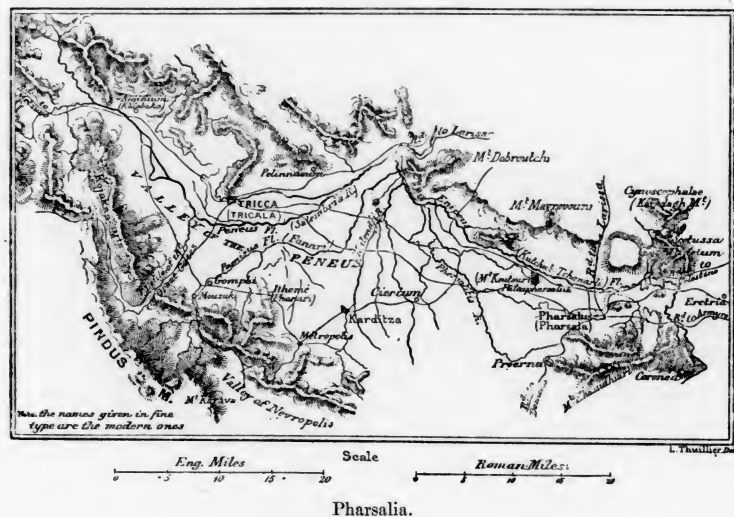
Urged on by the clamour of these nobles, whom he felt unable to reduce to obedience, Pompey decided upon giving battle near Pharsalia, in the same place where, 150 years before, Rome had conquered Greece and all the Hellenic east (*Cynoscephalæ*). At the sight of his cohorts deploying into the plain, Caesar joyfully exclaimed; "At last then, the day has come when we shall no longer have to fight hunger, but men!" And he immediately went to reconnoitre the enemy's army, which was formed of 47,000 infantry and 7,000 horse, without including the auxiliaries. The right [looking eastward] rested on a stream, the steep banks of which rendered an attack difficult; accordingly Pompey had judged that position sufficiently strong to put all his cavalry on the left. Massed at that point they would easily outflank the enemy, turn their position, and assure the success of the day. Caesar perceived his opponent's design, and it was upon this anticipated attack that he depended for his victory. He had only 22,000 legionaries and but 1,000 horse. Contrary to his custom, he drew up his army in four



Hope.¹

¹ Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3049. The head is surmounted by a flower with a broad calyx; the left hand, which should hold another flower, as in the engraving on p. 198 in vol. i., is broken. According to M. Chabouillet, the gesture of raising the skirt of the tunica was consecrated to the images of Hope.

lines of unequal extent; the first two were to attack the enemy, the third to act as reserve, and the fourth to face the cavalry who would assail his right. He warned the veterans in the six cohorts to which he assigned this duty that the victory would depend upon their courage and coolness; "Soldier," he said, "strike at the face." It is reported that he knew the young nobles who were to lead the charge would fear the deformity of a wound more than the dishonour of flight. As a matter of fact the order to reserve their *pilum* that they might strike the foe in the face was a good plan for fighting horsemen protected by defensive armour, which



the Gallic horsemen, against whom his legionaries had hitherto fought, did not possess.

Antony commanded the right wing, Sylla the left, Calvinus the centre; he himself took his place in the middle of his tenth legion, famous for the devotion it had always shown to him, and which Pompey's horsemen had promised him to trample beneath the hoofs of their horses. The watchword of his army was *Venus victrix*, the goddess whom none could resist, that of the Pompeians was *Hercules invictus*, whom twice however, by Omphale and Dejanira, Venus had overcome, as she was now to do by Cæsar.

Pompey had ordered his men to await the shock without moving,

hoping that the Cæsarians would arrive exhausted and in disorder through their haste. But when they saw their foes remain motionless, the veterans halted of their own accord, took breath, and then advanced again in line at full speed, hurled their javelins, and attacked with the sword. While the action went on along the battle-front, the Pompeian cavalry broke through that of the enemy and turned the left wing. Cæsar then gave the signal to the fourth line, which charged with such vigour that the horsemen, surprised at this unforeseen attack, turned round and fled. At the same speed the cohorts advanced upon the enemy's left, which they enveloped; Cæsar seized this moment to push forward his reserve, which was quite fresh, and the Pompeians, broken by the shock, fell into confusion. Pompey had quitted the battlefield when he saw his cavalry repulsed, and had retired into his tent in despair. Presently he heard shouts approaching; it was Cæsar leading his victorious soldiers to the attack of the entrenchments. "What!" cried the unhappy general, "into my very camp!" He threw down the insignia of command, sprang upon a horse, and escaped by the Porta Decumana. In the camp they found, beneath tents decked with ivy and covered with fresh turf, tables ready laid, sideboards loaded with silver plate, amphoræ full of wine—all the preparations for a joyous feast. "And those who allowed themselves this frivolous luxury," said the victor, "dared to accuse of effeminacy this army of Cæsar, so poor and so brave, which had always lacked necessities" (9th of August—6th of June, 48).

In spite of Cæsar's efforts to stop the slaughter, 15,600 men were slain, but only one leader; Domitius perished in his flight.¹ "They would have it so," said he, as he passed over this field of slaughter. "After all I have done for the Republic I should have been condemned as a criminal had I not appealed to my army."² His clemency did not fail. As soon as success was assured, he forbade the slaughter of a single citizen, and pardoned all captives

¹ Cæsar gives the number of Pompeians slain as 15,000; Asinius Pollio only reckoned 6,000; but doubtless he omitted the allies, "who were not counted," says Appian (ii. 82). The same historian gives ten senators and forty knights among the Pompeian dead.

² Words gathered by Asinius Pollio, who was present at the battle, and reported by Suetonius. Dion asserts (xli. 62) that he caused to be put to death those who, having once taken up arms and been pardoned by him, were found among the captives, but that he granted each of his friends the pardon of one Pompeian.

who implored his pity. Even those who had already experienced it only required an intercessor to be again pardoned. In Pompey's tent he found correspondence, which might have yielded him very useful revelations, but he burnt it without reading it. History regrets that he was not more curious. The peoples and princes who had sided with his rival trembled; he reassured them. The Athenians, little fitted for these combats of giants, had come and lent their feeble aid to Pompey instead of accepting the neutrality offered them by both parties. Caesar was anxious to win over the town "which knew how to talk;" when the deputies appeared as suppliants before him, he contented himself with saying; "How often has the glory of your fathers already saved you."

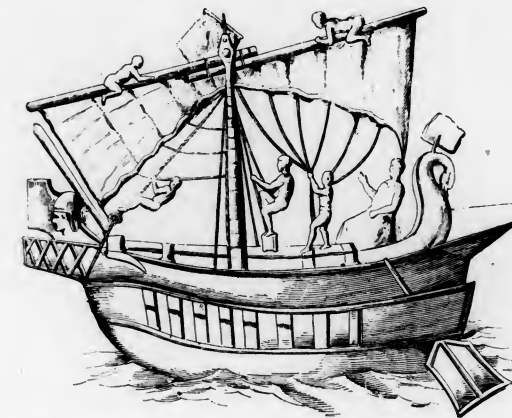
Without giving his troops time to pillage the riches scattered through the Pompeian camp, Caesar led them onwards in pursuit of the enemy, the last remnants of whom he surrounded upon a mountain; 24,000 men were taken prisoners. On the morrow the whole army decreed the prize of valour to Caesar, to the tenth legion, and a centurion. At the moment of giving the signal for battle Caesar had recognized this veteran and called him by name, and had said to him; "Well, Crastinus, shall we beat them?" "We shall win with glory, Caesar," he had replied, in a loud voice, "and to-day you will praise me, living or dead." With these words he had advanced, and 120 men of the cohort had dashed forward with him. After some brilliant feats he had fallen. Caesar had his corpse sought out and erected a special tomb for him beside the trench where the other dead were laid.

V.—DEATH OF POMPEY.

Pompey had made a great blunder in separating himself from his fleet and accepting battle in the middle of the Grecian continent; another blunder was not to secure a place of refuge in case of defeat.¹ But such was his confidence that he had not appointed any rallying place, so that all had dispersed haphazard, and of all that powerful army there remained only the dead and

¹ [There must have been ample time to bring his fleet round Greece, and anchor it near Pharsalia.—*Ed.*]

the suppliants. The leader himself, wholly occupied in saving his own life, fled towards the Vale of Tempe, and the two Lentuli who accompanied him saw the conqueror of Mithridates, of the pirates, and of Sertorius, driven by thirst, drink the water of the river from the hollow of his hand like a mountain shepherd. Having reached the sea-coast, he passed the night in a fisherman's hut, and in the morning was taken up by a merchant vessel which had cast anchor at the mouth of the Peneus. A few minutes afterwards king Dejotarus appeared on the shore making desperate signs. The skipper received him also on board and hastened to set sail. Pompey made him steer for Mitylene, where he took up his



Merchant Vessel (on the Tomb of a Merchant at Pompeii).

wife Cornelia; then he drew southward by the sea of the Sporades, "which he had formerly crossed with 500 galleys."¹ The report of his defeat had preceded him, and in these islands, this province of Asia which he had thought were so devoted to his cause, no one showed any anxiety to give him aid; even at Rhodes he could only stop for a very short time. On the coasts of Caria and Lycia, the scene of his former exploits, there were rich cities, Aphrodisias, Telmessus, Patara, which gave him a little money; Cilicia furnished him with ships and a few soldiers. But whither should he go? It is said he thought of fleeing to the Parthians, and that Antioch, which had declared for Caesar, having closed the desert road against

¹ Plutarch (*Pomp.*, 74) puts these words in the mouth of Cornelia.

him, he had decided on seeking an asylum in Egypt. He had no other course open to him.¹ The reigning king, whose father, Ptolemy Auletes, had been under obligations to him, was his ally; sixty Egyptian vessels had joined the senatorial fleet in the Adriatic, and after the expedition of Gabinius there had remained in Egypt a few thousand Pompeian soldiers who had not yet forgotten their old general; and finally, the country was easy to



Statue, said to be of Cleopatra, from the Vatican ² (Museo Pio-Clementino).

defend, and he could thence communicate with the Parthians if it were necessary, and certainly with Varro and Juba, who were masters of Numidia and Roman Africa.

Pompey arrived in view of Pelusium followed by about 2,000 men. According to the will of the late king, Cleopatra was to marry her brother Ptolemy Dionysius, two years younger than herself,³ and reign conjointly with him under the tutelage of the

¹ He had already solicited the alliance of the Parthians, but his ambassador had been cast into prison by them. (Dion, xlii. 2.)

² She was born towards the close of 69 B.C., and was consequently nearly twenty-one on Caesar's arrival.

³ This statue, which has often been taken for a Cleopatra on account of the serpent's-head



Telmessus (Macri): Tombs hevn in the Rock (Texier, *Decor. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 5), p. 329.

senate. But at the end of three years the young queen had been driven out by the general Achilles and the governor of king Theodotus; she had withdrawn into Syria, and Ptolemy had collected an army at Pelusium to stop the expedition his sister was preparing against him. When the vanquished Pompey appeared, Pothinus and Achilles were of opinion that he should be received with honour. Theodotus rejected the idea of uniting the destinies of the king and country with the lot of a fugitive, and a boat was sent to the vessel under pretence of taking the general to the king.

Coin of Pelusium.¹

"When the boat approached, Septimius was the first to rise to his feet and salute Pompeius, in the Roman tongue, with the name of *imperator*, which is to say, sovereign-captain, and Achilles also saluted him in the Greek tongue and asked him to come into his boat, because all along the coast was much mud and many sand-banks, so that there was not water enough for his galley; but at the same time several of the king's galleys were seen afar that were being armed with all diligence and all the coast covered with men-of-war, so that when Pompeius and they of his company would fain have changed their minds they could no longer have done aught to escape, and moreover by showing themselves mistrustful they did but give the murderer some colour for carrying out his wicked purpose. Wherefore, taking leave of his wife Cornelia, who already before the blow fell made lamentations over his end, he commanded two centurions that they should get into the Egyptian's boat before him, and also one of his freed

Ptolemy Auletes (from a Coin).²

bracelet worn on the upper part of the arm, is probably an Ariadne represented sleeping. In any case, the portrait of Cleopatra must not be looked for in it.

¹ Head of Isis surrounded by the name of the city, ΠΙΛΟΥΣΙΑ. Bronze of the time of Hadrian.

² Clarac, *Icon*. Ptolemy Auletes has on his coins the laurel wreath which he scarcely deserved.

slaves who was called Philippus, with another slave named Seynes. And as Achilles already held forth his hand from his boat, he turned about to his wife and son, and said to them these verses of Sophocles:—

“Who entereth a prince's palace, he
Becomes a slave, although he enter free.”

“These were the last words which he said to his own when he passed from his galley into the boat; and because it was far from his galley to the dry land, seeing that none began any pleasant converse with him, he looked Septimius in the face and said; “It seems to me that I recognize thee, comrade, as having been formerly in the wars with me.” The other made a sign to him with the head only that it was true, without giving any other reply or acknowledgment whatsoever; wherefore having no longer any who spoke a word, he took in his hand a little book, wherein he had written a harangue in the Greek tongue, which he wished to make to Ptolemæus, and began to read it. When they drew near land, Cornelia with her servants and familiar friends rose to her feet, looking in great distress for what would be the issue. It



Pompey.¹

seemed to her that she might have good hope when she perceived many of the king's men who appeared at the landing as if to receive and do him honour; but at this point, as he was taking the hand of his freed man Philippus to rise more easily, Septimius came first behind him and passed his sword through his body, after which Salvius and Achilles also unsheathed their swords, and thereupon Pompeius drew his robe before his face with both hands, without saying or doing aught unworthy of him, and endured bravely the blows which they dealt him, only giving a sigh; he was fifty-nine years of age and ended his life the day following that of his nativity. They that had remained on board the vessel in the roadstead, when they perceived this murder, made so great an outcry that it was heard as far as the shore, and quickly weighing the anchors, they set

¹ *Trésor de Numism.*, pl. 1, No. 3.

sail to flee, wherein the wind helped them, which forthwith rose fresh as soon as they had gained the open sea, so that the Egyptians who were making ready to sail after them, when they saw that, desisted, and having cut off the head, cast the trunk of the body out of the boat, exposed to whosoever desired to see so miserable a sight.

“Philippus, his freedman, remained near until the Egyptians had sufficiently looked upon it, and then having washed it with sea-water and wrapped it in his own poor shirt, since he had nothing else, he sought along the shore, where he found some remains of an old fishing-boat, the pieces whereof were very old, but enough to burn a poor naked body, and yet not altogether. Thus as he was raking them together and collecting them, there came by a Roman, an old man, who in his young days had been in the wars under Pompeius; and thus he asked him; “Who art thou, my friend, who makest this preparation for the funeral rites of the great Pompeius?” Philippus replied that he was his freedman. “Ah,” said the Roman, “thou shalt not have that honour alone, and I pray thee, receive me for a companion in so holy and pious a task, that I may not have occasion to complain wholly and altogether of having settled in a strange land, having, as a recompense for many ills which I have there endured, at least encountered this good chance, to be able to touch with my hands and help to bury the greatest captain of the Romans.” In such wise was Pompeius buried (29th of September, 24th July, 48.)

“The next day, Lucius Lentulus, knowing naught of what had happened, coming from Cyprus, went sailing along the coast, and perceived a funeral fire, and Philippus near by, whom he did not recognize at the first glance; and thus he asked him; “Who is he that, having here ended his allotted course, rests here?” But suddenly, uttering a great sigh, he added, “Alas, is it perchance thou, great Pompeius?” Then he landed where he was soon taken and slain.¹

History, like Cæsar, weeps over this end of his rival. But though we grant that Pompey's services, the brilliancy of his military life, and the dignity of his private life, merit praise, we

¹ *Plut., Pomp.* (translation of Amyot). Hadrian raised a tomb to him 160 years afterwards. (*Spart., Hadrian.*, 7.)

must nevertheless condemn the sterile ambition and perpetual indecisions of him who desired power only that "he might display his triumphal robe." Talents which were after all but ordinary are not enough to deserve the name of a statesman. A man has no right to it except on condition of having well understood the needs of his time, and consequently the approaching future; and then of having resolutely made for it. Pompey, who so often passed from senate to people and from people to senate, had never any other motive but the interest in his own greatness. From his history springs a political moral: the fugitive from Pharsalia was the deserter from all parties.

¹ Engraved gem in the Berlin Museum (after Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*).



Vessel with Ensign Hoisted.¹

CHAPTER LVII.

THE CIVIL WAR AND DICTATORSHIP OF CÆSAR FROM THE DEATH OF POMPEY TO THAT OF CATO (48-46 B.C.).

I.—ALEXANDRIAN WAR (OCT. 48 to JUNE 47). EXPEDITION AGAINST PHARNACES.

CÆSAR knew how to complete his victories. Leaving Cornificius in Illyria to keep watch over Cato and the Pompeian fleet, and Calenus in Greece to reduce the nations there, he set out with two legions making scarcely a body of 3,200 foot and 800 horse, and followed Pompey's track in order not to leave him time to gather a new army. According to a very unlikely story, as he was crossing the Hellespont in a boat, he met Cassius at the head of ten Pompeian galleys and ordered him to surrender. Cassius was confounded and submitted, without its occurring to his mind that he could finish the war at one stroke.¹ It is more certain that Asia, which had been fearfully oppressed by Scipio, heard with joy of its new master's fortune. The victor relieved the province of a third of the taxes, allowed it to raise the tribute itself,² and made a change in the system; for the disastrous law of tithes he substituted a fixed payment,³ so that there remained for the publican only the raising of some indirect taxes of little importance; he reckoned upon certainly finding and appropriating in Egypt the money which he was unwilling to demand of exhausted Asia.

A few days after the death of Pompey he arrived before

¹ This is the account given by Appian and Plutarch. That of Cicero (*Philipp.*, ii. 11) is more credible[?]. Cassius, he says, waited for Cæsar at the mouth of the Cydnus in order to kill him, and the latter only escaped by chance.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.

³ Dion, xlii. 6. Perhaps he made the same change in Sicily.

Alexandria with thirty-five vessels and 4,000 men. When Theodotus presented to him the head of his rival, he turned away his eyes in horror and ordered them to bury the sad remains in a chapel of Nemesis which he built at the city gates.



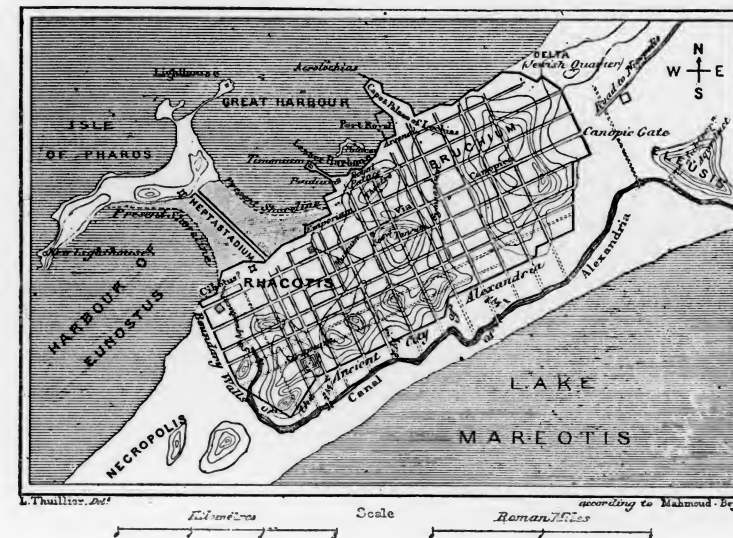
Nemesis, Retributive Justice.²

The king's ministers felt hurt at the honours paid to their victim, and seeing Cæsar so poorly attended, they forgot that they had before them the master of the world. The Egyptian soldiers were secretly encouraged to cry out when the lictors passed that their presence was an outrage upon the royal majesty. Every day disturbances took place in which some legionaries were slain. When the consul, to pay his troops, claimed the payment of an old debt of Ptolemy Auletes, amounting to ten million sesterces,¹ Pothinus disdainfully replied that Cæsar still had very great matters on his hands, that it would be better to start as quickly as possible to terminate them, and that on his return he would certainly receive, with the king's good grace, all the money which was due to him. This language was too clear; but Cæsar neither

¹ See p. 58.

² A statue in the Louvre. The right arm thus bent is the characteristic attitude of this goddess, because it represented a *cubit*, a measure which was taken allegorically to measure punishment or recompense. The horn of plenty symbolizes the blessings which the goddess assured to the just. The head is ancient, but set on later, as also the horn of plenty. (Clarac, *Descript. des Antiq.*, No. 318.)

could nor would depart. The ancients said that from November to March the sea was closed.¹ The Etesian or north winds which blow with violence in the Archipelago, interrupted the navigation between Egypt and Greece, and condemned the conqueror of Pompey to remain at Alexandria.² He had the interests of Rome too much at heart not to make use of his enforced stay to regulate



Plan of Alexandria.

Egyptian affairs in the interests of the Republic; and the interests of the Republic required that Pompey's assassins, who took such a high hand with Cæsar, should cease to be masters of that wealthy

¹ Vegetius, v. 9; *maria clauduntur*.

² *Ipsæ enim necessario etesii tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria sunt adversissimi venti.* (de Bell. civ., iii. 107.) The sailors still say; "In the Mediterranean there are only three good harbours, June, July, and August." See p. 299, how Pompey at Dyrrachium counted on the winter, and p. 318, how Cato was obliged to make his fleet winter at the same season at Barca. Vegetius (v. 9) says that navigation was closed from the 16th of November to the 21st of March. At Venice, even in the sixteenth century, return voyages from the coast of Syria and of Alexandria were forbidden to the Venetian vessels from the 15th of November to the 20th of January, "in order that they may escape the perils of an imminent shipwreck in the 'time of the months of the raw winter' on a penalty of 500 ducats for the captains and of 1,000 for the shareholders or proprietors of the vessel." (Law of the 8th of June, 1569, *Jal, Nautical Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 1045.) Admiral Jurien de la Gravière speaks "of the incapacity of the new navy to keep the sea in winter." If our ironclads must go into harbour in the bad season, *a fortiori* was it a necessity for the galleys of the ancients.

kingdom. He invited Cleopatra to come to him. "She set out with only Apollodorus, her confidant, and arrived before the palace at night. As she could not pass the threshold without being recognized, she wrapped herself up in a bundle of wearing apparel which Apollodorus fastened with a strap and carried to Cæsar. This young woman, who had just raised an army to obtain justice for herself, and who so boldly answered his call, seemed to him the very ally he needed. In the name of Rome, who had received the guardianship of this divided royal race, he compelled Dionysus to be reconciled to his sister."¹ Plutarch looks upon this adventure only in the light of a love affair;



Ptolemy Dionysus.²

I see in it also and more especially a political transaction. The ministers quickly saw that their ruin was the pledge of this reconciliation. With a view of breaking it off, they persuaded the young Ptolemy to escape from the palace and call the people to his aid. The Romans again seized the fugitive prince; but this attempted escape excited a rising in the town, which Cæsar endeavoured to pacify by reading to the people the will of the late king, Auletes, and by declaring that in his position of guardian he ordained that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign together.³

The insurrection came to nothing; Pothinus even appeared to resign himself, but he secretly recalled

Achillas, who was at Pelusium in command of twenty thousand fairly good troops, thanks to the Roman depots which Gabinius had left behind in Egypt. Cæsar made Ptolemy forbid them to commit any violence; in answer they put the envoys to death; four thousand Romans had then to hold their own against twenty

¹ Plut., *Cæsar*, 54-55.

² Dion, xlii. 35. Dion adds that Cæsar promised to give Cyprus to two other children of Ptolemy, a promise which was not very binding on him.

³ This Ptolemy wears the ivy wreath, the attribute of Bacchus, whom the Greeks more often called Dionysus; on other coins of this prince the god's thyrsus is seen.

thousand drilled soldiers and an angry nation of three hundred thousand souls. They took possession of part of the Bruchium quarter, on the north of the Via Canopica, where stood the palace of the kings and the theatre; then they closed all the approaches in such a manner as to make of that collection of solid buildings a vast fortress which Achilles soon lost the hope of taking by storm. In order to cut off their communications with the sea, he attacked the royal fleet of which Cæsar had obtained possession, as it lay in the harbour; the Romans being unable to save it set fire to it, and the flames reached the arsenal and destroyed the famous library of the Ptolemies, which is said to have contained 400,000 volumes.

From the interior of the palace Pothinus kept up active communication with the besiegers; Cæsar caused him to be put to death, and then confined Ptolemy more closely. The eunuch Ganymede, the confidant of Pothinus, succeeded however, in escaping with the king's youngest sister, Arsinoë; he led her to the camp, where she was saluted with the name of queen. Ganymede, who was an active and intelligent man, took advantage on his own behalf of the favour of the soldiers. He got them to slay Achilles, took his place, and thought he had found an infallible means of destroying the Roman army by cutting the aqueducts which supplied their quarter with water, and by sending sea-water into their cisterns with the aid of machines. But they dug wells,¹ and patiently waited for the arrival of the aid which Cæsar had demanded of the Governor of Asia, Domitius Calvinus.

He was an able man, firm and just, who though he had been appointed to the post after Pharsalia had already reorganized everything. He was able to send the dictator one legion by land and another by sea, the latter of which was driven by the winds to the west of Alexandria. Cæsar went with some vessels in search of the second, and on his return defeated Ganymede who barred his way. The eunuch repaired his galleys, built fresh ones, and persisted in trying to close the sea against the Romans and starve them out. In front of the town stretched the island of Pharos, connected with the shore by a mole; Cæsar attacked it

¹ These wells are found all along the coast as far as the Isle of Pharos.

and succeeded in gaining possession of it. But the Alexandrians bravely continued their efforts to destroy the fleet, and one day he was so hard pressed that he only escaped by throwing himself into the sea, where it is asserted he held his *Commentaries* above



Coin of Ptolemy XII.²

water with one hand while he swam with the other. This is another legend to be suppressed: Cæsar had certainly not taken his manuscripts with him to a fight in the port of Alexandria.¹

At length however, he grew alarmed about this struggle, which was making him lose precious time and run useless risks. He gave the Alexandrians back their king, in hopes of arriving at an arrangement or of sowing dissension among his enemies. This concession, which was taken as a sign of weakness, only gave them fresh vigour, and they also stopped a convoy coming from Cilicia. Fortunately Mithridates the Pergamean, who was thought to be the son of the great Mithridates, and whom Cæsar had ordered to raise troops in Syria, assembled in that province an army which was swelled on the way by a great number of Jews; for that nation saw in the conqueror of Pompey the executor of Jehovah's decrees against the man who had violated the Holy of Holies.³ The Pergamean reached Pelusium at the end of January, 47; the town, though strong and well guarded, was carried by an impetuous attack.

There are two keys to Egypt, says the author of the *Alexandrian War*; one is at Pharos, the sea gate; the other at Pelusium, the land gate. Cæsar held one, Mithridates had just taken the other, which secured his communications; he could therefore plunge fearlessly into the country. He ascended the east bank of the Pelusiatic branch, and in a sharp engagement, the chief honour of which fell to Herod's father, he drove into the river an Egyptian army which attempted to stop him. This success facilitated the passage of the Nile, which he effected between the

¹ Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 150) says that, in order to avoid being observed by those in pursuit, he swam under water, only rising to the surface to take breath.

² Ptolemy XII., or Dionysus, as Bacchus. M. Bompais has recently maintained that this coin represents Ptolemy IV. On the reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt.

³ See vol. ii. p. 831—832.

upper point of the Delta and Memphis. Many Jews dwelt in that town. Letters from the high priest Hyrcanus had led them to join Cæsar's party; and they furnished Mithridates with auxiliaries, provisions and information. Such was the number of the circumcised in this army that the place where the decisive battle took place retained the name of the Jews' Camp.¹

On hearing of the approach of the army of relief, Cæsar had issued from his Alexandrine fortress, and turning westward, whilst Ptolemy with his fleet ascended the Canopic branch, he had forestalled the Egyptians, though his route was the longer one, and effected a junction with Mithridates. The king placed his camp on a hill in the Libyan chain, which terminates at the Nile near Chom-Cherik, at the spot where five centuries before Amasis had won Egypt from Apries, and where, seven centuries later, Amrou won it from the Alexandrians. A decisive battle ensued, in which the Egyptians were defeated. In the fray the king was drowned, and a rich booty rewarded the legionaries for their long patience. Egypt accepted Cleopatra as queen, and she married the last of her brothers, Ptolemy Neoterus, whilst her sister Arsinoë was sent captive to Rome.²

Having come gloriously out of this severe trial, Cæsar remained two or three months longer in Egypt. He is blamed for this stay; Cleopatra, it is said, bewitched him with all the seductions of wit and beauty; splendid like a daughter of the East, and passionate like a child of Ionia, the siren detained the hero. If Cæsar loved pleasure, he loved still more his glory and his fortune, which so ill-timed a passion would have compromised.³ After passing eleven years in the tent, he doubtless had a right to a few days' repose, but the time for repose had not yet come, for his foes were collecting a powerful army in Africa and beating the Cæsarians in Illyria; a new Mithridates was appearing in Asia; troubles were rising in Spain and revolutionary passions breaking out at Rome and in Italy. With such a man things must be looked at from their serious side; if he did not quit Egypt sooner, it was at first

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. 14.

² An inscription (*C. I. L.*, i. p. 390) allows us to fix Cæsar's return to Alexandria, after the victory of the Nile, on the 27th of March, 47 B.C.: *Cæsar Alexandriam recepit.*

³ Cæsar was then fifty-five.

because it had been difficult for him to leave it, and afterwards



Cleopatra and Cæsar honouring the gods of Egypt.¹

because he was detained there by the interest of Rome far more than by the love of a woman. Led into the country by the desire to bring the war to a close, he had found a nation in revolt against the guardianship of Rome. Every day he had passed on that coast had been a day of combat for him, and as opinion was a great force even in those times, he had been unwilling to quit Egypt as a fugitive. After the victory it was necessary to remain still in order to impose upon turbulent Alexandria the acceptance of its condition as a vassal city, to ensure the safety of the two legions he left there, strengthen the authority of the kings he had just given it, and appease the popular resentment by paying homage to the gods of the country. It was not simply to please Cleopatra that he had resolved upon this solution of the Egyptian question.² To make this wealthy country into a province would have been to expose the proconsul sent thither to dangerous temptations; Augustus and the emperors for two centuries thought as Cæsar did on this subject.⁴ It was better to have native princes who would be useful without ever being dangerous. But



Pharnaces II. King of Pontus.³

¹ Bas-relief from the temple of Denderah, representing Cleopatra and Cæsar making offerings to Hathor. (After Rosellini, *Mon. stor.*, ii. 406.)

² Shortly after Cæsar's departure, Cleopatra was delivered of Cæsarion, and this birth was according to custom represented on a temple, that of Hermontis, near Thebes. (Cf. Champollion, *Monum.*, pl. 145-148, and Maspero, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1878.) Cæsar never paid any heed to this child, and did not mention him in his will.

³ From a gold coin of that prince. (Clarac, *Icon.*, pl. 1031, No. 2984.)

⁴ *Veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem præsidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset.* (Livy, *Epit.*, cxii.) The commander of the troops which he left in Egypt,



Terra Cotta Fragments found at Tarsus and now in the Louvre.

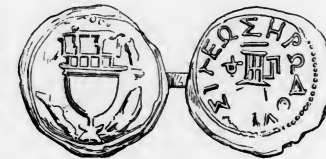
it was needful to accustom the people to fear these kings imposed on them by foreigners, and this necessary protectorate required the strong hand of the dictator to take and retain the reins for some time.

Urgent despatches summoned him to Rome, but Asia Minor was threatened by the king of the Bosphorus. Between private interest and that of the Republic he did not hesitate; instead of setting sail for Italy he resolved to stop the advance of Pharnaces, even if he should have to penetrate the heart of his kingdom in search of him.

This son of Mithridates, whom Cæsar had made king of the Bosphorus, had taken advantage of the civil war to regain Pontus, and drive out Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. The governor of the province of Asia had been beaten in endeavouring to defend those two princes, and Pharnaces, having gained possession of the greater part of his father's former kingdom, there perpetrated fearful cruelties, leading the publicani captive, and slaying or mutilating the Romans who traded in those regions. Cæsar passed rapidly through

Coin of Hyrcanus II.¹

Palestine and Syria. In Judæa the weak Hyrcanus II., the last of the Maccabees, reigned nominally, but actually the power was in the hands of his minister, the Idumæan Antipater. Cæsar recognized the former as the political and religious head of his nation, but he left the real power to the latter, whom he made a Roman citizen and procurator of Judæa. Of the two sons of Antipater, Phasaël, the elder, obtained the government of Jerusalem; the second, Herod, that of Galilee. These judaïsing Edomites founded their fortunes on the ruins of those of the Maccabees and cemented them by the friendship of Cæsar, which the first emperors continued.

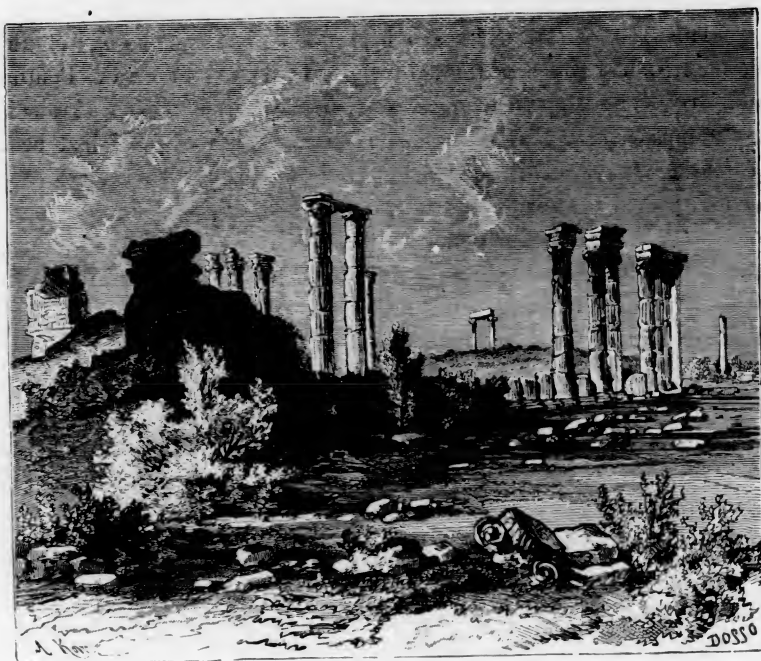
Coin of Herod.²

the son of one of his freedmen, was of too lowly a condition not to be faithful. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76.)

¹ A horn of plenty. On the reverse, a Samaritan inscription. Bronze coin of Hyrcanus II.

² ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ (Herod, king); an altar and two Samaritan characters. On the reverse, a vase. Bronze coin of Herod the Great.

Antioch had been well treated by Pompey; when he made Syria a Roman province he had granted that town autonomy. But the inhabitants of the voluptuous city bore gratitude lightly; on the news of the disaster of Pharsalia they had gone over to the stronger side. Caesar bore this in mind and renewed in their favour the decree guaranteeing their independence; then he rapidly reached

Coin of Tarsus.¹Coin of Tarsus.³Ruins of the Temple of Aphrodisias.²

Tarsus, where he had beforehand convoked deputies from Cilicia and the neighbouring countries. He took cognizance of all disputes, rewarded and punished, bestowing much in the way of privileges, demanding little except money, which these wealthy

¹ ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ; head surmounted by turret, no doubt a personification of the town. On the reverse, Hercules strangling the lion. Silver coin of Tarsus.

² Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. p. 150.

provinces were well able to provide. We still have a decree recording his favours to Aphrodisias of Caria, which he declared free and exempt from taxation. Many cities participated in these bounties which burdened the future, but served the present, because they were bought for ready money.³ Order having been promptly restored in these disturbed countries, he crossed Cappadocia by great marches, halted two days

Coin of Comana.¹Coin of Aphrodisias.²Asander, King of Pontus.⁴Dynamis, wife of Asander.⁵

at Mazaca, its capital, re-established Ariobarzanes, and bestowed upon a descendant of the royal family the office of high priestess at the temple of Bellona at Comana. Dejotarus who with his title of tetrarch possessed almost the whole of Galatia, and with that of king, Lesser Armenia, came to meet Cæsar without his insignia and as a suppliant. He had fought for Pompey at

¹ COL. AVG. COMANA; the goddess of Comana in a temple. Bronze piece of Comana. (Cf. vol. ii. pp. 804 and 836, two other coins of this town.)

² Head of Juno. On the reverse, ΠΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ; eagle on a thunderbolt. Silver coin showing the close alliance between Aphrodisias and Parasa.

³ I think at least, that we must thus understand these words of the decree; "On account of services rendered to Cæsar." These towns could only have served him in such a manner.

⁴ From a gold coin.

⁵ From a coin. This princess, a daughter or granddaughter of the great Mithridates, married, after Asander's death, Ptolemon I., king of Pontus.

Pharsalia, and expected to expiate bitterly his bad guess at the winning side. According to ancient customs this imprudence should have cost him his States and perhaps his life; he got off with some reproaches, a fine, and the loss of a few districts. Caesar restored to him the royal insignia.¹ In Pontus, Pharnaces tried to negotiate; Caesar was not the man to be deceived by the duplicity of a barbarian; he marched forward, though he had few men with him; only one legion of veterans reduced by fatigue and fighting to a thousand men, the two legions of the province of Asia which Pharnaces had beaten, and a few troops belonging to Dejotarus. But with him recruits soon became valiant soldiers, and before him the enemy quailed. This time however, Pharnaces, who boasted of having won twenty-two battles, dared to wait for the Roman army and attacked it. Caesar smiled at this boldness.² A single engagement reduced the son of Mithridates to flee with a few horsemen right to the Bosphorus; he was there slain by Asander, who had married his sister Dynamis, and who took his place. In five days this war was brought to a close.³ "I came, I saw, I conquered," wrote Caesar to one of his friends at Rome. He gave the kingdom of Pharnaces to Mithridates the Pergamean, who had so ably led the Egyptian expedition; and as he could not secure him the immediate possession of it, he added to this eventual gift the Galatian tetrarchies of Dejotarus.⁴ "Happy Pompey," exclaimed Caesar on comparing these Asiatic wars with his own struggle with the Gauls, "happy Pompey to have acquired so cheaply the surname of Great!" After having overthrown his rival he was spoiling his fame.

¹ This Dejotarus, of whom Cicero, his advocate, draws so fine a portrait, was a very bad character. Plutarch (*de Stoic repugn.*) represents him as a cruel despot. Of several sons whom he had, it is said he left alive only the one whom he destined to succeed him. He also slew his daughter and his son-in-law (Strabo, xii. 568); his grandson Castor accused him at Rome of having wished to kill Caesar. These Asiatic kings were never either husbands or fathers. It is difficult to know what Caesar left Dejotarus; Hirtius, Cicero, and Dion Cassius do not agree upon the matter.

² . . . *Irridebat inanem ostentationem.* (*Bell. Alex.*, 74.)

³ The defeat of Pharnaces was on the 2nd of August (20th of May), 47 B.C. (*Kalend. Amitern.*, Orelli, *Inscr.*, ii. 397.) Cicero wrote to Atticus (xi. 21); "I do not think Caesar will be at Athens before the 1st of September."

⁴ Mithridates never entered into possession of his kingdom; he was defeated and slain by Asander. (Strabo, xiii. 625; Dion, xlii. 48: xlviii. 28.)

II.—CÆSAR'S RETURN TO ROME (47 B.C.).

Affairs being settled in Asia, Cæsar at last set out for Italy, where his prolonged absence had caused great disorders, and arrived there before it was known that he had started.

These troubles were caused by a man whom we have already met, Cælius, the friend of Cicero who declares him to have been a great politician, though history only knows him as a mischief-maker. He was a witty man, amusing in society, and very sharp of tongue, who had strayed into politics when the taste for power occupied his mind with that for pleasure. Being prætor in 48, he thought himself ill-rewarded for some imaginary services. Cæsar, with great political judgment, was changing himself from popular leader and head of the army into head of the State. Cælius became a demagogue and dreamt of seeking his fortune as the leader of the poor. He promised (as prætor) his support to debtors who would not submit to the decisions of the arbiters so judiciously appointed by Cæsar in the preceding year; and as no one presented himself in his court, he had recourse to extreme revolutionary means; the suspension of rent payments, and the abolition of debts. Cæsar's senate and Servilius, his colleague in the consulship, fortunately showed great decision. The consul forbade Cælius to exercise the functions of his office, and as the prætor persisted, he had his curule chair broken and himself driven from the platform, while not one voice was raised among the people in favour of this behindhand representative of by-gone tribunitian violence. After being thus publicly disgraced and abandoned by the people, the new Catiline quitted Rome, and ended like his forerunner, but with less wild grandeur. Cælius had recalled Milo, who still had a few of his gladiators with him, from Marseilles; and both together attempted to stir up a rising in Campania and Magna Græcia. But two great ambitions disputing the Empire between them were quite enough already; not the slightest attention was paid to these obscure adventurers, who perished unnoticed, one before Cosa, the other at Thurii.

During the eight months while the struggle in Greece lasted,

the city remained in cruel suspense, which was not ended by the news of the battle of Pharsalia, because all that remained of the Pompeian forces were in the neighbourhood of Italy. When the account of Pompey's death arrived, and men saw his ring which was bought by Antony, the enthusiasm hitherto uncertain and kept in reserve for the victor, burst forth round Caesar's name. Antony took care to direct it in such a way as should further the interests of his general, who was a second time chosen dictator for a whole



Asiatic Victory.¹

year (October 28); the consulship was bestowed upon him for five years, the tribunitian power for life, and the right of deciding upon peace or war, with the presidency of the comitia of election to the higher magistracies. Accordingly, as he was absent, there were only tribunes of the people elected for the year 47. Caesar took possession of the dictatorship at Alexandria, and as there were no consuls, he entrusted the government of the city to Antony, his master of the horse. Antony, a brave but violent man, had neither the persevering energy nor the keen prudence which the circumstances demanded. The reports which soon began to circulate about the awkward position of his chief in Egypt made him

¹ Small bronze figure found in Egypt. It has on a Phrygian cap or tiara, a lappet of which it is raising with the right hand. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3044.)

to the opposite extreme, and scenes of violence and plunder recommenced in the city,¹ as if to prove even to the most incredulous the indispensable need of a master. Fortunately this master was coming; Caesar had at length landed at Tarentum in September, 47.

Contrary to the expectation of many, his return was marked by no proscription. He only confiscated the property of those who still bore arms against him, and caused that of Pompey to be sold by auction. Dolabella and Antony became the purchasers, but the latter refused to pay the price, and proudly answered, in reply to Caesar's demands, that it was his share of the spoil. The dictator contented himself with imposing on him a partial restitution of the money; he had not a sufficiently high opinion of the men of his time to employ severity against them, which would have implied that they were capable of reform, and by nature he was averse to rigorous measures.

He increased the number of offices; some, like the praetorship, in the interests of the service; others, such as the sacerdotal colleges, in order to satisfy vain and puerile ambitions.² He doubled the number of the senate by summoning brave officers to it, as Junius Pera had done after Cannae,³ and bestowing the laticlave upon the most important provincial men.⁴ The Roman nobility were naturally indignant; they called these new comers barbarians, and pursued them with sarcasms; but these so-called barbarians represented in the Curia a new and great idea, the unity of the Roman world.

Although it was the ninth month of the year, he held the consular comitia, and appointed Fufius Calenus and Vatinius. A few days later he got himself appointed consul for the following year with Lepidus, and at the same time he took the dictatorship.

¹ Cic., *Philipp.*, ii. 25; Dion, xlii. 50. In one of these riots 800 citizens perished.

² He increased the number of augurs, pontiffs, and quindecimvirs. He appointed ten praetors instead of eight. (Dion, xlii. 51.) Later on the number was raised to twelve (Pomp., *de Or. jur.*), to fourteen, and even to sixteen. (Dion, xlii. 51; xliii. 59.) Sallust, whom he appointed praetor for that year, then re-entered the senate, whence he had been expelled.

³ See vol. i. p. 615.

⁴ Caesar himself mentions two Allobrogian senators (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 59) and a Spanish one. (*Bell. Afric.*, 28.) We have seen (p. 157, note 2) that during his campaigns he kept a free table for provincials of distinction, *illustrioribus provinciarum*. (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 48.) The emperor Claudius bears witness that long before his time Vienne [in Gaul] furnished senators to the Roman Curia.

His partisans being now provided with appointments, dignities, and governments, he gave large presents to the poor, and granted debtors the suppression of part of the interest against them. The soldiers also claimed the fulfilment of the promises so often renewed; those of the tenth legion even went as far as to revolt openly. Caesar heard of it, and assembled them on the Campus Martius; he repaired thither alone, mounted his tribunal, and ordered them to speak. At the sight of him the murmurs were hushed; hesitating and ashamed, in a low voice they asked to be disbanded. "I dismiss you," replied the general immediately, "go, Quirites." Caesar had found the surest way to wound their pride; he had called his companions in arms, his soldiers, *citizens*. To make them citizens was to degrade them; they would have preferred that he should chastise them, that he should decimate them; and they urged him to retract the disgraceful name. This trait of eloquence has been much admired, but it casts a sad light upon the times; all that we have said about the transformation of political feelings is explained by the meaning now attached to those two words, citizens and soldiers, *Quirites* and *commilitones*; the civilian was no longer anything, the military was all in all; the reign of arms was drawing nigh; already their leader was unwilling, even in the interior of the city, to drop his military title of *imperator*.

III.—WAR IN AFRICA (46 B.C.); THAPSUS; DEATH OF CATO.

This sedition being pacified, Caesar set out for Africa. After the defeat of Pharsalia, Octavius, a Pompeian leader, had assembled a few troops in Macedonia; thence he had passed into Illyria, and had been compelled by Cornificius and Vatinius to flee into Africa, where Juba and Atius Varus commanded the only Pompeian army which could boast of a victory. The leaders assembled at Coreyra; Labienus, Scipio, Afranius, Petreius, and Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, resolved to win that province. Cato was at Dyrrachium with a fleet and some soldiers. He offered the command of them to Cicero, who was a *consularis*, whereas he himself had only been a *prætor*. But since Pharsalia, Cicero had been in the greatest

distress, fearing to remain "with these mad men," ashamed to depart, and not knowing how to excuse himself to Caesar for his flight from Italy. Cato's proposal decided him. "Was he to command, was he to fight when it was not a time to lay down arms, but to throw them away; it was mere mockery." Cneus, Pompey's eldest son, rushed upon him sword in hand, and would have slain him had not Cato protected him while he got away.



Coin of Cornificius.¹

He returned to Brundisium, still accompanied by his lictors with their fasces wreathed with triumphal laurel, and stayed there for a year, cursing the Alexandrian war, the war with Pharnaces, and the slowness of Caesar, who was now guilty of prolonging his anxieties by allowing the Pompeians time to rise again and perhaps bring about some fresh disaster.²

Whilst his friends were making their way towards Utica, Cato, suspecting that Pompey had made for Egypt, resolved to lead thither to him his 300 vessels and the troops which manned them. But for the treachery of the Egyptians, these 10,000 men, finding Pompey alive at Alexandria, might have changed the aspect of affairs. He prudently led them to the coasts of the Cyrenaica, there to gather the most trustworthy news. It was Pompey's own son who told him of the catastrophe. The only course left therefore, was to reach the Roman province of Africa. The same winds which prevented Caesar leaving Alexandria obliged Cato to leave his fleet in the harbours of the Cyrenaica all the winter. But in view of the urgent necessity of rejoining the army which was reforming



Cneus Pompey.³

¹ Head of Jupiter. On the reverse, Q. CORNFICII AVGVRI IMP.; Juno Sospita holding a trophy in the left hand and with the right crowning Cornificius, dressed as an augur. Gold denarius struck at Cyrene, as is indicated by the horned head of Jupiter Ammon.

² Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 15.

³ From a coin which Sextus Pompey had struck during the Sicilian war. The head of Cneus faces that of his father, and Sextus' is on the reverse of the same coin.

round Utica, he obtained supplies of water and provisions at Cyrene, and entered upon the passage through the desert of Barce. When at the end of thirty days he reached Leptis Magna, his troops were so fatigued that he was obliged to await the end of the

Coin of Utica.¹Coin of Cyrene.²Coin of Barce.³

winter at that place. Indeed, he was there within call of Scipio, and secure of being able to effect a junction with him.

This *consularis*, Scipio, who bore a name of good augury in African warfare, had been recognized as the leader, but he was a very poor general.¹ He took as his second in command Labienus, whose skill could not make up for the unfortunate choice which had

Leptis Magna.⁵

been made. If at Dyrrachium and Pharsalia the Pompeians had been already divided, what was it now when the only man capable of restraining them was no more? One man however, assumed the manners of a supreme leader, and this was the barbarian king. But for Cato, all these haughty Romans would have yielded to him, even Scipio, whom Juba forbade to wear the scarlet cloak of commanders-in-chief, because,

said he, purple belonged only to kings.⁶ He wished to sack Utica,

¹ Livia seated; in the field, D. D. (*decreto decurionum*), P. P. (*pater patriæ*). Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Utica by Vibius Marsus, proconsul.

² ΔΑΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ; Jupiter Ammon, full-face; beside him, a ram. On the reverse, ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΩΝ, and a woman driving a quadriga. Gold coin of Cyrene.

³ ΒΑΡΚΕΙΟΣ; head of Jupiter Ammon, full-face. Silver coin of Barce.

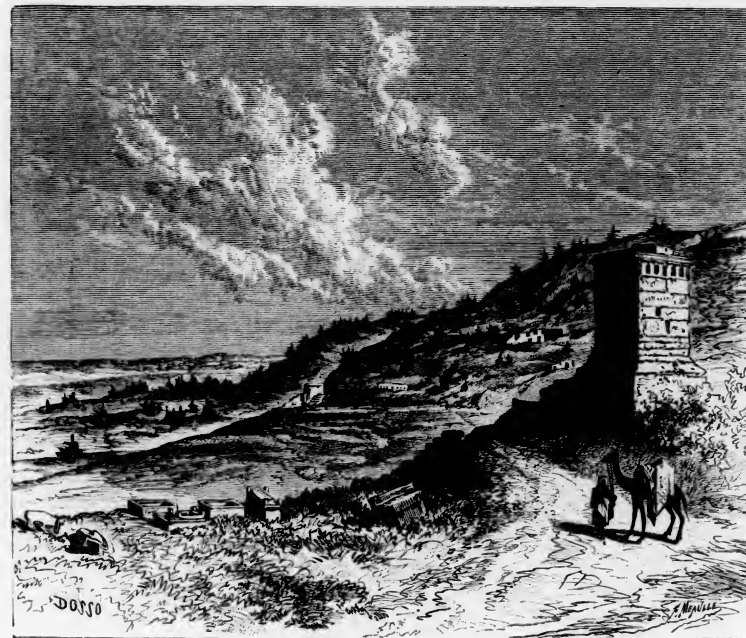
⁴ The *Commentaries* do not mention Scipio, an obscure and despised man, whom, according to Plutarch, Caesar pretended to put at the head of his army. We do not know who wrote the *de Bell. Afric.*, but the narrative is certainly that of an eyewitness, perhaps Hirtius, the author of the eighth book of the *Gallie War*, and less certainly, of *Alexandrian War*.

⁵ Bacchus standing, holding a cup and a thyrsus; beside him, a panther and four Punic letters. Reverse of a great bronze piece of Augustus, struck at *Leptis Magna*.

⁶ Plut., *Cato*, 64; Caesar, *Bell. Afric.*, 57. According to Dion (xliii. 4), Scipio promised him the whole of Roman Africa; but this is not probable.

accusing it of being devoted to Cæsar, but in reality to destroy the Roman capital in Africa; Cato again prevented him. But Scipio was not so far-sighted; he undertook to pay the Numidian cavalry, and furthered the king's policy by devastating the province with the view of ruining the enemy beforehand.

As soon as Cæsar had a few troops ready he advanced. Once more he seemed to stake his fortune on the hazard of the die.

View of Cyrene.¹

Again he embarked in spite of the adverse season, crossed by Malta, and after four days' sailing arrived in the neighbourhood of Hadrumentum (Souza). As he was landing he fell; it was regarded as a bad omen, but he changed it into a fortunate one; "Land of Africa," he exclaimed, "I hold thee," and his soldiers had no doubt they were going to take possession of it. Yet he had only 5,000 infantry and 150 Gallie horse (1st of

¹ The northern necropolis of Cyrene, after Murdoch Smith, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*.

January, 46 B.C.).¹ It was a mere escort, and he ran the risk of meeting an opponent who had 60,000 men under arms, 120 elephants, and numerous cavalry. But he thought the enemy's fleet, withdrawn into their harbours, would again allow him a free passage, and his weary legions needed to be stimulated by a sense of the danger of their leader. He had too, other reasons for his confidence; the report had spread that to repay Juba for his aid, Scipio had promised to abandon the Roman province to him, and the numerous citizens who had settled there were angry at a bargain which put them under the sway of the barbarian king. Among these were some descendants of Marian veterans who, with the fidelity of the Romans to family traditions,

Coin of Juba I.³

looked upon the nephew of their fathers' general as a patron.² The Pompeians punished this sentiment as a felony, and laid waste the districts where they thought they had discovered it. Every Caesarian who fell into their hands was put to death.

Even Cicero was indignant at these cruelties.⁴ Notwithstanding their repeated defeats, these heirs of Sylla were animated with his spirit, and everything points to the conclusion that if they had triumphed, torrents of blood would have been shed at Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces.

This reign of terror did not ensure the fidelity of their soldiers. Their army, composed in a great measure of freedmen,⁵ slaves, peasants, whose farms had been burnt, and provincials enrolled by force, had no consistency. The renown of their foe frightened these raw troops, who did not share the passions of

¹ Caesar, *Bell. Afric.*, 3. To agree with the corrected calendar we must put all these dates back a little more than two months.

² *Qui semus clientes C. Marci ad te volumus in tuaque praesidia confugere.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 35.) Scipio had agreed to support the king's cavalry at the cost of the province. (*Ibid.*, 8.) Hence came levies of money which estranged the population. Moreover, in order to starve out Caesar, the corn had been everywhere carried into the strongholds and the flat country laid waste.

³ REX IVBA: bust of Juba I. with his sceptre. On the reverse, a temple with eight pillars and a Punic inscription. Silver coin of Juba I. A similar coin has just been found in Gaul, near Castres.

⁴ *Ad Att.*, xi. 7.

⁵ *Ex hybridis* (born of a Roman father and a foreign mother) *libertinis, servisque, conscripserat.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 19.)

their leaders, and deserters reached Caesar's camp in such numbers that he was able to form a whole division of them.¹

Other aid unexpectedly reached him. The disorder was so great and had lasted so long in this decaying Republic, that an Italian, named Sittius, a former accomplice of Catiline, had created for himself in Africa a kind of nomadic royalty. He had gathered round him adventurers from all lands, and had formed of them a little piratical squadron, and so he wandered along the coasts or even went inland, living sometimes by plunder and sometimes on mercenary pay. Sittius was totally indifferent to the mighty quarrel which shook the Roman world, but the fortunes of the Pompeians inspired him with little confidence, whereas he had great faith in those of Caesar, and it is impossible but that, in his wandering life, some disagreements with Juba should have drawn down upon him the enmity of that king. Sittius had a thorough knowledge of the country and correspondents in the two Numidian and Moorish kingdoms; Caesar therefore entrusted him with the mission of persuading Bocchus to invade Juba's States when that prince should quit them in order to join his allies.

Sittius.²

The dictator counted upon taking Hadrumentum without difficulty. Considius held it with a superior force; he even threatened the Caesarians, who retreated as far as Ruspina, harassed in their march by 2,000 Numidians. But every time the 150 Gauls of Caesar, heavily armed, charged

Coin of Hadrumentum.³

this light cavalry, they turned and fled. The trading cities on the coast were in favour of the man who would quickly end these interminable wars, that is to say, for Caesar. One of them, Ruspina,

¹ Throughout the *de Bell. Afric.* mention is continually made of deserters going over to Caesar.

² SI. P. SITTIUS M IVS IIIIVIR DECR. DECVR. D. Bronze coin of Cirta.

³ Fabius Maximus, proconsul of Africa. On the reverse, the Phœnician god Onlum, whose name the Romans rendered into *Sacculum frugiferum*, the right hand raised and open in sign of benediction. Bronze, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, p. 30.

sent deputies to him; he hastened to occupy that place, which had a harbour where he could await the six legions which remained in Sicily. Still better news reached him. *Leptis Minor*, which notwithstanding its name was a rich and important city, offered him its harbour, one of the best on that coast; it was large enough for Caesar to shelter his vessels there. Soon a convoy arrived;¹ others were on the way; Caesar was about to start to meet them in order to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, when they appeared in sight of the camp. Forthwith he resumed the offensive, and with thirty cohorts fell in with the countless cavalry

Coin of Leptis Minor.²

of Labienus at three miles from Ruspina. The latter allowed his Numidians to fight in their own way; they came within a short distance of the battle-front, shot their javelins, and then fled, drawing the legionaries after them in disorder, thus exposed to the hostile infantry. Caesar commanded that they should not go more than four feet away from the standards. This encouraged the foe, and Labienus taunted them as raw recruits. "Thou art mistaken," replied a soldier, "I am not a conscript, but a veteran of the tenth, and," taking off his helmet, "recognize me, or better still by this," and he hurled his javelin at him, which Labienus only avoided by making his horse rear, so that it received the weapon in the middle of its breast. The army however, drawn up in close order, was surrounded; the position no longer seemed tenable.

Coin of Julius Caesar.³

But it was a snare to draw the foe within reach of the javelin and sword. At a given signal the ranks opened and extended rapidly in two lines, driving back all before them. Aid brought up by Petreius led Labienus to begin the action again when

¹ The custom was known of giving the captains of vessels sealed orders which were only to be opened at sea after a certain time, for Caesar was blamed for not having done so. (*Bell. Afric.*, 3.)

² AETHTIC; bust of Mercury. Bronze coin of Leptis Minor.

³ COS. TERT. DICT. ITER; head of Venus. On the reverse, AVGVSTVS PONT. MAX.: instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin struck before Caesar was authorized to put his likeness on money.

Mosaic of Rome



Mosaic of Rome

NEPTUNE AND AMPHITRITE

and departed to his; he hastened to occupy that place, which had a harbor where he could send the six legions which remained in Sicily. Still longer was reached him. *Lepta Minor*, which notwithstanding its name was a rich and important city, offered him an harbor, one of the best on that coast; it was large enough to receive as many war vessels there. Soon a convoy arrived; it was sent on the way; Caesar was about to start to meet them in order to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, when they appeared in sight of the camp. Fortwith he retained the advance, and with select cohorts fell in with the countless cavalry

of Labienus at three miles from Ruspina. The latter allowed his Numidians to fight in their own way; they came within a short distance of the battle-front, shot their javelins, and then drew the legions after them in disorder, thus exposed to the hostile infantry. Caesar commanded that they should not go farther than five feet away from the standards.

They surrounded the foe, and Labienus shouted to his cohorts, "They are mistaken," replied a soldier, "I am not mistaken, but a cohort of the tenth, and," taking up his javelin, "I am better still by this," and he hurled his javelin at him, which Labienus saw, avoided by making his horse step, so that it received the weapon in the middle of its flank. The army however, drawn up in close order, was surrounded; the position no longer seemed tenable.

But it was not so; for the few cohorts which the javelin had not reached, the ranks opened and extended again, and the army, having been all before them, and brought up by the tenth cohort, the army again when

The following is a list of the names of the legions which were sent to the aid of Caesar in the battle of Pharsalus. The names are given in the order in which they were sent. (Bell. Gall. 1. 11.)

LEGION. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 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Cæsar thought it was over; but a new charge swept the plain clear.

Cæsar had just run a great risk; he had extricated himself from it by his coolness and resource. But Scipio was three marches behind, at the head of eight legions and 3,000 horse; another army with 120 elephants¹ was coming with Juba. In order not to meet such forces in the plain, Cæsar established himself between Ruspina and the sea in a camp which he rendered impregnable, and thence he urged forward the arrival of his supports. He was beginning to suffer from scarcity, when Sallust, who was then prætor, took by surprise the island of Cereina, where the enemy's stores were, and carried off their supplies. Meanwhile Sittius had taken Cirta, the capital of Numidia, had raised the Gætuli, who never forgave Pompey for having subjected them to the Numidian kings, and by this happy diversion had recalled Juba to defend his kingdom; and finally two legions landed from Sicily.

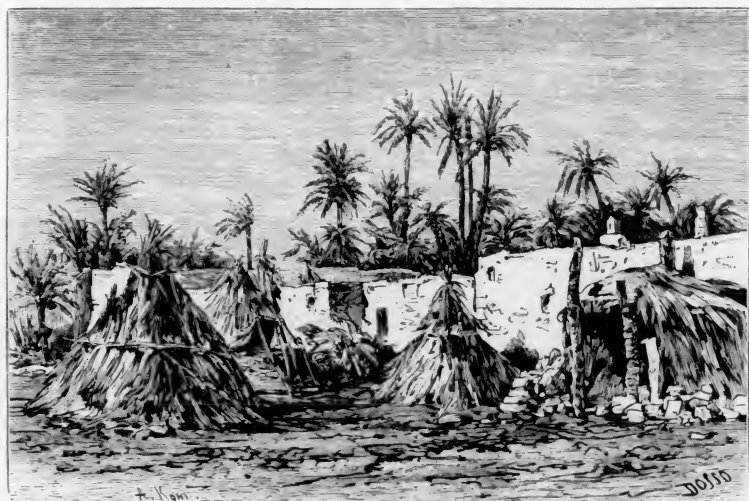
Cæsar's situation was nevertheless very strange; military history knows of no parallel to it. Of Africa he held only the soil enclosed in his lines. He lacked everything and must create all—workshops for forging arms, yards for building machines; he dismantled several galleys in order to have the wood for making palisades, and as he had no fodder for his horses, he hit upon the idea of feeding them on seaweed well washed in fresh water. On his departure from Sicily, the fleet being insufficient, he would take neither baggage nor slaves on board, and the soldiers had brought away only their arms. A legionary tribune having disobeyed this order, he summoned him immediately on landing, and in the presence of the tribunes and centurions of the whole army, said to him; "C. Avienus, because you have been useless to the Republic and to me by filling my vessels with your attendants and horses, instead of putting my soldiers into them, I expel you from my army with ignominy,² and I order you

¹ The author of the *de Bell. Afric.* wonders that the use of elephants in battle had not been abandoned, experience having shown that the danger was as great for those who employed them as for the enemy. [Probably J. Cæsar had the same notions about them that Alexander the Great had, who never used them in his Indian battles. Nevertheless, Seleucus, and Antiochus Soter who defeated the Galatians with them found them very useful.—*Ed.*]

² *Ignominie causa.* (*Bell. Afric.*, 53.) Four other officers were also expelled that day for having shown a want of courage or of the spirit of discipline. They were immediately put

to quit Africa this very day." Never did any soldier better understand the necessity of reducing as much as possible the *impedimenta* which render armies unmanageable.

His soldiers made up for everything by their industry and activity. The Gallic war, where it had been necessary every moment to improvise camps, fortresses, fleets, bridges over great rivers, and roads across marshes, had taught them to be engineers, bridge builders, and mechanics. Thus they carried on all kinds of trades without a murmur, and they did not complain of the want



Huts formed of Boughs.¹

of necessities, because their general lived as they did. The Roman legionary was accustomed to lodge in camp under a tent of hides; they slept in the open air or made themselves huts of rushes and boughs, and when there arose one of the violent storms of Africa, they laughed and took shelter beneath their shields.² But there

on board ship, and each might only take a single slave with him. The punishment was not on the whole very severe, and this narrative of an eyewitness contrasts with the severities which Dion Cassius imputes to Caesar.

¹ Huts made of boughs, still used in Algeria. From a photograph.

² *Arundinibus scopisque contextis scutis capita contegebant.* (*Bell. Afric.* 47.) In Spain in the following year Caesar's soldiers had still only *casas quæ stramentitivæ hibernorum causa, edificatæ erant.* (*Bell. Hispan.*, 16.)

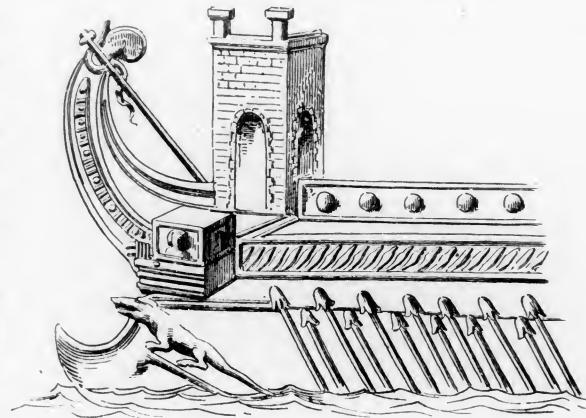


The Ravine of Rummel near Cirta (Constantine) (Delamare, *Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, p. 359.

was no delay in the manœuvres; the camp was struck or pitched with the greatest rapidity, and Cæsar could deploy these men, ever on the alert, in the plain within range of the enemy. One day, in less than half-an-hour, they made a ditch and rampart to protect themselves against Scipio's cavalry.¹

That methodical general had not known

how to profit by the advantages offered him by Cæsar's temerity, the superiority of his fleet, and his numerous army;² he wanted to reduce his formidable adversary by starvation, and in order to allow Juba time to join him with three legions, his only care was to avoid the battle which Cæsar urged. Two months passed in marches and campings without any result in the narrow space enclosed between the towns of Leptis, Ruspina, Achilla, and Agar, which Cæsar held, and Hadrumentum, Thapsus, Uzita, and Thysdrus, occupied by Scipio.³ It was not Cæsar's custom to remain so long in the vicinity of the enemy without finding



Bireme with a Tower in the Prow.²



Coin of Achilla.⁴

¹ *Ea minus semi hora effecit* (*Bell. Afric.*, 38), whence we see that Cæsar's soldiers can still teach ours something. He had covered his workmen with a screen of cavalry.

² From a marble bas-relief. (*Rich, Dict. des ant. rom. et grecq.*, under the word *Biremis*.)

³ The Pompeian fleet was originally far superior to Cæsar's; yet it confined itself to capturing a few merchant ships, and made no serious attempt to obtain the command of the Maltese Channel, which would apparently have been easy, and would have starved out Cæsar. Evidently Scipio did not know how to make use of it, and his captains did not like remaining out at sea in the bad season.

⁴ P. QVINCTI VARI ACHVLLA; head of the proconsul Varus. Bronze coin of Achulla, Acholla, or Achilla.

⁵ *Zeta* and *Sarsura* were taken by Cæsar; *Thabena* asked him for a new garrison, after

means to bring him to a battle, as at Pharsalia, or to hem him in, as at Lerida. But he had only a few hundred horse, while there were thousands in the Pompeian army, and he was kept to the coast by the necessity of awaiting his convoys from Sicily, for the provisions of the towns which had received his garrisons and the grain stores of the natives had been quickly exhausted. For water, he was obliged to dig wells in the plain which extended from the hills to the sea, and consequently to leave the heights to his foes; and finally, his scanty troops contained many recruits whom he was only making into veterans by daily skirmishes.

A last convoy having brought him provisions in abundance and the depôts of his legions, he at length decided to strike some decisive blow. An attempt upon Thysdrus failed, but by skilful manœuvres he succeeded in investing Thapsus, an important place, the harbour of which, added to those of Ruspina and Leptis, would give him a great stretch of coast, and consequently facilitate the arrival of supplies. Situated between the sea and a salt lake, Thapsus communicated with the mainland by a single road.

Coin of Thysdrus.¹

In a few hours Caesar cut through this isthmus, and the ancients were so powerless to batter entrenchments, that a ditch and an earthwork executed in one night were sufficient to stop an army. Scipio could not abandon Thapsus without incurring both shame and danger; he hastened thither as soon as he was informed of the enemy's march, but halted before the lines and decided to accept battle. Caesar gave his troops for their battle-cry the word *Felicitas*. The day was indeed a fortunate one. The elephants caused some alarm; the fifth legion asked leave to fight them and easily overcame them, forcing them back with stones and javelins upon the Pompeian lines. From that day forward, says a writer of the second century of our era, this legion has always borne on its standards the elephant, which may

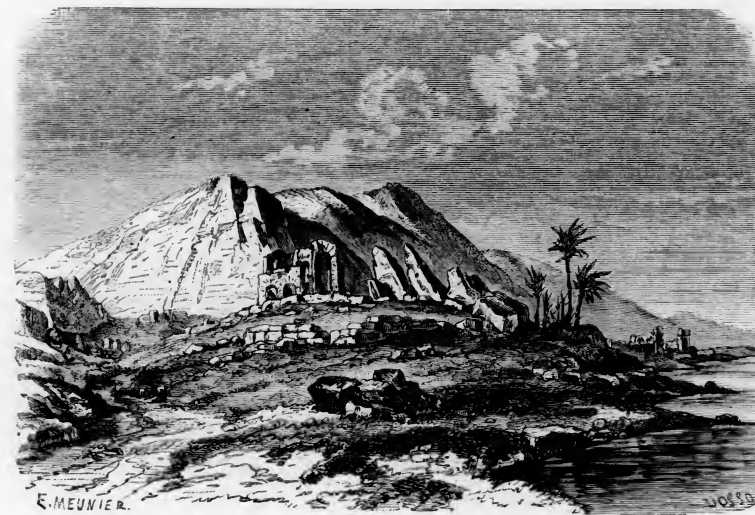
Elephant.²

having massacred that placed there by the king; *Vacca* wished to do the same, but Juba, being warned of it, slew the population.

¹ Veiled head of Astarte with the cruciform sceptre, and a Punic inscription. Bronze coin of Thysdrus.

² CAESAR: elephant trampling on a serpent. On a silver coin of Julius Caesar. Spartianus (*Æl. Ver.*, 2) says that *caesar* was in the Punic language the name of the elephant.

still be seen there.¹ Notwithstanding their numbers, the Pompeians were beaten and their three camps taken, and they left 30,000 men on the field (6th of April [6th of February]). All that remained of the Republican army broke up; Thapsus, Hadrumentum, and Thysdrus opened their gates; those of Zama, the capital of the Numidian king, were shut against him; *Bulla Regia*, another of his residences, must have done the like. In this general rout Caesar's clemency seemed to the soldiers to be their surest refuge; the

Ruins of Bulla Regia.²

secondary officers and almost the whole of Juba's cavalry gave themselves up to him.

The leaders could not act thus. After Pharsalia no one amongst them had thought of taking any extreme resolution against himself. It was then a fair war which was closing, and the cruelties of Bibulus and Labienus having only fallen upon

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 96. [There are other instances of this emblem in history. The great victory of the first Antiochus over the Galatians was celebrated by a medal stamped with an elephant, having been the arm which had brought victory. In our own army, the regiments which fought at the battle of Assaye have likewise an elephant on their colours.—*Ed.*]

² *Bulla Regia* stood four days' journey from Carthage, on the banks of a tributary of the the Bagradas. The engraving is taken from a learned memoir by the French minister at Constantinople, M. Tissot, who himself sketched these ruins.

sailors and soldiers, had been forgotten, so that no one feared reprisals. On the morrow of the battle, Brutus had gone over to Caesar's camp, and a few days later Cassius had surrendered his fleet to him. The African war had a totally different character; it was a merciless struggle which the Pompeians waged by atrocities. On neither side did the leaders hope that the victor would pardon; it only remained therefore, for the vanquished generals to seek other battlefields if they could find them, or to die. Labienus, Varus, and Sextus Pompey reached Spain, whither Pompey's eldest son had already repaired after a vain attempt on the coasts of Mauretania. Scipio also set sail for that province, but the vessel which carried him was driven by a storm into the port of Bona, into the midst of the squadron of Sittius, which surrounded him.

"Where is the general?" cried the assailants. "The general is in safety," answered Scipio,¹ and fell upon his sword. Almost all the others perished; Considius was slain in his flight by his escort of Gætulian horse; Afranius and Faustus Sylla fell into the hands of Sittius and were slain in a riot among the soldiers.² Juba and Petreius, repulsed from every town, resolved to put an end to their miseries. After a sumptuous feast they each took a sword and engaged in single combat. Juba easily killed Petreius, who was already an old man, and then got a

Sextus Pompey.³

slave to despatch him; his ashes were taken to Madras'en to rest with those of the kings of Numidia. The duel between the younger Marius and Telesinus in the vaults at Praeneste had brought this kind of death into fashion. Cato introduced another, which illustrious men afterwards imitated, and which history records with respect.

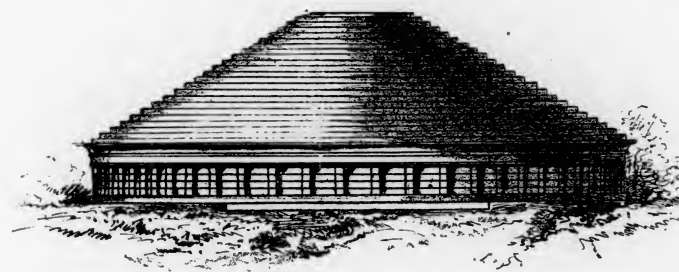
Cato was in command at Utica; he there received the news

¹ Livy, *Epit.*, cxiv.

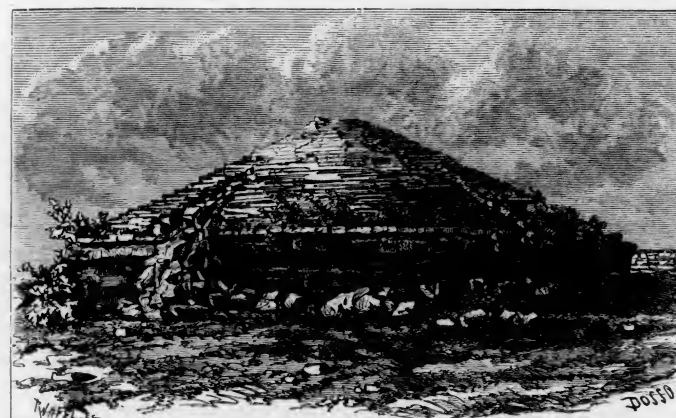
² Sylla's widow was the sister of Cnaeus Pompey; Caesar sent her back to her brother with her two children. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 100.)

³ From an engraved gem in the *Gallery of Florence*. It bears the engraver's name, ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. Brunn (*Geschichte der griech. Kunstl.*) contends against the attribution of this head to Pompey's second son.

of the defeat on the morning of the 8th of April, and immediately assembled the senators who remained near him, as well as the 300 Roman citizens settled in that town for purposes of trading and to open up the rich valley of the Bagradas.¹ He proposed to them

Tomb of the Kings of Numidia: the Madras'en (Restoration).²

to defend the place, and at first his energy infused itself into



Tomb of the Kings of Numidia: the Madras'en (Present State).

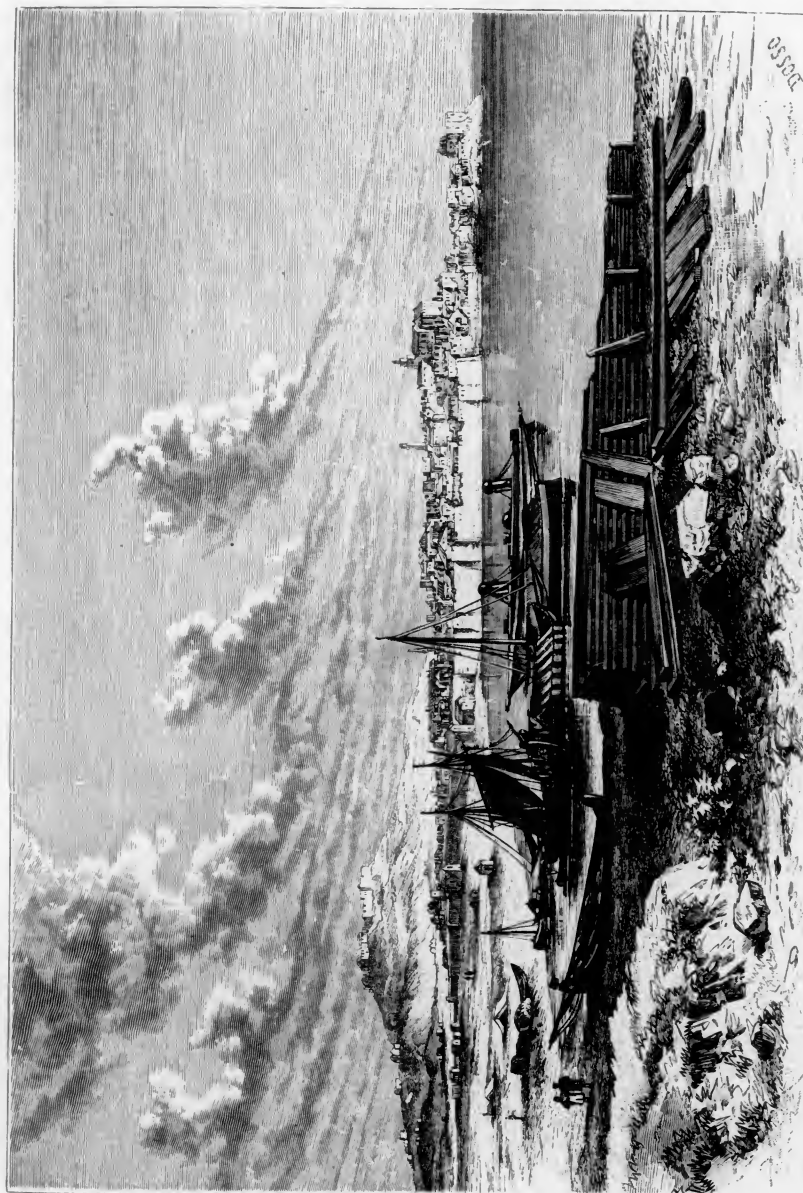
every heart, but it was needful to begin by freeing their slaves in order to arm them; this first sacrifice stopped them, and they

¹ According to Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 95) these 300 constituted the Pompeian senate; the author of the *de Bell. Afric.* (90) only calls them the CCC who had furnished money to Scipio and Juba, but he distinguishes them from the other Roman merchants settled in the town. Some of them were put to death.

² There exist in Algeria some gigantic tumuli; in the province of Oran are the *Djedars*, three massive erections crowning three offsets of the Djebel-Akhdar; in the province of Algiers the *Kebeur Roumia* (tomb of the Christian woman), the sepulchre of Juba II., of Cleopatra, his wife,

ended by abandoning all idea of resistance. Some of Scipio's horsemen who had taken refuge in the place wished to kill these merchants, or at least to drive them out of the town, together with the other inhabitants. Cato opposed this useless cruelty, and the horsemen departed after he had given them each 100 sesterces out of the money in the treasury, and Faustus Sylla an equal sum out of his private property. He then occupied himself in saving those who dared not expect pardon of Cæsar. When he heard that the dictator was marching upon Utica; "What!" said he; "Cæsar treats us as men, then!" And turning to the senators he advised them to delay no longer, caused all the gates to be shut except that towards the harbour, furnished vessels to those who needed them, and saw that everything was done properly. L. Cæsar, a relative of the conqueror, whom the three hundred had charged to entreat his clemency for them, besought him to compose a speech for him, adding that when it was time to intercede for him he should not do so in words, but should throw himself at Cæsar's feet. Cato forbade him to do so; "If I were willing to owe him my life I would myself go to him alone, but I will be beholden for nothing to a tyrant." After having taken a bath he supped with a numerous company, and they held a long discussion on the theme that the good man alone is free and all the wicked slaves. When he had dismissed his guests he retired and read in bed Plato's dialogue [*Phædo*] upon the immortality of the soul. He broke off after a few pages to seek for his sword, and not finding it, made enquiries as to where it was, then continued his reading, that he might not display any impatience; when he had ended he sent for all his slaves, loudly demanded his sword, and struck one of them so violently that his hand was all bloody from the blow. His son entered in tears with his friends. Then Cato, rising to a sitting posture, said to him in a severe tone; "When has any one seen me give proofs of insanity? Thou takest away my arms in order to give me up defenceless; why dost thou not tie my hands behind my back too? Do I need

and of Ptolemy, the last of the kings of Mauretania; and in the province of Constantine the *Madras'en*, or tomb of the kings of Numidia (Madres, patronymic of the family of Masinissa). The ashes of the vanquished of Thapsus were most probably borne thither. The basement is 142½ feet by 14½ feet high; the truncated cone, formed of twenty-four steps, is raised to a height



Bône (Algeria), Near the Site of Utica.

a piece of iron to take away my life?" His sword was brought to him by a child; he took it and examined the point. "Now I am my own master," said he. Then he took up the *Phædo* again,



Funeral Urns.¹

read it all through twice, and after that fell into such a deep sleep that the sound of his breathing was heard outside.

of 45·65 feet; sixty engaged pillars without bases, the capitals of which recall those of Egypt rather than the Tuscan order, surround the monument, which was rifled long ago. The explorations of 1873 led to no discoveries in the sepulchral chamber. (See vol. xvi. of the *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, the report of Colonel Brunnon on these researches.)

¹ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, etc., pl. 81.

Towards midnight he sent one of his freedmen to the harbour to make sure that everyone had embarked, and got the wound bound up which he had made on his hand. As the birds were beginning to sing he fell asleep again for a few moments; then, drawing his sword, he plunged it into his body below the breast. His wounded hand prevented him striking a sure blow, and struggling against the anguish, he fell from his bed. At the noise of the fall they hastened up. The wound was not a mortal one; the physician bandaged it up; but as soon as he recovered consciousness he tore off the dressing, reopened the hurt, and expired.

Cato was a Stoic, and his conduct was in accordance with his doctrine, when, according to the precepts of the school, he practised "the happy despatch," *εὐλογος ἐξαγωγή*. He did it quite simply, though the effect may have been theatrical, and he deprived the victor of his noblest conquest. "O Cato!" exclaimed Cæsar on hearing of his end, "thou didst envy me the glory of saving thy life!" Yet when Cicero, who admired the courage which he did not possess, composed a eulogy on the illustrious dead, the dictator, who wielded the pen as well as the sword, replied to it with the *Anti-Cato*, a witty and mocking satire, in which the rigid prætor was represented as sifting the ashes of his brother in order to recover the gold melted on the funeral-pyre, or yielding his beautiful young wife to Hortensius and taking her back again, old but wealthy, after the orator's death. It is a singular thing that Cato has against him both the Cæsars, the ancient and the modern. The one exposes to the derision of his courtiers the too rigid virtue of the last of the Republicans, the other, whom death so often passed by, accuses him of having basely deserted his post.¹ Neither of them was far wrong, but we love the devotion which clings to all great things when they are perishing. Cato and the Republic

¹ In his reflections upon Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Montesquieu agrees with his opinion, and Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic, condemns voluntary death as a shrinking from duty; "The servant who flees," says he, "is a deserter." A recent historian of Cæsar, Mr. Froude, says of Cato; "His character had given respectability to a cause which if left to its proper defenders would have appeared in its natural baseness, and thus on him rested the responsibility for the colour of justice in which it was disguised." (*Cæsar*, p. 421, 1879.) The same writer, recalling Lucan's famous verse, *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*, adds: "Was Cato right, or were the gods right? Perhaps both;" and we agree with him.

depart together; the death of the one is a worthy ending to the funeral ceremonies of the other.

The great and true Republic of former days, which had given birth to so many obscure and silent acts of devotion, had long since disappeared, and the sham liberty for which Cato died was not worthy of the sacrifice. But he believed he was giving up his life for the right, and we must needs honour the sense of duty which leads a man to suffer death, even though he be mistaken. From that day the Republican party had its martyr; the blood of Cato endowed it with a virtue which kept it alive long after its defeat, and was the cause of the terrible tragedies witnessed under the empire. Cato did not kill himself only; by his example and the legend which fastened to his name he drew after him to the tomb many a man of the like narrow mind, and the like fierce virtue. Nevertheless, he is still the first of these heroes of civil life who protested by grand stoic deaths against the cruelty of fate or the meanness of men.

¹ Engraved gem from the *Cabinet de France*.



Wounded Hero.¹

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE MONARCHY.

I.—FRESH STAY OF CÆSAR AT ROME (46 B.C.); HIS TRIUMPHS AND REFORMS.

IF we study the history of Rome from the time of the Gracchi, putting aside the prejudices of the schools and the declamations of ignorant rhetoricians, we see clearly that the Romans had lost their liberty in conquering the world, and that the Republic, which was formerly a public affair, had become the property of a narrow and jealous oligarchy, which expected to live in luxury at the expense of the whole world. Against this greedy and incompetent faction there had at length arisen popular leaders, who took the part of the people, the allies, and the subject races. This was the era of attempts at reform. The reforms not having succeeded, revolution became inevitable—the ever recurring story of governments which shut their eyes to the future. With us, monarchy being the past which men would fain destroy, the republic very naturally succeeded it. At Rome, where the insurrectionary movement was directed against the Republican aristocracy, monarchy must of course follow. The logic of history demanded it, and that logic which is the outcome of facts is always right in the long run.

As the popular leaders had perished by violence, their policy passed over to military leaders. At first they united to consolidate the Empire of Rome, Pompey in the East, Cæsar in the West, and to the brilliancy of their services they owed a special position in the State. Pompey was only a soldier, from whom the oligarchy had nothing to fear if his puerile vanity were but satisfied. In Cæsar they foresaw a politician of the family of the Gracchi, one of those men who dreamt of a new city built on the ruins of the old; Cæsar was therefore their mortal enemy. In order to

overthrow him they granted Pompey, contrary to the constitution, that show of royalty which sufficed the man whose intelligence could not conceive a new order of things. For nearly a century the Republic meant nothing but murders and proscriptions, civil wars, and the overthrow of fortunes; on all sides insecurity; nowhere and for no one any comfort in living. To this state of things Cæsar wished to put an end, and we take his side against the incompetent men who sat in the Curia, styled themselves the law, and daily violated it. After having thus provoked the civil war, they were incompetent to carry it on. Pharsalia had driven them out of Greece; Thapsus drove them from Africa; and for the moment Cæsar no longer saw, throughout the whole Roman world, a single foe in arms against him. He was thus at length free to commence his reforms. Let us see whether he deserved his fortune.



Sallust.¹

When Cæsar had levied 200,000,000 sesterces² in the province, joined eastern Numidia to Africa under the government of Sallust the historian, and divided the remainder of that kingdom between Bocchus, who had the country of Setif, and Sittius, who obtained Cirta with its dependencies,³ Cæsar turned to Rome towards the end of July, 46 B.C. The senate has already decreed forty days of supplication for his victory. His triumphal car was to be drawn by white horses, as had been that of Camillus, the second founder of Rome, and was afterwards to be placed in the Capitol in front of the altar of Jupiter. A brazen statue was to be raised to him, with the globe under his feet, and with this inscription; "Cæsar, demi-god," and at the Circus he was to give the signal for the races to commence. "In order to reconstitute the Republic,"

¹ SALVSTIVS(sic) AVTOR; head of Sallust; a palm, sunk, in the field. Medallion (*Cabinet de France*), struck after Constantine, but giving the portrait of Sallust, whose bust in the Vatican (*Braccio nuovo*) does not appear to be authentic.

² Cæsar sold by auction at Zama the property of Juba and of those of the Roman citizens settled in Numidia who had sided with the king; at Utica he confiscated the possessions of all who had held commands in the Pompeian army. Thapsus paid 5,000,000 sesterces, Hadrumentum 8,000,000. Leptis was condemned to furnish yearly 3,000,000 pounds of oil; Thydrus supplied wheat. (*Bell. Afric.*, 97.)

³ Many inscriptions found near Constantine record Sittius' establishment there.

reipublicæ constituendæ causæ, he was to hold the dictatorship for ten years, which gave him the initiative in proposing laws, together



Julius Caesar with the Laurel Crown.

with the military *imperium*, or command of the armies in the city and in the provinces; for three years he was to have the censorship without a colleague, under the new name of *præfectus morum*, that is to say, the right of revising the senate and the equestrian order, and consequently the means of rewarding and punishing a great many men. With the exception of the consulship, which was given him for the year 45 without a colleague, he was to have the right of nomination to half the curule offices,¹ and to determine which should be the prætorian provinces,² and to decide upon peace or war, that is to say, that the people surrendered elective power and the senate administrative sway in his favour. In the senate he was to sit between the two consuls on a curule chair raised higher than the rest, as a symbol of his higher authority, and to give his opinion first, that is,

¹ He did not make use of this prerogative for eight months; until the month of September in the year 45, the first of his decennial dictatorship, he was sole consul. Lepidus, his master of horse, and six (or according to others, eight) prefects whom he appointed took the places of the curule magistrates. In September he resigned the consulship, which he bestowed upon two of his generals, Fabius Maximus and Trebonius. The principal affairs of the government were really in the hands of his two agents, Oppius and Balbus. (Dion, xliii. 28, 48, and Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76.)

² Dion, xliii. 51; Suet., *ibid.*, 41

he was to direct as it pleased him the deliberations of the body which, since the troublous times began, had concentrated in its hands almost all the legislative power.

He celebrated four triumphs at intervals of several days. The first triumph was over the Gauls, the second over the Egyptians, the third over Pharnaces, and the fourth over Juba. Neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus were mentioned; and before his chariot were seen only the images of the conquered kings and generals, and those of the towns captured, or of the rivers and ocean which they had crossed. Among the captives there was not one Roman; but Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoë, was there, with Juba's son and Vercingetorix, the great Gallic chief, whom the triumvirs were awaiting at the Tullianum to slay.¹ Nothing re-called Pompey to men's minds. He showed less consideration for the vanquished in Africa, who were in a manner degraded from their title of citizens by their alliance with a barbarian king. He displayed Cato, Scipio and Petreius in a picture pierced with their own swords. At that sight many hearts felt a sting; but sadness was lost in the brilliance of the festival. And the crowd were little inclined to think of all those dead men when beneath their dazzled eyes there passed a very promising sight, 60,000 talents in coined money (more than £12,000,000), and 2,822 golden crowns.² What cared the people for a poverty-stricken and counterfeit liberty when their master promised them splendid festivals. Nought was heard but the soldiers making use of their ancient right to rail with coarse jests and songs at the friend of Nicomedes and of the Gauls whom he led behind his chariot, but only to take them to the senate. "Do well," cried they, "and thou shalt be beaten; do ill and thou shalt be a king;" or again, "Good folks of the town, take care of your wives, we bring back the bald-pate gallant." Dion relates that in order to avert by an act of humility the anger of Nemesis, the goddess hostile to great fortunes, Cæsar ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees.³

¹ Arsinoë retired into the temple of Diana at Ephesus, where her sister caused her to be put to death after the battle of Philippi. Juba became a solid historian, and Augustus gave him back part of his father's possessions.

² Together they weighed 2,414 *λίτρας*, or pounds of twelve ounces. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 102.)

³ xliii. 21. Claudius did the same after the conquest of Britain (Dion, xl. 23), and it is still done in many places as an act of devotion; I have seen it at Passau, and it is often seen at

In this city, still full of the memory of the murders of the oligarchy, and where there yet lived the sons of the men proscribed by Marius and Sylla, not a single head fell, not even a tear; on all sides there was pleasure and rejoicing. After Caesar's triumph the whole Roman people reclined round 22,000 tables of three couches each, spread as if for the nobles; Chian and Falernian flowed freely, and the poorest might taste the much-



Venus on a Coin of the Year 44 B.C.²

vaunted lampreys and murenas.¹ If, far from these tables where the whole people was drinking deep, a few old Republicans stood apart, with shame on their foreheads and hatred in their hearts, they must at least have remembered, as a contrast to this domination which was beginning with feasting, that others had, not long before, begun with blood.

In the evening the victor traversed the city between four elephants bearing sparkling lustres, and on the day following came the distributions; to each citizen 105 denarii, 10 bushels of wheat, 10 pounds of oil; to all the poor the remission of a year's rent, which was no doubt paid out of the public treasury; to the legionaries 5,000 denarii per man; to the centurions twice that sum; to the tribunes four times as much. The veterans received grants of land. On the succeeding days the festivals continued in the name of his daughter Julia and of Venus, the author of his race. During the Gallic war he had bought for 60,000,000 sesterces a very large piece of ground which he had made into a new Forum, with no Republican memories and filled with the glory of his name. He had there raised a temple to *Venus Genetrix*, which he now dedicated, and placed therein a beautiful

the Scala Santa of the Lateran at Rome. "Caesar never failed, it is asserted, to repeat thrice, when he got into a carriage, a formula which should secure him against accident by the way, a precaution which to our knowledge is now generally adopted." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxviii. 4.) Incredulity and superstitious practices go very well together, answering to the double nature which man so often bears within him, doubt and faith.

¹ Counting as was customary three persons to each couch, we have 198,000 guests, or 264,000 if there were four.

² CAES. DIC. QVAR. (Caesar, dictator for the fourth time); head of Venus with diadem. On the reverse, in a laurel wreath, COS. QVINC. (consul for the fifth time). Caesar had not yet the right, which he shortly afterwards obtained, of stamping the coinage with his effigy. (See p. 382.)

statue of Cleopatra,¹ which was still to be seen there two centuries later.

Festive displays of all kinds led the people to accept this apotheosis of the Julian house; scenic representations, Trojan games, Pyrrhic dances, foot and chariot races, wrestling of athletes, hunts in which were slain wild bulls, a giraffe, the first seen at Rome, and as many as four hundred lions; a naval fight between Tyrian and Egyptian galleys, and finally a battle between two armies each containing 500 infantry, 300 horse, and twenty elephants. On this occasion the gladiators were eclipsed; some knights and the son of a praetor descended into the arena; and even senators wished to fight there. Caesar was obliged to keep his senate free from this disgrace. From all corners of Italy men had flocked to these games. So great was the crowd that people camped in the streets and cross roads under tents, and numbers of persons, among them two senators, were suffocated. Over the amphitheatre, to shield the spectators from the rays of the sun, floated a *velarium* of silk,³ a material then almost unknown at Rome, and dearer than its weight in gold.



*Venus Genetrix.*²

¹ Κλεοπάτρας εἰκόνα καλὴν. Appian saw it. (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 102.)

² Statue in the Gallery at Florence, No. 265. Several museums in Europe possess statues of *Venus Genetrix* in similar attitude.

³ Dion, xliii. 24. I doubt if there could at that time be found sufficient silk in Rome for this immense awning.

Amid these festivals with which the dictator paid for his royalty, he did not forget that he had to justify his power by securing order. Till his consulship he had relied chiefly on the people and the knights; during his command in Gaul and throughout the Civil war he had transferred this reliance to the army; now he wished to find support in a wise and moderate government which should unite parties, forget injuries, and elicit gratitude by an able and benevolent administration. Although in



Athletes Wrestling.¹

Africa he had shown himself more severe than at Pharsalia, he was determined to persevere in his clemency. He had granted to the senate the recall of the ex-consul Marcellus, to Cicero that of Ligarius; he had thrown into the fire the compromising papers found in the enemy's camps, and he only pronounced decrees of confiscation against those citizens who had enrolled themselves in the troops of the Numidian king, which he called treason to

¹ Magnificent groups from the Tribune at Florence (*la Lotta*), one of the most beautiful that antiquity has left us. It is thought to have been discovered on the Esquiline, like the Niobides, and sold, as were those statues, to the Medicis. The gardens of Mæcenas were on the Esquiline.

Rome, and against Pompeian officers; and even then he left women their dowry and children a portion of their inheritance; and finally he tried in 44 by a general *amnesty* to wipe out the last traces of the Civil war. But in spite of its name, which means forgetfulness, the amnesty never caused anything to be forgotten. A few weeks later Caesar was assassinated.

This mildness was allied with firmness; some legionaries, thinking their reign had arrived, had cried out against the expenses of the triumph, as though the money had been stolen from them; he caused one to be put to death.¹ When he gave land to his veterans, he took care that their allotments were separated, in order to avoid the violences which a number of soldiers assembled at one point would have committed against their neighbours;² and in increasing the pay of those who remained with the standards to 900 sesterces instead of 480 (£7 instead of £3 5s.); he had yielded, not to seditious clamours, but to a necessity brought about by the general rise in prices.

So much for the soldiers. As for the people, 320,000 citizens lived at Rome at the expense of the State, and all the beggars in Italy flocked to the city to profit by the distributions; he reduced the number of receivers to 150,000 by excluding from the distributions those who could do without them, and by offering to others land in the provinces;³ 80,000 accepted the offer.⁴ Thus at the same time he diminished the hungry crowd which encumbered the town, where it formed a permanent source of danger, and created centres of Roman civilization in the provinces. It was the ancient way, and no better has since been discovered, of solving by means of colonies the problem of the proletariat which England and Germany now seek to escape by wholesale emigration. But he preserved the *amona*, a great beneficial institution for benefitting the poor, who, though far from being of Roman origin,

¹ Dion xliii. 24, 50. He also mentions two men who were slain, *ἐν τῷ πύθι τῶν ἱερουργίας*, by the pontiffs and flamen of Mars, no doubt for some religious expiation, the motive of which both he and we know nothing.

² *Assignavit agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur.* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 38.)

³ He founded only six colonies in Italy, not, like Sylla, at the expense of the Italian populations, but in spots which were then almost desert, at Veii, Lanuvium, etc.

⁴ Perhaps he now created the *jus italicum*, which identified provincial and Italic soil, by exempting the *coloni* from *tributum*, and giving them quiritary possession.

represented the conquerors of the corn-producing provinces, and had inherited their right to enjoy the fruits of those victories. Every year it was the prætor's duty to replace the dead by inscribing fresh names on the list. Two ædiles, *ædiles cereales*, directed this administration, at the head of which Augustus afterwards placed a *præfectus annonæ*. Another measure tended towards the same object, the diminution of the number of idle beggars; he obliged proprietors to maintain a third part of free workmen among those engaged on their land; it was a law which had already been made and always eluded, because Rome had no permanent power interested in seeing it carried out.

The free population was decreasing; to augment the number he brought two powerful motives into play, interest and vanity. To the father of three children at Rome, four in Italy, or five in the provinces, he granted exemptions from certain personal taxes; to the matron who could boast of her fertility he gave the right to go about in a litter, to clothe herself in purple, and to wear a necklace of pearls.

He suppressed all associations formed since the Civil war, which served malcontents and ambitious schemers either to conceal their plots or to carry them into execution;¹ henceforth none could be established but with the consent of the government. There was probably a law made restricting the right to appeal to the people.² The courts were reorganized at the expense of the popular element, for he excluded the tribunes of the treasury from holding the office of judge, which he reserved for senators and knights;³ but he had admitted a large number of new men into those two orders. The regulation respecting associations deprived the nobles of a means of troubling the State; severe provisions were added to the laws against the crimes of *majesty* and violence; and the duration of a governorship of a province was fixed at one year for a prætor and two for a proconsul. A sumptuary law, quite as useless of course as those which had preceded it, attempted to diminish the insulting ostentation of the wealthy, and he began

¹ Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 42; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 10. That of the Jews at Rome was excepted on account of the service rendered by that nation in the Alexandrian war.

² At least Antony re-established it in 44. (Cic., *Philipp.*, i. 9.)

³ Dion., xliii. 25; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 43.

the reorganization of the finances by establishing custom-houses in Italy for foreign merchandise.

Thus the balance was kept equal among all classes; no order was raised above the others, and the State at length had a head who put general above party interests. But these laws, as we have too often repeated, were only palliatives. Cæsar had not time to make his ideas durable by embodying them in institutions. Augustus followed Cæsar's example without having the same excuse, and thus, through the fault of its two founders, the Empire had innumerable laws but no political organization.

The troubles of the last fifty years had increased to a deplorable extent the decay of agriculture and the depopulation of the country; free men came from all quarters to seek their fortunes at Rome, or went into the camps and provinces. Cæsar forbade any citizen between the ages of twenty and forty to remain out of Italy longer than three years, save in case of military service, the duration of which he diminished. In the distribution of land he favoured those who had numerous families; three children entitled a man to the most fertile fields; we have seen that he ordered graziers to have among their shepherds at least a third of free men,¹ and that he drove half his poor people out of Rome. This was the idea of the Gracchi, to scatter the race of free men into the country and make them multiply there. Sylla's colonists had very soon exchanged their land for a little money, and that too was soon squandered, and the ruined soldiery had readily sold themselves to faction-mongers. To render the appearance of a new Catiline impossible, Cæsar forbade his veterans to alienate their allotments except after twenty years' possession.²

There existed a perpetual cause of disorder in the disagreement between the calendar calculated on the lunar year of 355 days, and that which followed the solar year of 365 days. The nobles had made use of this for their own purposes to put forward or backward as they liked the elections and dates of expiration of public farmings. In former days the college of pontiffs had maintained the agreement between the lunar and solar years by adding intercalary days to the former; but the disturbances of

¹ Suet., *Julius Cæsar*.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 2. Cassius soon annulled this prohibition. (*Ibid.*, iii. 7.)

the last century of the Republic had spread disorder among heavenly as well as earthly phenomena; the pontiffs had neglected the necessary precautions, and the legal year, more than two months (67 days) behind the normal one, then began in October, so that "the harvest festivals no longer fell in summer, nor those of the vintage in autumn." Caesar entrusted Sosigenes, the astronomer of Alexandria, with the task of bringing the calendar into agreement with the sun's course. It was found necessary to allow the year 45, called "the last year of the confusion," 445 days, that is to say, the 67 which they were behind and the 23 of the usual intercalary month."¹

Cato might have said—and those who were left of the oligarchical party did say—that all these excellent things became evils when accomplished by an individual and not by the Republic. But the Republic had for a century past been under the obligation to carry out these reforms and had not done so.

II.—WAR IN SPAIN; MUNDA (45); CAESAR'S RETURN TO ROME.

The news which arrived from different parts of the Empire interrupted this fruitful work. The ties of patronage which at Rome had grown weaker, retained their force in the provinces, where the nobles whom the chances of politics or war had made patrons of certain nations, found assistance among those nations to aid their enterprises. The senate had everywhere strengthened the influence of the provincial aristocracy; but that aristocracy was less attached to the fortunes of Rome than to those of the proconsul who had the office of organizing the province. The heads of cities took the side of those who had conferred power upon them, under the idea that the opposite party would not fail to deprive them of it. It was interest, therefore, and not principle which decided what party a man would side with. That at Rome

¹ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 40. As the Julian year contained 365 days and six hours, Sosigenes settled that the common year should consist of 365 days three times following, and the fourth year of 366 days. This Julian year was too long by eleven minutes, twelve seconds, an error which was corrected in 1582 by the Gregorian calendar. The Russians and all nations belonging to the Greek Church still make use of the Julian calendar, and are at the present time twelve days behind us in their dates.

it was a question of Republic or monarchy, of liberty or servitude, as the oligarchy declared, mattered little. Gaul was for Caesar, because Caesar had there distributed offices and favours; for the like reason Syria and Spain were for the Pompeians. They had been among the father's clients, they remained among the children's, so that a few mistakes on the part of Caesar's lieutenants sufficed to raise again in those distant provinces the faction which had so often been beaten.

In Syria the Pompeian Cæcilius Brassus had driven out the governor appointed by Caesar, and was asserting himself independent. In Gaul a movement of the Bellovaci had been easily suppressed by Dec. Brutus, but Spain was on fire. During the Alexandrian war Q. Cassius Longinus, the Cæsarian lieutenant in Hispania Ulterior, had so thoroughly roused men's minds to revolt by his harshness and exactions that he narrowly escaped being assassinated in Hispalis (Seville), and two of his legions, composed of old Pompeian soldiers of Afranius, mutinied; but for the intervention of the governor of Hispania Citerior a civil war would have broken out. These events were of great moment. The mutineers, though they had returned to their duty, nevertheless dreaded a severe punishment, and they thought the surest means of escape was to break the military oath a second time and change sides as soon as an opportunity occurred. When the remnants of Pharsalia reassembled in Africa, the malcontents in Spain made secret overtures to Cato, and in order to conduct these negotiations at less distance, Pompey's eldest son, Cnæus, took possession of the Balearic Islands. After Thapsus he landed in the Peninsula, and his brother Sextus joined him, with Labienus and Varro from Africa. In a short time he had thirteen legions, and overcame all who tried to oppose his schemes.

At Pharsalia the nobles had united with Pompey, intending to settle with him afterwards. In Africa they had fought on their own account; and in order to make sure that the sons of their former "Agamemnon" should not reap the fruits of their perseverance, they had sent one away and assigned to the other an obscure part. But in Spain it was the name of Pompey which had collected an army, and the watchword was not *Rome*, or *Liberty*, but *Filial Piety*; it had been necessary to proclaim Cnæus

general, and he must be master after the victory. And a stern master he would make, ever threatening with the sword. Accordingly many said to themselves that it was now only a question of choosing between two tyrannies, one mild the other violent. When Cæsar left Rome at the end of September, 46, he bore with him the good wishes of his former enemies.¹

The Pompeian legions had been formed of the soldiers of Afranius who were disbanded after Lerida, of the mutineers of Longinus, the remnants of the African army, liberated slaves and dissolute adventurers from all lands. Of these thirteen legions only four containing the veterans

Coin of Ulia.²

Coin of Ulia.

were worth anything. These raw and little-disciplined troops might meet the enemy well in the day of battle, but were incapable of carrying out skilful evolutions. Cnæus Pompey dared not, there-

Coin of Corduba.³

fore, lead them into Hispania Citerior to dispute the passes of the Pyrenees with Cæsar. He did not even defend the difficult passes leading into the valley of the Guadalquivir (*Bætis*), and he allowed the Caesarians to arrive in twenty-three days in the neighbourhood of Ulia, which he was besieging, and of Corduba, which he had made his head-quarters. This country offered a total contrast to that in which the last campaign had taken place; but for various reasons it was quite as difficult to strike a decisive blow by forcing an unwilling enemy to accept battle. Being mountainous, and also fertile, it afforded impregnable positions, and water and provisions were to be found everywhere. Several months elapsed in sieges⁴

¹ See the letter of Cassius to Cicero (*ad Fam.*, xv. 19) and that of Cicero to Atticus (xii. 37), where these words occur; "It is said that Sextus fled from Corduba into Hispania Citerior; Cnæus has also fled, but I know not whither and care very little." During this campaign he wrote to Cæsar, speaking of his immortal exploits, *immortalitati laudum tuarum*. (*ad Fam.*, xiii. 15 and 16.) Yet in conversing with Atticus a few days later, he thought it a shame that Cæsar should be allowed to live, *cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis*. (*ad Att.*, xiii. 28.) But this may be translated; "When to live is itself disgraceful to me."

² Bare head, palm and crescent. On the reverse, *VLIA* and olive branches. Bronze coin.

³ *CORDVBA*; Cupid standing, holding a torch and a cornucopia. Bronze coin.

⁴ Cæsar compelled Cn. Pompey to abandon the siege of Ulia by threatening the stronghold



Pass of Despeñaperros.

and skirmishes. The cruelty of Cnæus and the dictators' impatience at being delayed by these Pompeians, whom he had already crushed twice, gave this war a character of ferocity which the struggle had not hitherto possessed; Cnæus put to death all suspected persons, and Cæsar returned him murder for murder. The decisive action at length took place on the 17th March 45 B.C., under the walls of Munda. The *Commentaries* are far from indicating that lassitude among the legions which, according to ancient writers, compelled Cæsar to rush bareheaded against the enemy crying to his veterans as they were about to flee, "Will you then give up your general to children?" He only lost a thousand men; 30,000 Pompeians fell, among them Labienus and Varro, and the eagles of the thirteen legions were captured.¹ Cnæus succeeded in reaching Carteia, whence he was soon compelled to flee. Wounded in the shoulder and in the leg, prevented by a sprain from walking, he went from mountain to mountain in a litter. At length one day, quite exhausted, he hid himself in a cave, and being there betrayed by his men, he was slain. His brother, who had not been present at the battle, succeeded in finding an asylum in the Pyrenees; he remained there till Cæsar's death, and we shall see how he afterwards raised the fortunes of his house.

One of the principal Pompeian leaders, Scapula, had taken refuge at Corduba. He could not count on Cæsar's clemency this time; those who had ordered so many massacres must perish. Scapula knew it; he remembered Cato, and followed his example, but he died as an Epicurean. "He had a funeral pile prepared for him, then ordered a splendid feast, distributed among his slaves all he possessed, and dressed in his richest garments, perfumed

of Ategua, which he captured, and then turned towards Hispalis; he also obtained possession of Ventispontum, and would have carried Carrucea had not Pompey burnt that town. Thence he continued his march towards Munda, where he was at length forced into an engagement. Munda did not stand where it is generally placed, to the south-west of Malaga. In that direction there is no such plain as the one spoken of in the history *de Bell. Hispan.*, and moreover, it is too far from the places where the two armies were operating. Munda was in the *conventus* of Astigi (Strabo, iii. 141 and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 1); it must be looked for near Cordova, towards which Appian's narrative (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 104) as well as the events following the battle (*de Bell. Hispan.*, 33-4 and 41) lead us, probably in a spot where there are still to be seen the ruins of towers and walls, between Martos, Alcaudete, Espejo, and Bena.

¹ This was the last of Cæsar's battles. According to Nicolaus Damascenus, he fought 300 fights, and adds, what is not quite true, that he was never once beaten.

with nard and resin, supped gaily. At the last cup he made ~~one~~ one of his servants kill him, whilst the best-beloved among his freedmen set fire to the pyre."¹ These voluptuous and sanguinary men, accustomed to gratify all their passions, had no longer anything to live for when adversity overtook them; they departed accepting, according to their master's advice, a lesser evil, annihilation, to avoid the greater misery.²

Of the men who in 49 sat full of hopes and threats in the Republican senate at Thessalonica, but very few were left; and those who had survived so many combats invoked the clemency of Cæsar. "Thus ended in a sea of blood," says an English historian, "the Civil war which the senators had undertaken against Cæsar in order to escape the reforms with which his second consulship threatened them. These men had done their country a service, however, by rendering for ever impossible that Republican constitution in which elections were a mockery, the tribunals an insult to justice, and the provinces the feeding-grounds of a gluttonous aristocracy."

At Rome official enthusiasm burst forth anew at the tidings of these successes. The senate decreed fifty days of supplications, and recognized Cæsar's right to extend the pomerium, since he had extended the limits of the empire. Decrees engraved in letters of gold upon silver tables, and deposited at the feet of Jupiter in the Capitol, declared that: "The dictator shall retain in all places the triumphal apparel and laurel wreath; he shall be called the father of his country, and the day of his birth shall be celebrated by sacrifices. Every year the Republic shall offer solemn vows for him; his Fortune shall be the sanction of an oath; and every five years games shall be given in his honour." After Thapsus he was more than a demi-god; after Munda he



Cæsar, Father of his Country.³

¹ *Bell. Hisp.*, 33. This book is unfortunately not completed. The last act of the war which it relates is the taking of the two cities of Munda and Ursao. Of the former of these only the name remains; of the latter, which was colonized by Cæsar, nothing but a few ruins. But from these ruins there has just emerged the most precious of epigraphic monuments, the bronzes of *Osuna*, containing a portion of the municipal constitution of the city.

² See vol. ii. p. 214, note 6, the *Ethics of Epicurus*.

³ CÆSAR PARENS PATRIÆ; head of Julius Cæsar crowned with laurels and veiled between the *apex* and the *lituus*. This coin is of later date than the one on p. 364.



Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Canina's Restoration).

was a god altogether. A statue was raised to him in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription: "To the invincible God," and a college of priests, the Julian, was consecrated to him. Was it by design that his image was also placed beside those of the kings, between Tarquin the Proud and the first Brutus? Some saw therein a threat and a foreboding; but the greater number thought it an honour. Was not Cæsar a second Romulus? The senate at least declared so by ordaining that on the Palilia with the anniversary of the foundation of the city there should be celebrated that of the victory of Munda, the second birth of Rome. New times were in fact coming, and let us not accuse these men too freely of shameful baseness when we hear them calling Cæsar the liberator and dedicating a temple to Liberty; had he not freed the world from anarchy and plunder? Repose, order, security, were not these, too, a needful liberty?

The First Brutus.¹

On the 13th September the dictator appeared at the gates of Rome, but he did not triumph till the beginning of October. This time there was no barbarian king or chieftain to veil the victories won over citizens. But Cæsar thought he had no longer need to keep up such consideration; since he was now the State, his enemies, whatever name they bore, must be enemies to the State. Indeed, the festivals, the games, and feasting of the preceding year began again with perhaps greater magnificence.² The people had complained of not being able to witness everything, strangers of not hearing all; the games were divided; each quarter of the city had its own, and each nation plays in its own language[?]. It was only fair; was not Rome now the fatherland of all peoples? Let all the tongues of the world be heard then in the world's

¹ The first Brutus, from a beautiful engraved amethyst of the Augustan age. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2111.)

² In all these pleasures Cæsar took part as little as possible; at the games he read despatches and dictated answers. (Suet., *Octav.*, 45.)

capital, as the men and things of all lands were seen there. There Cleopatra still held her court in Caesar's garden beyond the Tiber, where Cicero ventured to show himself.¹ There Moorish kings and Asiatic princes had their ambassadors. It was the concourse of nations at the foot of the rising throne. They came to salute the "saving god," and their eager glances followed neither the races in the circus nor the games in the amphitheatre, but the ancient powers erewhile so dreaded which now appeared in their humiliation; knights, senators, and even a tribune of the people descending into the arena. Laberius played as a mime in one of his own pieces. "Alas," said the old poet in his prologue, "after sixty years of a spotless life, I have left my house a knight, and shall re-enter it a mime. I have lived a day too long." We need not bestow too much pity on his lot; on entering his equestrian home again he found there 500,000 sesterces which Caesar had promised, and the gold ring which was restored to him.²

III.—CLEMENCY OF CÆSAR; HIS DICTATORSHIP; EXTENT OF HIS POWERS; CONTINUATION OF REFORMS; HIS PROJECTS.

It was expected that Caesar, having suffered so many outrages, would now punish severely, and Cicero, who had always doubted his clemency, believed that tyranny would break out as soon as the tyrant was above fear. But jealousies, recollections of party strifes, did not reach to the height of Caesar; the conqueror of Pharsalia, the nephew of Marius, gave place to the representative of the Roman world, whose every glory became, like Rome itself, his inheritance. He restored the statues of Sylla; he replaced that

¹ He even begged of the queen some Egyptian curiosities and she refused him, which stung him to the quick. (*ad Att.*, xv. 15.)

² The profession of mime ranked amongst the *infames*. Laberius was a Pompeian and had a sharp tongue; it may be that Caesar, when he asked him to play one of his own pieces, wanted to revenge himself for some mischievous words. The poet retaliated in his play by these threatening words; *Necesse est multos timeat quem ultimi timent.* (Macrob. *Saturn.*, II. iii. 10, and vii. 3.) But he also said, less haughtily, in his prologue; "I have obeyed the humble, gentle, and flattering prayer of an illustrious man. Could I refuse anything to one whom the gods have refused nothing?" When he wished to resume his seat amongst the knights they closed up so that he could not find it, and Cicero cried; "I would gladly offer you room if I were not too crowded." To which Laberius replied; "True, you always require two stools."

of Pompey on the rostra,¹ as he had formerly set up again in the Capitol the trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri; he pardoned Cassius, who had tried to assassinate him, the *consularis* Marcellus who had stirred up war against him, and Quintus Ligarius who had betrayed him in Africa. As a temporary precaution however, he forbade to the Pompeians, by a *lex Hirtia*, admission to the magistracy.²



Temple erected to Caesar's Clemency.³

For his authority, Caesar sought no new forms. Sylla, believing that the Republic could be saved by laws, had remodelled the whole constitution, without making any change in the real situation of the State; Caesar, who founded a new regime, seemed to preserve intact the ancient laws. Senate, comitia, magistracies existed as before, but he centred public action in himself alone by combining in his own hands all the Republican offices.

The instrument which Caesar used in order to give to his power legal sanction was the senate. In former times the general, after the triumph, laid aside his title of *imperator* and *imperium*, which included absolute authority over the army, the judicial department, and the administrative power; Caesar, by a decree of the senate, retained both during life, with the right of drawing freely from the treasury.⁴ His dictatorship and his office of *praefectus morum* were declared perpetual; the consulship was offered him for ten years, but he would not accept it; the senate wished to join executive to electoral authority by offering him the right of appointment in all curule and plebeian offices; he reserved for himself merely the privilege of nominating half the magistracy. The senate had enjoined the members chosen to swear, before entering on office, that they would undertake nothing contrary to



Caesar, Life-Dictator.⁴

¹ Plut., *Caesar*, 63. *Nunquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat.* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, vi. 6.)

² Cic., *Philipp.*, xiii. 16.

³ CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS surrounding a tetrastyle temple. Reverse of a silver coin of Julius Caesar.

⁴ CAESAR DICT. IN PERPETVO; head of Julius Caesar, veiled and crowned with laurel.

⁵ Cf. Dion, xliii. 55; *ibid.*, 47; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41, 84; Dion, xlv. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 106, 145; for the facts in the text.

the dictator's acts, these having the force of law. Further, they gave to his person the legal inviolability of the tribunes, and in order to ensure it, knights and senators offered to serve as guards, while the whole senate took an oath to watch over his safety.

To the reality of power were added the outward signs. In the senate, at the theatre, in the circus, on his tribunal, he sat, dressed in the royal robe, on a throne of gold, and his effigy was stamped on the coins, where the Roman magistrates had not yet ventured to engrave more than their names.¹ They even went as far as talking of succession, as in a regular monarchy. His title of



Emblems of the Pontificate.²

imperator and the sovereign pontificate were transmissible to his legitimate or adopted children,² and as he had neither, a hare-brained poet is said to have thought of proposing a law to allow Caesar to marry any woman who might appear able to give him a son.³ It was suggested that his image should be placed in the temple of Quirinus, with this inscription, *Θεὸς Ἀνίκητος*, ("To the invincible god"), and to raise another to Clemency, where his statue might be placed by the side of that of the goddess, each holding the other's hand. Caesar was not deceived by the secret perfidy which prompted such servilities, and he valued them as they deserved. But his enemies found in them fresh reasons for hating the great man who had saved them.

In this concentration of all public offices in the hands of Caesar, the old magistracies resembled the images of ancestors preserved in the *atrium* of the consular houses, a fair and dignified array of empty and lifeless forms. The senate had likewise sunk from its character of supreme council of the Republic into that of a committee of consultation, which the master often forgot to

¹ Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 7.

² Dion, xliii. 44, and xlv. 5.

³ *Uti uxores liberorum querendorum causa, quas et quot vellet ducere liceret.* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 85.) In the first place the law was not brought forward. Only the tribune Helvius Cinna was suspected of having had the intention of doing so; secondly divorce was very common at Rome, and Cinna had doubtless been inspired by the example of Hortensius asking Cato to give up his wife to him that he might have children by her, *liberorum querendorum causa*. The monstrous thing in the law proposed by Cinna was compulsory divorce. Sylla had done this, but that would have been no excuse for Caesar, who had refused the all-powerful dictator's request that he should separate himself from his wife.

⁴ *Lituus*, sprinkler, axe, and *apex*. Reverse of a silver coin of the Julian family.

consult. The Civil war had decimated it; Caesar appointed to it brave soldiers, even sons of freedmen who had served him well, and a considerable number of provincials, Spaniards, Gauls of Gallia Narbonensis who had long been Romans. He had so many services to reward, that his senate reached the number of 900 members.¹ The pride of the nobles avenged itself by raillery. "The Gauls," said they, "have changed their *braccae* for the laticlave," and notices were posted up in the streets begging the people not to show the new Conscrip Fathers the way to the Curia. But these senators were docile; they did without a murmur all that their master wished, and even more than he wished; they were not offended when *senatus-consulta*, resolved upon by Caesar alone or by the privy council convened in his house, were published in their name. One day Cicero received the thanks of a prince of Asia, who, he said, owed him his title, but of whose very existence Cicero knew nothing. He laughed, for he had conformed himself to the times, and half consoled by the royalty which he always held, that of intellect, he showed his regrets only by sarcastic jests. This character of witty critic delighted Caesar; it refreshed him after the adulation. Every morning Cicero's witticisms were reported to him, and he made a collection of them. One day he invited himself to dinner at Cicero's house,² and was delightful, his host said, but the conversation was altogether on literary subjects. Much as he loved wit, the old *consularis*, who had always considered himself a statesman, was nettled at hearing not a word of serious matters.



Caesar, Chief Pontiff.²

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Afric.*, 28; Dion, xlii. 51, and xliii. 27, 47; . . . *μηδὲν διακρίνων, μήτ' εἰ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἰ τις ἀπειλευθέρου παῖς ἦν*; Cic., *ad Fam.*, vi. 12; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76; *quosdam e semi-barbaris Gallorum*. Sylla had already brought the number of senators up to 600; Suet., *ibid.*, 80; *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit*; Dion, xliii. 27; Cic., *ad Fam.*, ix. 15.

² CAESAR IM. P(ontifex) M(aximus); a crescent behind Caesar's head crowned with laurel.

³ In the account Cicero gave to Atticus of that day (xliii. 52), he said of Caesar; *accubuit, περιτὴν agebat; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδελῶς et jucunde*. Many moderns are in the habit of exciting the appetite before going to table, or of stimulating it afresh by a sherbet taken in the middle of the repast. The means are different; the end is the same,—to eat more than is necessary. But the Roman proceeding is singularly disgusting; *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant*. (Sen., *Cons. ad Helv.*, 9.) With all their elegancies this nation combined remarkable coarseness. Cicero and his contemporaries thought the thing quite natural and a politeness to the host on the part of the guest, in order to honour the feast.

One day the senate went in a body to the temple of *Venus Genetrix* to present to Cæsar certain decrees drawn up in his honour. The demi-god was ill, and dared not leave his couch.

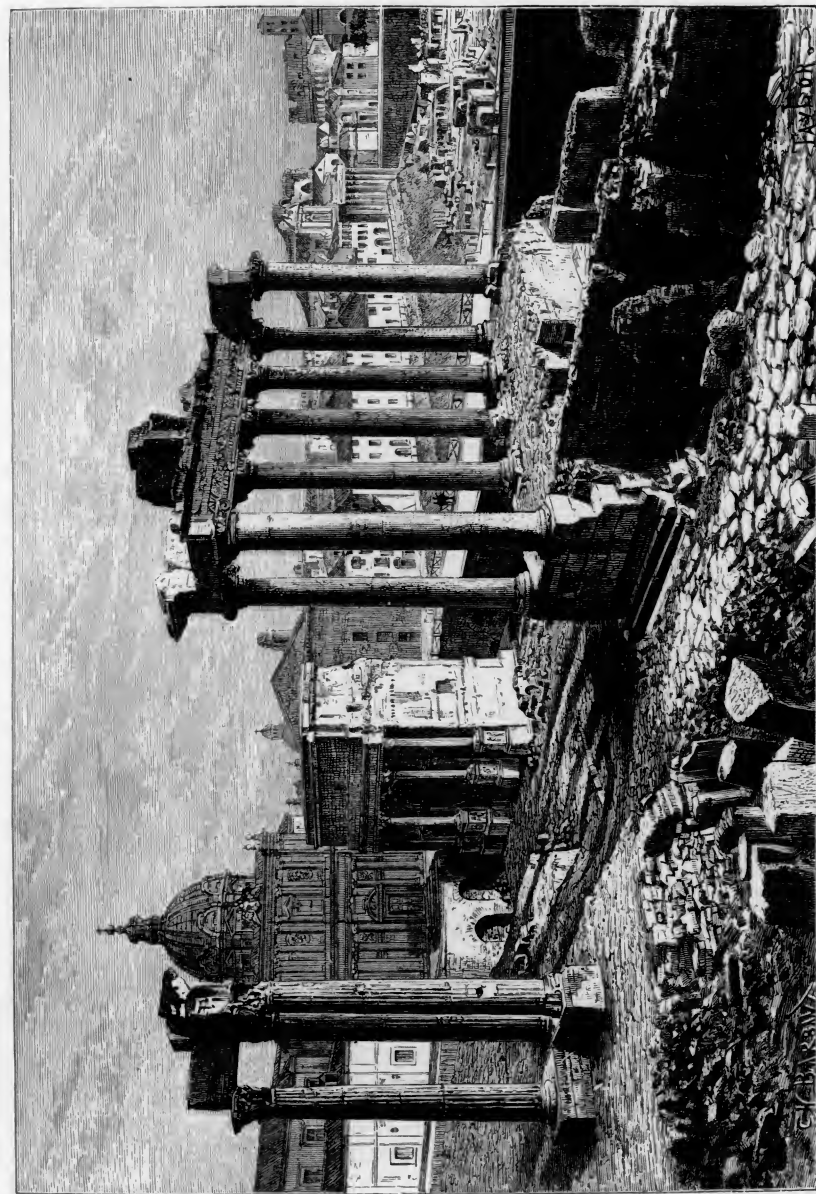
This was imprudent, for the report spread that he had not deigned to rise. Had he treated the senate with some dignity he would perhaps have succeeded in making it regarded as the legal representative of the people, and he would have added more authority to his own rule. Augustus did not make the same mistake.

He had already increased the number of the members of the sacerdotal colleges, of the prætors, the questors, and the ædiles;¹ he could not nominate more than two consuls, but the new theory of substituted consuls allowed him to give this high office to several persons in one year. The consul Fabius died on the 31st of December, 45; in a few hours the year would be ended; nevertheless a successor was appointed. "What a vigilant consul," exclaimed Cicero; "during his whole magistracy he has never slept!"

Very few patricians remained; never had consul or dictator created them; it was a kingly, almost a divine right. Cæsar created some,² a privilege apparently very important, but without real political significance, for it merely served to keep alive certain religious functions belonging to the ancient *gentes*. His nephew, the young Octavius, received at this time his patent of nobility; Cicero, the burgher of Arpinum, yielded to temptation and took his. Even the triumph lost its high character. Only a general-in-chief had the right of obtaining it; he granted it to his lieutenants. It was a religious infraction, for a lieutenant fought under the auspices of his chief. But Cæsar, who believed neither in auspices nor in gods, believed in talent, and gave the reward to him who had deserved it. Nor had he more respect for the religious formalities of the Forum. One day, when they had taken the auspices for the assembling of the tribes, he convoked the centuries.

¹ Sixteen prætors, forty questors, six ædiles, sixteen pontiffs, augurs, quin-decenvirs each. (Dion, xliii. 47.) Thus the questors gave forty new members to the senate each year.

² Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41; Dion (Hal., i. 85) says that in his day there were not more than fifty families of *Trojan origin* left.



The Roman Forum.

The people still had their comitia; they made the laws and conferred office; outwardly they were still the sovereign power, but life was lacking in their assemblies, for the candidates knew that it was Caesar's favour rather than that of the people they must seek. Some of them had but lately been known to go as far as Spain to canvass for the dictator's support.

An important innovation was the institution of *legati pro prætore*. Hitherto the legionary tribunes in succession commanded the whole legion for two months each; the legate now became ~~its~~ its permanent chief. This was a necessary concentration of the command, and these legates, nominated by the *imperator*, answered better for the execution of his orders, for the discipline and fidelity of the army.¹

The Romans were great builders, and this taste their new master shared with them. The Forum, at the foot of the Capitol, was the true centre of the town; there for six centuries the heart of old Rome had throbbed, and there her most sumptuous buildings had been raised;² Caesar removed the comitia thence, relegating them to the *Septa Julia*, in the Campus Martius, immense porticoes capable of sheltering 25,000 persons; he sent the pleaders to the Julian forum which he had built for them, and where he placed a white marble temple of *Venus Genetrix*, the founder of his race. The Forum being thus cleared, he wished to make it the most magnificent place in the world, but already his days were numbered.

There still remains as a noteworthy monument of Caesar's legislation—that municipal law, so often mentioned in the *Digest*, which shows, notwithstanding its fragmentary condition, how this powerful mind perceived the need of supplying to cities the elements of a common organization in order to bring them into a homogeneous whole. This law is not drawn up in the interest of any party, for to Caesar there was no party but the State. He left to the towns their free elections and their own jurisdiction; he excluded from their senate every man whose honour was

¹ This was no doubt the time of the legal suppression of the nomination of military tribunes by the people, which since the commencement of the civil wars must have fallen into desuetude.

² The engraving on p. 335 gives the three columns of the temple of Vespasian, the arch of Septimus Severus, and the eight columns of the temple of Saturn.

tarnished; he prescribed to them measures of ædileship demanded by public health; lastly, he required of them a quinquennial census which should furnish a sure basis for the assessment of local taxes. In ordering that the result of this operation should be sent to Rome, he gave the means of assigning to every Italian the century in which he ought to vote, a measure of order, and perhaps he showed the municipalities a device by which to stop the abuses arising in their financial administration, a measure of justice.¹

Against the absolute power of kings the moderns have applied the representative system. Against the despotism of the emperors the Romans had long established municipal liberties, which almost sufficed for the good administration of city affairs, because in the early empire the princes governed and did not administer. The *lex Julia*, which has undoubtedly served as a model for much legislation in colonies and municipalities, was therefore a benefit to the nations, since it furthered the development of that grand municipal life which for more than two centuries caused the prosperity of the provinces.²

It has another character; it marks the revolution that was working. Made for Italy, it was also made for Rome, so that the town to which the oligarchy had attempted to confine the whole Republic, whence the senate was to hold sway for ever over Italy and the provinces, became an Italian municipality. Rome continued

¹ Under the empire, a *magister a censibus*, or a *magister a libellis*, received the requests for reduction of taxes addressed to the prince. (L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.*, p. 46-70.)

² The two tables of bronze found in 1732 in the bed of the Cavaus in Lucania, called the *Tables of Heraclea*, and which date from the year 45, are unfortunately very incomplete. The first chapters, which remain to us, prescribe the formalities to be observed in order to participate in the distributions of the annona, the attention to be paid to the keeping in repair of the streets, the causeways, and the footpaths, for the traffic of cars, the removal of mud and refuse, the public leases, etc. It is in a word, a regulation of ædileship for Rome and the towns of Italy. Next come the provisions relating to the *curia*, or municipal senates, the members of which were elected for life, like the Roman senators, and the conditions to be fulfilled in canvassing the decurionate (thirty years of age, three years service in the cavalry or six in the infantry), the long list of those whom the law declares incapable of holding any public office—the herald, the director of funeral pomps or his assistant, the insolvent debtor, the man convicted of fraud, the slanderer, the *prevaricator*, those who have been expelled from the army, those who have hired themselves to fight in the arena, those who have traded with their body, and all those whom we afterwards find in the categories of the *humiliories* of the *Digest*. Lastly, chapter xi. requires the municipal officers to send to Rome within sixty days from the time the enumeration was made the census of their municipality, which was to be executed according to the formula drawn up for Rome.

to be the residence of the *imperator* of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal colleges, the city of marble palaces and statues of gold; she remained the capital of the Empire, but she was no longer the sovereign city. The Italians had the same rights as her citizens, with analogous institutions; many of the provincials were already in the same condition; and when Cæsar was in Spain, in Africa, or in Asia, the whole government was there with him. The transformation which we have set forth as necessary since the wars of Samnium and of Pyrrhus, was therefore, in course of accomplishment.

If to these laws we add one *de Sacerdotiis*, which has been lost, but is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters, and of which we find one provision in the bronzes of Osuna, we shall see that Cæsar had included the whole of the Roman institutions in his vast scheme of reform.

Thus everything was changed in reality, but, viewed from a distance, it seemed that very few things were new. The royalty of Cæsar recalled that of Pompey, of Sylla, of Marius, even of C. Gracchus. No court, no guards surrounded the master; he dwelt in the *Regia*, the residence of the chief pontiff, where he lived amidst a few friends whose faithfulness he had long since proved—Lepidus and Marc Antony, to whom he had entrusted Rome and Italy during his first war in Spain; Hirtius, the writer of the eighth book of the *Commentaries of the Gallic Wars*; C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus of Gades, the confidants of his most secret thoughts; the Roman knight Mamurra, his clever engineer (*præfectus fabrum*), and others. Freedmen drew up the despatches, the substance of which a clear and exact minute had given them. This government of 60,000,000 men was carried on in a few rooms.

The higher nobles remained apart, not from honours, but from power; but they forgot neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus. They would have consented to obey on condition of having the appearance of commanding. This disguised obedience is for an able government more convenient than outward servility. A few concessions made to vanity obtain tranquil possession of power. This was the policy of Augustus, but it is not that of great ambitions or of a true statesman. These pretences leave

everything doubtful; nothing is settled; and Caesar wished to lay the foundations of a government which should bring a new order of things out of a chaos of ruins. Unless we are paying too much attention to mere anecdotes, he desired the royal diadem. The consulship, the dictatorship, the office of *præfectus morum*, all this, even the life tenure of them, seemed still to belong to the Republic; the name of king would have introduced monarchy, heredity in power, order in administration, unity in law. It is difficult not to believe that Caesar considered the constituting of a monarchical power as the rational achievement of the revolution which he was carrying out. In this way we could explain the persistence of his friends in offering him a title odious to the Romans, who were quite ready to accept a monarch, but not monarchy.¹ One morning, wreaths of laurel interlaced with the royal diadem were seen on his statues. Two tribunes removed them and imprisoned those who had placed them there. Another day, when he had just been celebrating on the Alban Mount the Latin *feriae*, among the cries which greeted his progress was heard that of king. "I do not call myself king," said he, "but Caesar." The tribunes again caused the offenders to be seized. This time Caesar was displeased with their excessive zeal; he accused them in the senate of having anticipated his justice, and they were dismissed notwithstanding their inviolability.

No one was deceived as to the motive of this anger. At the festival of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February, 44, the dictator, with his head encircled with a wreath of laurel, sat on his chair of gold on the rostra. Antony, then consul-elect, offered him a diadem, saying; "Behold what the Roman people send thee." The crowd remained silent; Caesar thrust it aside, and applause broke forth. A second time he rejected it; there were cheers throughout all the Forum. "Jupiter," said Caesar, "is the only king of the Romans; to him this diadem belongs." Then he caused it to be carried to the Capitol. In the *Fasti* he commanded it to be written that the Roman people by one of their consuls had offered him royalty, and that he had refused it. But at the same time the report spread that the Sibylline Books,

¹ Cic., *Philipp.*, ii. 34; Dion, xliv. 11.

on being consulted, had replied that the Parthians would be conquered only by a king.

In order to attain to this royal title, the culmination of all others, or rather, in order to cover the power gained in civil war by glory acquired in a national one, he must mount still higher, and this new greatness he would seek in the East.

Grave events were happening in the valley of the Danube. A clever chief, Byrebistas, assisted by the high priest of Zalmoxis, had just effected among the Getæ a political and religious revolution. He had united all their tribes into one national body, had torn up all the vines of the country in order to condemn the inhabitants to sobriety, and had subjected to the severest discipline these men who believed they went to a blissful immortality when they died in battle. He had already crossed the Danube at the head of 200,000 men. Towns were reduced to ashes; multitudes of men, women, and children were carried off to the foot of the Carpathians to cultivate the fields of their new masters; Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyria trembled.² To stop this invasion was not the same thing as the mad project which has been attributed to Caesar of subjugating the whole barbarian world. It was to contend with a new Ariovistus, more formidable than the first, and by his defeat to guarantee the frontier of the Danube, as the defeat of the Suevi had guaranteed that of the Rhine.

Into Asia other reasons summoned him. It was meet that he should wipe out the second military humiliation of Rome after effacing the first; that he should avenge Crassus; recapture in conquered Ctesiphon the eagles of the legions; reopen the way home, to the Romans who were in captivity among the barbarians. This war was popular at Rome. When Caesar returned from Munda, Cicero, who is often an echo of opinion, prepared a letter, in which, congratulating him on his successes in Spain, he promised him still greater at the other extremity of the world.³



Coin of Caesar of the Year 44.¹

¹ That is to say, after Caesar had obtained the right to put his image on the coinage. CAESAR DICT. QVART.; head of Caesar crowned with laurel; behind it, the *lituus*.

² Strabo, vii. 3, 5, and 11; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 44. Byrebistas was killed in an insurrection about the time of Caesar's death, and the Getan empire fell with him.

³ *Ad Att.*, xiii. 27 and 30.

The nobles approved of this expedition, during which the arrow of a Parthian might perhaps do what the sword of the Gaul had not done, and we do not exaggerate Cicero's inmost sentiments when we suppose that this homicidal idea which had occurred to him more than once had crept in under his brilliant panegyric, as the asp of Cleopatra hid itself amongst the flowers. But this war pleased Caesar's manly genius, his soldierly instincts, and his ideas of policy. This work accomplished, the glorious leader, whose horse had drunk of the waters of the Danube and the Tigris, of the Thames and the rivers of Africa, would have returned to assume in his Babylon of the west the crown of Alexander, or, failing that, to make everyone recognize the necessity for such a vast empire, of a monarchical government, whatever name the monarch might assume. Then, as peaceful master of the world, he would have cut the isthmus of Corinth, drained the Pontine marshes, pierced the mountains enclosing Lake Fucinus, and laid down a high road across the Apennines from the Adriatic to the Tuscan Sea. Rome, the capital of the universal empire, would be enlarged by all the space that the Tiber would yield, diverted from its bed at the Pons Milvius and flowing to the west of the Janiculum. In the Vatican plain a colossal temple to Mars; at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock an immense amphitheatre; at Ostia a large and safe harbour.¹

But these were to be the least of his labours. Firmly persuaded of the need of organizing this assemblage of nations, which the sword had joined together, but the law kept asunder, he was anxious to collect and arrange all the Roman laws in one single code, in order to simplify and spread the knowledge of them everywhere. Already one of his intimate friends, the learned *juris-consultus* Aulus Ofilius, had undertaken a codification of the praetorian edicts,² and he himself had had drawn up for the whole of Italy the municipal law which all the provincial cities were to copy. In order to secure the provinces against senatorial exactions, he forbade the senators to appear there without an official

¹ Plut., *Cæsar* Dion, xliii. 50; xlv. 5; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 44.

² *Is fuit Cæsari familiarissimus libros de jure civili plurimos reliquit. . . . Edictum prætoris primus diligenter composuit.* (Dig., i. 2, 2, 44.) Salvius Julianus resumed this work under Hadrian.

commission, and he paid the governors, that they might not pay themselves by continuing the extortions of former times.¹ He



Mausoleum of Julius (see its bas-reliefs, p. 172 and 173).

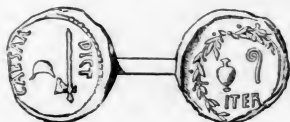
remembered that a consul of his name and his race gave the Roman citizenship to the Italians, and though the time had not

¹ Dion, lii. 15.

come for bestowing the same right on all subjects, he at least increased the Roman element amongst them; 80,000 colonists carried across the seas the customs and language of Rome. The whole of Sicily was about to obtain the *jus Latii*; the *civitas* was conferred on the Transpadani,¹ on the legion of "the Lark,"² on all who had served him faithfully, and even on Jews. On the banks of the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhone numbers of Gauls bore his name, and one of these families had already perhaps erected in his honour a beautiful building, the mausoleum of the Julii, which recalls their gratitude and his battles.

He had rewards for those who had been useful to him in time of war; many provincials were admitted to his senate; he had rewards too for those who were useful in peace; he gave the citizenship to foreign physicians and professors of the liberal arts settled at Rome, that is to say, to the aristocracy of intellect, as the senate had formerly granted it to the aristocracy of the municipia of Latium. We see by a fragment of Gaius (I. 33) that the *jus quiritium* was guaranteed to the provincial who devoted a part of his patrimony to the building of some public edifice. This law, which has covered the Roman world with monuments, appears to be borrowed from the *lex Julia* of Cæsar.

During the African war he had seen in a dream a large army in tears demanding back from him their fatherland; on his awakening he had written on his tablets the names of Corinth and Carthage. These two ruined towers testified to the vengeance of the senate; he had restored them. Thus great injustices were repaired, bonds multiplied, reconciliations effected.



Aureus of Cæsar.

¹ He gave them the right of citizenship and a municipal constitution. (Dion, xli. 36.) In 42 the Transpadane obtained the *jus Italicum*, that is to say, exemption from the land-tax and from military service. It still retained however, its character of province for some time, for Manius reproaches Octavius with having taken it away from Antony by declaring it free. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 3, and 22; Dion, xlviii. 12.) The number of citizens, which was only, according to *Epit.* xcviii. of Livy, 450,000 in the year 70, had increased tenfold in the year 28. Some writers double the figure of the year 70; still the increase is enormous, and must be attributed to Cæsar for the most part.

² The soldiers of this legion were called *Alaudæ*, the Larks, *ex legione Alaudarum*, says Cicero. (*Philipp.*, i. 8, etc.)

³ The *aureus* of Cæsar was worth £1 ls. 7d., and was coined in enormous quantities. It

Long ago the Hellenic divinities had received the right of Roman citizenship; the writers who had made the glory of foreign nations were now in their turn to obtain it. Varro was charged to collect in a public library all the productions of human thought, in order that Rome might be also the metropolis of intellect. The people's turn would come after that of their gods and their great men.

With this noble design of reparation and unity were connected the monetary reform, which made the *aureus* of Cæsar the most convenient coin for commerce and the standard of value under the Empire; the reform of the calendar so thoroughly accomplished that, with a slight modification, the Julian calendar is still used

by us;² lastly, the order given to three Greek geometers to survey the Empire in order to measure the distances, and draw up



Lepidus.

was of pure metal, exact weight, and was put in circulation for its real value, which fact, after the monetary disturbances of recent times, caused it to be received with great favour. We say the *aureus* was worth £1 ls. 7d. because it contained 121·26 grains of fine metal. Only one estimate of the value of coins is really possible, that of their intrinsic value found by aid of weighing and chemical analyses which make known the quantity of fine metal they contain. As to their exchange value, it is very difficult to fix, seeing that the proportion of value between metals is constantly changing in consequence of the abundance of one and the rarity of another, and because the power of exchange, that is to say, the quantity of merchandize one can obtain with a certain sum, is not the same, either in all ages or even all the localities of a country.

¹ Bust of the triumvir Lepidus found at Tor Sapienza. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 106.)

² See p. 370.

the register of the survey, a work preliminary to a re-organization of provincial and financial administration.¹

In order to accomplish such things time was necessary, and Cæsar had lost more than a quarter of a century in rising to the first rank. But he was only fifty-seven. He had still years enough before him to complete his great designs. The prepara-



Victory of Apollonia.²

tions for war against the Parthians were finished; he had distributed the offices and provinces for three years (44-42). Antonius was his colleague in the consulship, and he had promised Dolabella that he would abdicate in his favour when he set out for Asia. Hirtius and Pansa were to have the fasces in 43; Decimus Brutus and Numatius Plancus in 42. Brutus and Cassius were prætors. Lepidus was to resign to Domitius Calvinus the office of master of the horse in order to take the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. Asinius Pollio received that of Hispania Ulterior; the other provinces were equally distributed. Sixteen legions had crossed the Adriatic, and the young Octavius, his adopted son, awaited him at Apollonia; a few days more and Cæsar would have been in the midst of his faithful veterans. A report spread that before leaving Rome he would make a last effort with the senate, and that, at the sitting announced for the ides of March, it would be discussed whether Cæsar, while remaining dictator in Italy, could not wear the crown in the provinces as king of the subject nations. This day of the

¹ This work, continued after Cæsar's time, served to draw up the famous chart of Agrippa (pl. lii. 3) and to assess the taxes in a much fairer way according to the nature of the lands. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. 2.)

² Museum of the Louvre.

ides, which in the opinion of the last of the republicans would establish tyranny for ever, they fixed upon for the day of expiation.

IV.—CONSPIRACY; ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR.

The swords broken at Pharsalia, at Thapsus, and at Munda were exchanged for daggers. A conspiracy had been formed several months previously, for all the republicans had not fallen in the battles of the Civil war; some might be found even surrounding Cæsar and amongst his friends.

This party was composed of malcontents whose services had not been rewarded according to their wishes, and of men sated with wealth and honours, who had nothing more to expect from Cæsar, and who thought it would get a good thing to be rid of a chief who was so predominant. With them were found enthusiasts to whom the Republic was a religion, and theorists who aired empty speculations instead of observing facts. Then came the brawlers of the Forum, who could no longer arrive at power by seditious harangues, and the conservatives whose interests and habits resented every innovation, even the most necessary. Resigned beforehand to be the booty of the conqueror, they were none the less Republican at heart, like Atticus, the perfect type of an egotist, who from Sylla to Augustus managed to live through all the civil wars and proscriptions without losing fortune or life. Others, former consuls, prætors, and governors of provinces, who had each enjoyed two or three years of sovereignty, did not like the idea of falling into the condition of those servile nations of the East, always prostrate at the feet of one man. Amongst them were found very honest men, Cicero for example, who had made his fortune by speeches, and whom silence exasperated.¹ Having no more to make speeches, he wrote gloomy books, such as the first *Tusculan* on the contempt of death, which implied that it was not possible to live under the government of Cæsar. Other persons appointed to high offices showed in private the same anger, while

¹ Cicero, far more than Lucan, was the originator of the legend about Roman liberty being killed by Cæsar.

all the time they were in liberal enjoyment of the master's favour. Such were Turfanius, commander in Sicily, Cornificius in Africa, Servilius Isauricus in Asia, Sulpicius in Greece. They discussed confidentially the misfortunes of the Republic, and one of them, to console Cicero on the death of his daughter, wrote to him: "Fortune has deprived us of the possessions which we ought to love as much as our children, fatherland, dignity, and all our honours.

Julius Caesar.²

What signifies a fresh disgrace added to all our misfortunes? In the sad times in which we live they are the happiest who, without grief, exchange their life for death." To love one's fatherland as much as one's children is well; but in Caesar's hands the country was in no peril; one thing only was in danger, and they themselves said so, their honours and their dignities.¹

At Pharsalia they might have still hoped that the struggle was the conflict of two ambitions which would be extinguished like that of Sylla in the enjoyment of constitutional powers; after Thapsus, after Munda, no one could any

longer doubt that monarchy would be established. Since the foundation of the Republic the Roman aristocracy had skilfully fostered among the people a horror of the name of king. With this word they had rid themselves of Sp. Cassius, of Manlius, of Mælius, and of the first of the Gracchi; with it they again succeeded in freeing themselves of Caesar. "It was you," exclaimed Cicero afterwards in one of his *Philippics* against Antony, "it was you who killed

¹ . . . *Honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes.* (Sulpicius to Cicero, *ad Fam.*, iv. 5.)

² Museum of Naples. A colossal bust belonging to the Farnese collection, considered one of the authentic portraits of Caesar.

Cæsar at the festival of the Lupercalia when you offered him the royal diadem." And Cicero spoke truly. Though the monarchic solution answered to the needs of the times, it was almost inevitable that the first monarch should pay for his royalty, like Henry IV. of France, with his life.

The chief of the conspiracy was C. Cassius Longinus,¹ the general who had saved the army of Crassus, and had, almost without troops, defended Syria against the Parthians. After Pharsalia, he had been pardoned, and Cæsar had just given him the prætorship with the government of Syria, but this ambitious and malignant man did not forgive the dictator for having

Coin of Megara.¹

Coin of Megara.

nominated M. Junius Brutus to the urban prætorship before him. He had older grievances. Before his ædileship he kept lions at Megara; Cæsar had taken them from him; besides, he was conscious of being only second in the master's favour. He resolved to overthrow him by assassination, since open war had not succeeded. Accomplices were necessary; he naturally sought them in the Pompeian party, where the ranks were so cleared that he saw no one who could prove an obstacle to him. He sounded Brutus.

As nephew and son-in-law[?] of Cato,³ Brutus seemed to be the inheritor of his virtues, and he ended in being inheritor of his passion for that oligarchical government which restricted equality to a small number, but gave to those few men a singular greatness. He remained a long time without taking any side. Though during the first Civil war he had declared for Pompey, the assassin of his father,⁴ it was with very little ardour, for on the eve of Pharsalia, when all the camp was in commotion, he was reading and annotating Polybius. His mother Servilia had been the object of the most ardent and persevering of Cæsar's affections, and before the battle he gave orders that care should be taken to spare young Brutus. From Larissa the young man sent his submission to the

¹ He must not be confounded with Q. Cassius Longinus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants.

² Head of Apollo crowned with laurel. On the reverse, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, and a seven-stringed lyre. Bronze coin of Megara.

³ Cato had two daughters named Portia. Th. Mommsen does not believe that the wife of Brutus was one of the two. (Cf. *Hermes*, vol. xv. p. 99.)

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 745.

conqueror, by whom he was received with kindness, and obtained from him the government of Gallia Cisalpina, although he had not before held any great office. He showed himself grateful, did not rejoin the Pompeians either in Africa or in Spain; and when the ex-consul Marcellus, recalled by the dictator, fell in Athens by an assassin, he composed a pamphlet exonerating Caesar, who was accused of the murder. Thus it was said that Cassius hated only the tyrant; Brutus loved him, but detested the tyranny. This was not quite true, because we see him without scruple solicit offices from Caesar, who gave him the urban prætorship and the important governorship of Macedonia. But they laid siege to this soul, feeble under its apparent strength; Cassius represented to him that Rome would soon be replaced as capital of the Empire by Ilion and Alexandria, where their master would hold his royal court. Atticus had forged a genealogy for him which, notwithstanding the famous story of the execution of the sons of the first Brutus, made him out to be descended from the avenger of the aristocratic privileges.¹ In order to urge him, to win him over to the conspiracy, they represented to him that the nobles, the senate, and the populace had no hope but in him; they fascinated, they intoxicated him with the fierce doctrine of tyrannicide. At the foot of the statue of the elder Brutus, and on the tribunal where he himself sat as prætor, he found written: "O Brutus, would to heaven thou wert still alive!" If thy spirit but breathed in one of thy descendants! And, again, "Sleepest thou, Brutus?" "Nay, thou art not Brutus!"

It was not without long struggles that Caesar's friend yielded to these temptations. During his sleepless nights he recalled what he had heard chaunted in Athens in the midst of religious solemnities: "I'll wreath my sword in the myrtle bough, the sword that laid the tyrant low." He repeated to himself, "Our ancestors too did not believe that one could endure a master." In a very noble and very haughty letter written later, we read these hard words: "If my father rose from his tomb to assume an authority superior to the laws and the senate, I would not

¹ It has been said that Caesar believed him to be his son: their respective ages are an objection to this, but not an insuperable one. Caesar was seventeen years older than Brutus, who was born in 85.

tolerate it." He succumbed to these sophisms of the schools wherein politics had no place, and in order to preserve for the senate a power which he confounded with liberty, he decided on the murder of the man who had been to him as a father. Like all fanatics possessed with one idea, he believed that he was the instrument of a necessary vengeance, and celebrated as the day of his deliverance that in which his resolution was taken.¹

His name gained others; Ligarius, who forgot Caesar's clemency; Pontius Aquila, a former tribune, who had recently taken his office in earnest, to the great amusement of the dictator and his friends; Sextius Naso, Rubrius Ruga, Cæcilius Bucilianus and his brother; Decimus Brutus, one of the best lieutenants of Caesar, who had richly rewarded him,² and L. Tullius Cimber, whom Caesar

had also loaded with favours; the two Cascas; Trebonius, a general unfortunate in Spain, and who did not consider the promise of an early consulship sufficient for his merits;

Brutus.³

¹ *Neque incolumis Cesare vivo fui, nisi postea quam illud conscivi facinus.* (Cic., *ad Brut.*, 16; Cf. *ibid.*, 17.) We have seen (vol. ii. p. 632) that Brutus had no pity for the provincials, and that he exercised most shameful usury. Montesquieu says (*Grand. et déc. des Rom.*, chap. xi.): "There was a certain law of nations in the Republics of Greece and Italy which led people to regard the assassin of one who had usurped sovereign power as a virtuous man." I cannot concede this law in the case of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was expelled less as a tyrant than as a foreign ruler. (Vol. i. p. 134.) Cassius (*ibid.*, p. 172), Mælius (*ibid.*, 237), Manlius (*ibid.*, 279), and the Gracchi (vol. ii., chap. xxxviii.), were victims of the aristocracy and not usurpers or men who wished to be such. I find among ancient authors no one but Cicero who glorified the murder of Caesar; Suetonius merely says (*Julius Caesar*, 76): *Prægravant cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut . . . jure cæsus existimetur.*

² He possessed more than half a million of money. (*ad Fam.*, xi. 10.)

³ Bust from the Museum of Naples, No. 876. It was found at Pompeii in November, 1869, in the house of Popidius.

Sulpicius Galba, irritated at being refused that office; Minucius Basilus, one of the dictator's favourite officers, who had not yet obtained a province; Cassius of Parma, Antistius Labeo, Petronius, Turullius; in all about sixty; far more than was necessary to assassinate a man who took no care of himself. Favonius, the imitator of Cato, had not forgotten the experience of the last four years; sounded by Brutus, he replied that the most unjust monarchy was preferable to civil war. Cicero, though connected with the chief conspirators, knew nothing; nevertheless he thoroughly deserved to be in the plot, for he had, even before Pharsalia, deemed the death of Caesar necessary.¹ But they doubted his courage, and they were right. The brilliant advocate who remained, in spite of Caesar's blandishments, the enemy of a government where speech was no longer everything, would have hesitated at the moment of action, and hindered the men whose ambition or fanaticism knew no scruples.

Caesar received ample warnings. Some came from heaven, which men told after the event; fires seen in mid-air, sounds at night, the appearance in the Forum of birds of ill omen, the horses which he had driven at the passage of the Rubicon refusing to eat and shedding tears, a diviner who warned him to beware of the day of the ides, etc. He had more serious revelations; he was told of a conspiracy into which Brutus had entered. "Brutus," said he, touching himself, "will certainly await the end of this miserable body." One day however, when some one directed his suspicions towards Dolabella and Antony, "It is not these men who are such good table-companions that I dread, but people of pallid and lean countenance." He meant Brutus and Cassius. Antony was a faithful lieutenant, and Caesar treated Dolabella with a favour which neither his age nor his services explained. He was a young noble of turbulent character, overwhelmed with debts, longing for proscriptions to pay them, and displeased with the dictator, who made none. He was justly suspected, for we shall see how on the day following the ides of March he joined the murderers. Caesar, without fearing him, kept a watch on

¹ See above, p. 284, the 2nd *Philippic* (*passim*), and a letter to Decimus Brutus (*ad Fam.* xi. 5).

him. When outside Rome he rode past the house of Dolabella, the soldiers of his prætorian cohort, instead of following him, surrounded his horse.

Caesar grew impatient of these whispered threats, and refused to believe them, or at least to think of them. "Rome," said he, "is more interested in my life than I;" and he had dismissed his Spanish guard.¹ On the night before the ides, supping at the house of Lepidus with one of the conspirators, the conversation turned on death: "The best," he said, "is the least expected; better die once than be continually in fear."

The conspirators were uneasy, unsettled. Cassius wished to kill Antony and Lepidus, together with their chief. Brutus insisted that only one blow should be struck; in his delusion he imagined that, were the tyrant once dead, liberty would revive of itself, and he was unwilling to stain his triumph with more blood. In public his demeanour was calm, his mind made up; but in solitude, especially at night, his trouble and agitation revealed the struggles of this diseased soul with its false heroism. His wife Portia saw that he meditated some great design; to prove her courage and strength, before asking him the secret, she gave herself, it is said, a severe wound in the thigh.

On the day of the ides (the 15th March, 44) the conspirators repaired early to the senate; several of them being obliged as prætors to dispense justice, sat in their court while awaiting Caesar; he was late; Calpurnia, disturbed by a frightful dream, had desired that he should consult the victims, and the augurs had forbidden him to go out. He determined to postpone the sitting to another day; but at that moment Decimus Brutus entered; he made him ashamed of yielding to the vague fears of a woman, and taking his hand, drew him away. Caesar had scarcely passed the threshold when a foreign slave, who had not been able to speak to him on account of the crowd, came and delivered himself up into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to protect him until the return of Caesar. Artemidorus of Cnidus, who taught Greek literature at Rome, conveyed to him the whole

¹ He appears however, to have retained his prætorian cohort or a body of troops. When he travelled to Campania in December, 45, going from villa to villa, he was accompanied by 2,000 soldiers. (*ad Att.*, xiii. 52.)

scheme of the conspiracy. "Read," he said to him, "this writing, alone and at once." He could not find time for it. The conspirators had other grounds for uneasiness. One man said to Casca: "You made your secret a mystery to me, but Brutus has



Brutus holding the Dagger.¹

told me the matter." Casca, much astonished and troubled, was about to reveal everything, when the other added laughing: "And how could you become in so short a time rich enough to canvass the adileship?" A senator, Popilius Lænas, saluting Brutus and Cassius more eagerly than usual, whispered to them: "I pray the gods to give a favourable issue to the scheme you meditate, but I advise you not to lose a moment, for it is no longer a secret." He departed, leaving in their minds great misgivings that the conspiracy was discovered.

Meanwhile Portia had not been able to endure the anguish of suspense; she had swooned, they thought she was dead, and a slave ran to announce it to Brutus.

Subduing his grief he entered the senate, where Cæsar at last arrived. "At the doors of the Curia the same Popilius Lænas, who knew everything, had a long conversation with Cæsar, to which the dictator seemed to give the greatest attention. The conspirators, who could not hear what he said, feared he was denouncing them; they glanced at

¹ Statue from the villa Albani. (Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 911, No. 2319.)

each other, and warned each other by a stern look not to wait until they were seized, but to forestall the lictors by a voluntary death. Cassius and some others had already put their hands under their robes to draw out a dagger, when Brutus perceived by the gestures of Lænas that the point in question between him and Cæsar was a very earnest petition. He said nothing to the conspirators, for there were amongst them many senators who were not in the secret, but by the gaiety he exhibited he reassured Cassius, and soon afterwards Lænas, kissing Cæsar's hand, withdrew.

"When the senate had entered into the hall the conspirators surrounded Cæsar's seat, pretending to await him in order to speak to him of some matter, and Cassius, fixing his eyes, it is said, on the statue of Pompey, invoked it, as if it were able to hear him. Trebonius stopped Antony near the door and began a conversation in order to detain him outside of the hall. When Cæsar entered, all the senators rose, and as soon as he was seated the conspirators, pressing round him, made Tullius Cimber, recently appointed governor of Bithynia, advance and request of Cæsar the recall of his brother. They joined their prayers to his, taking Cæsar's hand and kissing him on the breast and head. He at first refused such urgent prayers, and as they persisted, he rose to repel them by force. Then Tullius tore off the upper part of his toga, and Casca, who was behind him, struck the first blow; the wound was not a deep one. Cæsar, seizing the hilt of the weapon, exclaimed in Latin; 'Casca, thou villain, what doest thou?' Casca, in the Greek tongue, called his brother to his aid. Assailed by so many blows all at once Cæsar cast a look round to seek a defender; when he saw Brutus also lifting his dagger against him he let go Casca's hand, which he still held, and covering his head with his toga, he yielded his body to the swords of the conspirators. As they all struck at once and indiscriminately, and as they pressed closely around him several were wounded. Brutus, who was eager to have a share in the murder, received a wound in the hand; all the others were covered with blood."¹ The hero fell at the foot of Pompey's statue.

¹ Of twenty-three wounds only one was mortal. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 86.) Nicolaus Damascenus reckons them at thirty-five. Only two senators made any attempt to defend him; their names deserve to be remembered—Sabinus Calvisius and Censorinus.

V.—ESTIMATE OF CÆSAR'S POLICY.

Cæsar was the most complete man that Rome ever produced, one in whom was shown the most harmonious development of all faculties: an orator of manly utterance;¹ a sober writer, free from the false glitter of hired eloquence; an intrepid soldier from the day when it became necessary, and a general equal to the greatest as soon as he appeared with the armies. His mind, open to the lessons of life, forgot none of the counsels which it gives,² and always calm amidst the wildest agitations, was obscured neither by anger nor by passion.³ Accordingly he saw things in their true light and went straight at what was practicable. His vices did not disturb his strong intellect, his pleasures never injured his business.⁴ Even his victories never dazzled him. Though founder of a military monarchy, he by no means gave the first place to the army; he continued master of his soldiers as of himself, and dominating from the summit of his fortune the world as it lay stretched at his feet, he never gave way to the intoxication of pride which has so often clouded the understanding even of superior men.

He had the greatest of advantages—favourable circumstances and mediocrity in his adversaries,⁵ but he found another advantage in himself—the talent of transforming the men and the things of the moment into instruments suitable to his plans. As he alone, in the midst of blunderers, had a fixed purpose, his powerful and calm will made everything tend to a single end, and he attained it. What does the astonishing fidelity of the Gauls during the Civil war indicate but that cleverness in appropriating to himself

¹ Cicero says of Cæsar's style: *Nudi omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste detracta*, and Mr. Froude adds; "Like an undraped human figure perfect in all its lines as nature made it." (*Cæsar*, p. 489.)

² He used to say that experience was a great master; *est rerum omnium magister usus*. (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 8.)

³ *Moderate solebat irasci*. (Seneca, *de Ira*, ii. 23.) "He never gave way to passion." (Dion, xxxviii. 11.)

⁴ See, on Cleopatra and on Cæsar's stay in Alexandria, p. 327.

⁵ "Cæsar had not overthrown the oligarchy; their own incapacity, their own selfishness, their own baseness had overthrown them. Cæsar had been but the reluctant instrument of the power which metes out to men the inevitable penalties of their own misdeeds." (Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 471.) Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*) and Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879) are of nearly the same opinion as Mr. Froude.

living forces, which is the highest gift of a commander? More than once he did violence to fortune: in his youth by enormous debts; later by military rashness; but his audacity was calculated and his temerity prudent; they allowed him to demand every effort from his friends and soldiers. His army was his family, and he was loved by his soldiers with the most entire devotion. One of his centurions having fallen into the hands of the Pompeians in Africa, refused, though threatened with death, to enrol himself in the enemy's ranks; "Give me ten of my comrades," he said to Scipio, "send 500 of your men against us, and see what we can do."¹ Further, he could boast as many victories as battles, and only two checks,² very quickly and gloriously repaired.

Clementia.³

Even on his enemies his charm operated, for he employed against them a weapon new to Rome, clemency, and it was so natural to him that we find it in his writings, where not a word is said hurtful to his enemies. The glory of the great man who fell under the dagger of Brutus does not consist only in military

¹ *De Bell. Afric.*, 45.

² Before Gergovia and at Dyrrachium.

³ Statue in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, No. 74.)

success and wise statesmanship, but also in kindness. Between two reigns of terror, one preceding him, the other following, he repudiated the savage customs of the Roman people of that time by being unwilling to confiscate or proscribe. Suetonius, who bears him neither hatred nor affection, concludes his portrait of Caesar; "He was gentle and good, *lenissimus*."

He reigned five years, during which he made seven campaigns, and he did not live in Rome for more than fifteen months. But between battles his thoughts were of the reforms needed by the State; the mere enumeration of those he undertook would imply a long life of repose and meditation.

Devoted by his family traditions to the defence of popular interests, he looked higher still to the interests of the State, without hatred to the aristocracy or servility to the people. The struggle in which the oligarchy engaged him enlarged his horizon; he saw that the safety of the Republic demanded something more than the relief of the miseries of the plebeians of Rome, as the Gracchi had wished, or the punishment of the extortioners of the provinces, which Sylla had tried. He understood that it was necessary to convert a municipal constitution, such as that of Rome, into an impaired constitution, and to accomplish this, the right of citizenship must be largely bestowed, the senate transformed into a representative assembly of the whole Empire, and the governors placed under the power of a permanent chief, whose interest it should be to make justice prevail that peace might reign.

The Romans had an admirable State council in the old Republican senate, but they had only two great statesmen, Sylla and Caesar, who both recognized that the popular assembly was incapable of managing the interests of 60,000,000 of men. The one, a workman of the past, constituted an aristocratic government, which, had it lasted, would have been in ancient times what Venice might have become in the Middle Ages if she had had neither the Council of Ten nor the Three Inquisitors of State, who kept in check the nobility of the Golden Book. The other, a workman of the future, overturned an oligarchy greedy of gain and of pleasure, who had neither the right to govern the Empire alone nor the intelligence to preserve their government.

The same words often designate very different things. The

Republic of the Romans had nothing in common with what we call by that name. By a republic, the moderns understand a society in which the citizen has the largest share of liberty and the government the least share of power. In Rome the citizen was the serf of the State, and the most forcible word in the Latin language, *imperium*, marked the extent of the executive power.¹ Even in the comitia the sovereign assembly only voted on the motion of the presiding magistrates, and even then these presidents could suppress the votes in the midst of the balloting. The idea of political liberty was so foreign to the mind of the Romans, that they never made an image of it;² amongst the innumerable statues they

¹ As to guarantees, the citizen had only two, the right of appeal and that of intercession, and the former could not be exercised beyond the first mile.

² At least I have sought in vain for it. It is true that Clodius, the man of all kinds of violence, made the statue of a courtesan into a goddess of Liberty, *ut esset indicium oppressi senatus ad memoriam sempiternam turpitudinis* (see Cic., *pro Domo*, 43, and above, p. 212), that Caesar promised a temple to it, and that we see its image on the coins of Claudius, of Nero, and of Commodus, and its name in the inscriptions of Tiberius and Constantine. At the end of the first Punic war a temple had been erected on the Aventine, *Jovi Libertati*. When Gracchus freed the 8,000 slaves who had fought so well for Rome against Hannibal, he caused the scene to be painted in this temple. (Livy, xxiv. 16; xxxiv. 44.) In the *Atrium Libertatis* which was erected where afterwards stood the Basilica Ulpia(?); slaves were set free (Sid. Apoll., *Epig.*, 2); lots were drawn to see in which of the urban tribes freedmen were to vote (*ibid.*, xlv. 15); and there they "questioned" the slaves who gave evidence in the trial of Milo. (*pro Milone*, 22.) Finally this sanctuary of Liberty was used as a prison; the Tarentine hostages were confined there (Livy, xxv. 7). Asinius Pollio called his library by a well-merited name, *Atrium Libertatis*, the place where minds are set free by the wisdom of the ancients, and Augustus restored the temple of *Jupiter Libertas*, who had delivered the Republic from its misfortunes. After the defeat of the republicans at Munda, which inaugurated the monarchy, the senate vowed another temple to Liberty. Ultimately, however, this goddess really had a statue in Rome. At the death of Sejanus the senators decreed that there should be set up in the Forum *Ἐλευθερίας ἀγάλμα*. (Dion, lviii. 12.)

This enumeration shows that by the word *liberty* the Romans understood something quite different from what we mean by it. It was the act of setting free from an inferior social condition, from the caprice of a master, and the arbitrary power which an absolute prince could promise to renounce without abdicating; it was for the citizens the hope of living in peace under the law, whatever might be the authority which made it, and not the expression of a combination of institutions ensuring them political liberty and participation in government. *Quid est libertas?* writes Cicero (*Parad.*, v. 1.) *Potestas vivendi ut velis*, a rescript of Alexander Severus gives us the Roman sense of *Liberty*. "*Tantum mihi cura est eorum qui reguntur libertatis, quantum et bonæ voluntatis eorum et obedientiæ.*" Dig., xlix., 1, 25. Mamertinus (*Paneg.*, Vet. p. 698-9) says of Julian that he watches night and day over the liberty, that is, the security of the citizens. Amm. Marcell., xiv. 6, calls the imperial constitution *fundamenta libertatis*. As for the word *republic*, it signifies the State and not a condition of liberty and equality; accordingly it was made use of under the empire in the same way as the motto, S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus populusque Romanus*). I have given, in vol. i. p. 434, a head of Liberty on a coin of Lollius Palikanus. This coin commemorates a particular liberty, the right of speaking to the people accorded to the tribunes by the *lex Pompeia*. That on the coin

have left us, we should seek in vain for one representing it. They deified everything except that which would be our most popular divinity, had we still goddesses. The dispute between the senate and Cæsar had no bearing then, on this question; it was simply a question of deciding whether 60,000,000 of men should have one master or 300. Brutus killed Cæsar because he wished to continue one of these 300, and to save the oligarchy was what he called Virtue. This has long been taken for granted. An attentive study of the transformations of Roman society has diminished the authority of the legend without causing it to disappear,¹ so that Cæsar has his enemies even in the present day. In the eyes of impartial history, if he was the greatest among ambitious men, he was also the ablest instrument of a historic necessity. He originated that unity of command by which were consolidated the interests of the head of the State and those of the populations whom he delivered from the rapacious dealings of a hundred families. He created therefore, a monarchy of a character new to the ancients, which instead of being, like Oriental monarchies, an indolent royalty, enjoying amidst its pleasures the travail of its subjects, was in its principle and often in reality a royalty protecting the greatest number, thinking and acting for those who could neither think nor act for themselves. The basis of the imperial power at Rome was the tribunitian power, and in spite of the follies and crimes of the Caligulas, of the Neros, and of the Commodi, the emperors worthy of the name were the true tribunes of the people, preoccupied doubtless with their personal greatness, but also with the general interests of the empire, believing in merit more than in birth; effacing the harsh and injurious distinctions established by the Republic; mitigating

of Servilius Isauricus, which is engraved in vol. ii. p. 795, is a memento of the numerous captives set at liberty by the conqueror of the pirates.

¹ This legend still exists in France in many minds, but faith in it is very much shaken in Cæsarian Germany and free England. I beg that it may be noticed that I have not in any way changed, in the course of the present publication, the opinion I expressed in 1844 in the second volume of my first edition. I should have wished, like many others, that the great Republic which had for centuries shown unexampled wisdom might have endured. But was it possible? M. Fustel de Coulanges says, very truly; "The men of this period loved the empire because they found interest and profit in loving it." (*Histoire des Institutions de l'ancienne France*, vol. i. p. 92.) He adds; "In the history of the world we find few political systems which have lasted five centuries, like the Roman empire; we find few which have been as little questioned and attacked in principle; we find none which were so long and so universally applauded by the populations whom they governed." (*Op. cit.*, p. 93, 94.)

the law and making it each generation more humane, even for the slave; and going even as far as to conceive the great poor-law institution of Trajan; in a word, carrying out a good social policy without playing demagogues. Now, this character the imperial monarchy owes to Cæsar, and has bequeathed it to modern royalties, in which the prince considers himself not as a son of heaven, but as the first of the country's servants. Augustus, Vespasian, the Antonines, Severus, Aurelian, Probus, and even Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian were great or clever administrators, to whom millions of men owed, for more than two centuries, a prosperity such as before their time the world had never seen.

Philosophers had foreseen this government, peoples longed for it, and juriconsults framed its theory. Tacitus greeted its advent in the accession of Nerva;¹ he ought to have placed it earlier, and the Antonines realized it. It was an imperfect form of government, since it provided no safeguard against the incapacity or folly of the prince, but it was better than what it replaced, without being so valuable as an organization in which the king, though free to do good, would not be so to do evil. Unfortunately humanity is very poor in political ideas, and takes a very long time to pass from one to another; it required eighteen centuries to arrive at representative governments. A superior man can hasten the hour of great reforms;² Cæsar, who had so many sides to his genius, lacked this one, or had not time to display it. There remains to the founder of Cæsarism very splendid glory; had he lived he would have been a Trajan or a Hadrian, and greater than both.

¹ *Quamquam res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum et libertatem.* (*Agric.*, 3.)

² We have seen (vol. ii. p. 194 *seq.*) that the elements of a representative organization existed everywhere, and we shall see (chap. lxxii.) that Augustus knew no better than Cæsar or the senate how to utilize them, whereas the Church, imitating those institutions which had remained useless for politics, made them the instrument of her unity and her power.

³ LIB. AVG. P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XVII COS VIII P(ater) P(atris). The reverse of an *aureus* of Commodus set in the patera of Rennes, one of the jewels of our *Cabinet des Antiques*.



Liberty.³

CHAPTER LIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (44-43).

I.—FUNERAL OF CÆSAR (MARCH, 44).

"IN the moments of astonishment which follow an unexpected action it is easy to do anything one dares."¹ But the conspirators, says Cicero, "though men in heart, were children in head."² They had formed a plan for the conspiracy only, none to follow it up. Indeed, had they made any, the course of events would not have been altered thereby. Political crimes ruin the cause they claim to serve; Brutus and his friends had assassinated the Republic, or at least, what remained of it.

When the work of deliverance was accomplished and the murderers wished to harangue the senate, the terror-struck senators had disappeared. They themselves, instead of uttering shouts of victory and liberty, remained gloomy, undecided, as if startled by the blow they had struck. They were all alone in the Curia with the victim, and they huddled together like criminals. None threatened them, yet they made ready to defend themselves; they rolled their togas round their left arms and clasped their daggers. At length they went forth; they crossed the Forum with a freedman's cap carried in front of them;⁴ they displayed their



Coin of Brutus.³

¹ Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, chap. xii.

² *Ad Att.*, xiv. 21.

³ BRVT. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST.; uncovered head of Brutus. On the reverse, EID. MAR. (ides of March); cap between two daggers. Silver coin of Brutus.

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 118. A coin of Brutus bears these words; *Lib. P. R. restitui*, with a *pileus* or freedman's cap between two daggers. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 20 and 24.) On one of the coins of Cassius there is the same legend, and the Cæsarian Vibius Pansa put it upon his

blood-stained swords; they cried that the tyrant was dead, and the crowd remained silent. Rome's liberators, repelled by the people's indifference, were compelled to seek an asylum; they hastened to the Capitol, which Dec. Brutus had occupied with his gladiators. But upon the steps of the temple they could recognize the spot on which Tiberius Gracchus had fallen in a better cause beneath the hands of their forefathers. He too, had incited the people to liberty, and already the people had ceased to understand him. Would they now make any better response to the appeal of a few nobles who in the interests of a condemned caste had just committed a parricide? Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar's other friends, thinking the conspirators had considerable forces ready at hand, had taken flight and hidden themselves. This affright among the Cæsarians emboldened a few senators, and Cinna, Lentulus Spinther, and Favonius went up to the Capitol. In the evening Cicero came thither, complaining that he had not been invited to the joyful feast of the ides.¹ Cæsar's death had raised his illusions again; he began to have fresh hope, and displayed an activity and a decision with which he was no longer credited. He was anxious that the senate should at once be assembled in the Capitol; Brutus and Cassius being prætors could legally convoke it. He thought that by acting with energy and promptitude between the two trembling parties the senators would become masters of the situation.

Brutus hesitated; he wished once more to attempt to draw the people over, and on the following day (16th of March) he descended into the Forum. His speech, a grave and moderate one, was quietly listened to, but when the prætor Corn. Cinna, a relative of the dictator, spoke after him and attacked Cæsar, the crowd broke forth into cries and threats, and the conspirators, intimidated, hastily retired to the fortress which was defended by their gladiators and men of the people whom they had hired.

During this indecision Cæsar's friends were putting the time

¹ So at least he afterwards wrote to Trebonius: . . . *quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus.* (*ad Fam.*, x. 28; xii. 4.) But he would have wished it to be more complete; *Quemquam* (Antonium) *præterea oportuisse tangi.* (*ad Att.*, xv. 11; Cf. *de Off.*, ii. 8, 27; iii. 6 and 21.) By what a moderate man like Cicero dared to say we can judge of what the others could do, and would have done, had they not from the very first day encountered the resistance of the Cæsarians and the populace.

to good use; Lepidus, his master of the horse, had raised the veterans encamped in the island in the Tiber and had introduced them into the city; Antony had obtained from Calpurnia Cæsar's papers and hoard of money, 4,000 talents; he had also laid hands on the public treasure [in the temple of Ops], 700,000,000 sesterces,¹ which he carried off to his house. The common danger drew these two leaders together, and they united less to avenge their dead master than to take advantage of circumstances. Antony gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus, and promised the latter the high pontificate which Cæsar had held, together with the retention of his two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior.

The conspirators had amongst them a consul-elect, Dolabella, who proposed that thenceforth the ides of March should be celebrated as the second birthday of the Republic; some great personages went over to their side, and Decimus Brutus had command of a large body of troops in his government of Cisalpine Gaul, whence he could summon them. The Cæsarians had only the legion of Lepidus, with a few veterans, and there was no reliance to be placed on the multitude at Rome. This situation demanded prudence. Antony, who had hitherto been known only as a headstrong soldier, displayed superior ability; he outwitted everyone. In spite of Cicero the murderers had entered into negotiations with him. It was agreed that in virtue of his office of consul, he should assemble the senate on the following day, March 17. He convoked it, but far from the Capitol in the temple of Tellus, and he filled the Forum with soldiers. The murderers dared not come to the meeting; the people hastened thither crying to Antony to take good care of himself; he raised his toga and displayed a cuirass. The discussion was a stormy one. The senate wished to declare Cæsar a tyrant, and have his body cast into the Tiber. Antony represented that that would be to abolish his Acts; and as all the appointments had been made for five years, magistracies at Rome, governorships of provinces, and command of armies, too many persons, beginning with the murderers themselves, were interested in the maintenance of the

¹ Cic., *Philipp.*, iii. 37.

status quo.¹ Cicero, in order to satisfy everyone, demanded the sanction of acquired rights, the forgetting of the past, and an amnesty. The following *senatus-consultum* was adopted: No criminal action shall be brought concerning the death of Cæsar, and all acts of his administration are ratified *for the welfare of the Republic*.² The murderers had insisted that this last phrase should be added to the decree. The welfare of the Republic was the pass-word which served to justify the retention by the assassins of the benefits conferred by their victim. The citizens who had obtained from Cæsar allotments of land, claimed in their turn the confirmation of their rights, and a second *senatus-consultum* gave them satisfaction. What a strange spectacle! They had slain the tyrant, and everyone agreed in maintaining the acts of the tyranny "in the interests of the Republic." The amnesty was a natural consequence of this touching harmony; it was proclaimed, and no one thought of the results which had followed that of Cæsar. The next day the people were called together in the Forum; Cicero still spoke of peace and union. His voice, which had regained its power, seemed to take hold of all hearts. The people invited the conspirators to descend from the Capitol; Lepidus and Antony sent their children thither as hostages, and when the two leaders of the conspirators arrived in the Forum, applause broke forth. The two consuls embraced;³ Cassius dined with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus; the enthusiasm was general, and honest Cicero was triumphant. But his political foresight was always equally short; he was dreaming an idyll amid raging wolves.

The matter was not, indeed, at an end, and beneath an exterior of official friendship every one retained his fierce passions. Since Cæsar was not a tyrant, since his acts had been maintained, his fortune could not be confiscated, his will remained valid, and

¹ One of the most eager for this course was Dolabella, who in spite of his being only twenty-six was consul-elect, and who would have had to wait fifteen years to regain that office had the proposal passed. Many had similar reasons. (App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 129.) I must say I have great doubts about the age usually attributed to Dolabella. The phrase used by Cælius to Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 13) respecting him in the year 50 B.C. could not be applied to a youth of twenty; he had been tribune at twenty-two, another difficulty, etc.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 135.

³ Dolabella as consul-elect had taken Cæsar's place as the colleague of Antony.

he must have a public funeral. L. Piso, his father-in-law, read his last wishes to the people. He adopted as his son his grand nephew Octavius, and failing that youth, he left the best part of his inheritance to Decimus Brutus, one of the ringleaders of the conspiracy.¹ In case Calpurnia should have borne him a son, he appointed as his guardian several of his murderers; to others he left considerable legacies. These gifts from the victim to his assassins awoke the anger of the multitude; when Piso added that the dictator left to the people his palace and gardens beyond the Tiber,² and to every citizen 300 sesterces, there was an outburst of gratitude and threats.³

Another scene, carefully arranged, gave the whole city completely into Antony's hands. A funeral pile was erected in the Campus Martius. But the funeral panegyric was to be pronounced in the Forum. Thither the corpse was borne in rich apparel on an ivory couch, which was laid down close to the Rostra, and Antony took his place beside the dead. "It is not fitting," said he, "that so great a man should be praised by me alone. Listen to the voice of the country itself." And he slowly read the decrees of the senate according divine honours to Cæsar, declaring him holy, inviolable, father of his country. As he pronounced these last words he added, turning towards the funeral couch: "And behold here is the proof of their clemency! With him all had found refuge, and he himself could not escape; they assassinated him. Yet they had sworn to defend him; they had devoted to the gods whosoever should not shield him with his body!" Then stretching his hand



The Dioscuri.⁴

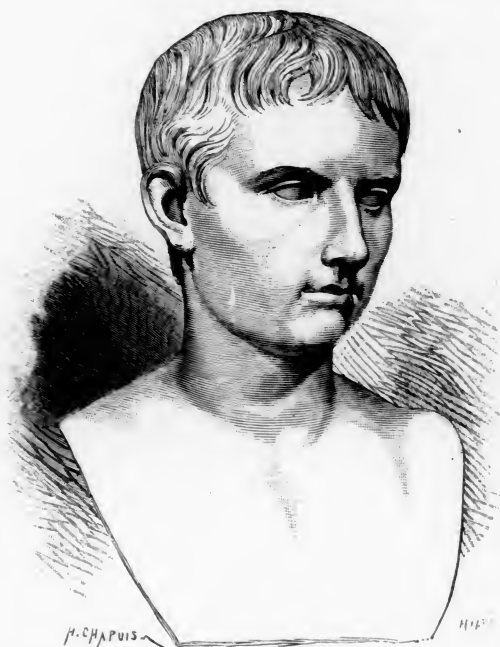
¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 143. See, in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, the admirable scene in the third act where Antony reads out the will.

² This villa of Cæsar's seems to have occupied the site of the Pamfili Palace. It was made into a museum.

³ In this will, in which so many people had been named, there was no mention of either Cleopatra or Cæsarion, whom she passed off as the dictator's son and who very probably was so. This omission shows the falsity of the reports which had been spread touching the queen's influence with Cæsar and the projects foolishly attributed to the dictator of transporting the seat of empire to Alexandria. The great man has been credited with Antony's folly; with all due respect to romantic historians, these royal amours must be reduced to the proportions of a common liaison, without any influence on political matters.

⁴ Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1788 in the Catalogue.

toward to the Capitol: "O thou Jupiter, guardian of this city, and all you, ye gods of heaven, I call you to witness; I am ready to keep my oath, I am ready to avenge him." Then he approached the body, began a hymn, as if in honour of a god, and then in a rapid and excited voice recalled his wars, his battles, his conquests. "O thou invincible hero, thou didst escape in so many



Young Octavius.¹

battles only to come and fall in the midst of us!" and with these words he tore off the toga which covered the body, and showed the blood which stained it and the wounds wherewith it was pierced. Sobs broke forth from the multitude and mingled with his own; but this was not enough yet. The body of Cæsar stretched upon the couch was hidden from their eyes. Suddenly the corpse was seen to rise, with the twenty-three wounds on the

breast and face;² and at the same time the funeral choir sang: "I have saved them, then, only to die by them." The people thought that Cæsar himself was rising from his funeral couch to demand vengeance of them. They hastened to the Curia where he had been struck down, and set fire to it;

¹ Head found at Ostia. (Vatican, *Chiaramonti Museum*, No. 416.)

² This was the waxen effigy, of which Polybius speaks, made to resemble the dead, and which represented him at the funeral ceremonies. Antony had it arranged in such a manner that it could be raised into an upright posture and made to face about to all parts of the Forum, that the gaping wounds might be seen.

they sought for the murderers, and, deceived by his name, tore to pieces a tribune whom they took for Cinna, the prætor. From the glowing ruins of the Curia they seized brands and hurled them against the houses of the conspirators; then they returned and took the body, and would have burnt it in the very temple of Jupiter. On being opposed by the priests they bore it back to the Forum to the spot where stood the palace of the kings. To make a funeral pile for it, they broke up the judgment seats and benches; the soldiers cast in their javelins, the veterans their crowns, their arms, their military gifts; the women their ornaments; and men thought they saw the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, themselves apply the first flaming torch to it. The people passed the whole night round the pyre. A comet which appeared in the heavens about that time seemed to justify the apotheosis. They cried that Cæsar was received among the gods, and to the multitude it was an article of faith.² In order to consecrate this popular belief and render it more lasting by a tangible image, Octavius raised a brazen statue to his



Cæsar deified.¹

¹ Mattei Collection, pl. 75, and Clarac, pl. 910, No. 2318b.

² *In deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi.* (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 88.) The comet which appeared at that time was Halley's. (See, in Virgil, the magnificent description which ends the first book of the *Georgics*.) *Hac de causa*, says Suetonius (*Julius Cæsar*, 88), *simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella.* The month of *Quintilis* took Cæsar's name *Julius* and still retains it as *July*.

adopted father in the temple of Venus, with a golden star on its head; coins represent the new god thus.

To this mourning among the populace answered from afar the lamentation of the nations. Caesar, like Alexander, was bewailed by all whom he had conquered; the representatives of the provinces at Rome distinguished themselves by the liveliness of their grief. Each nation came in turn, says Suetonius, and made the Forum re-echo with its lamentations, and bewailed in its own way the protection it had lost; the Jews especially displayed unbounded regret;¹ for several nights they remained round the funeral pile. It has been asked whether there was not some secret community of ideas between the people from which religious unity was about to take its rise and the man who had desired to establish political unity? The Jews were only paying the debt they owed to him who, after having avenged them on the profaner of their temple, had allowed them to establish a synagogue at Rome, and to omit paying tribute during the Sabbatical year.²

Antony had succeeded; the murderers fled; but the senate was deeply irritated at this treatment of the amnesty which had been passed on the previous day. The consul, who was very anxious to keep up appearances of legality, at a time when every one was talking about the avenged constitution, had need of that body to obtain dominion over it. First he brought it back to his side by instigating the recall of Sextus Pompey and the abolition of the dictatorship; and still more surely by putting a stop to the popular movement which a certain Amatius wished to prolong for his own profit. This man, who said he was a relative of Marius and Caesar, had erected on the very site of the funeral-pile an altar with this inscription: "To the father of his country," and every day sacrifices and libations were offered there; suits were settled before it as in the temples. Antony let his colleague Dolabella overthrow the altar and put to death the demagogue, with a few of his partisans.

He even consented to have an interview outside Rome with

¹ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 84. We have seen (p. 327) the motives of Caesar's friendship for the Jews. They were already numerous at Rome. (See the *pro Placco*, where Cicero shows that they made common cause with the popular party.)

² Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 3, 5. They had had a colony in Rome since the year 139 n.c.

Brutus and Cassius, who had retired before the popular irritation to Lanuvium. He guaranteed them all safety, and as they dared not venture into the city, where in virtue of their office they should have resided, he caused them to be invested with the care of provisioning the city, to legalize their absence.¹ The other conspirators made arrangements to go and take possession of their governments; he let Decimus Brutus start for Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber for Bithynia, and Trebonius for Asia. Finally he did not oppose the restoration to Sextus Pompey of those of his estates which had not yet been sold, with an indemnity of 50,000,000 drachmæ for those which had, and the proconsulship of the seas.² Never had the senate found a more docile consul. Accordingly, when Antony, complaining of being pursued like a traitor by the hatred of the people, demanded a guard for his personal safety, the senate did not refuse to grant him one. He soon raised it to 6,000 men. This was an army sufficient to allow of his throwing off the mask.

The senate had confirmed Caesar's acts. Antony extended this sanction to the projected acts of the dictator; and as he possessed all his books and had won over his secretary Faberius, he read in these documents, or caused to be written in them, all that it was to his interest to find there. Thus the Republic, the treasury, and the public offices were at his disposal, and Caesar dead was more powerful than he had been when alive, for what he would not have dared to do, Antony did in his name;³ he sold appointments, honours, and even provinces, as Lesser Armenia, which Dejotarus bought from him, and Crete, which paid ready money for its independence,⁴ but only threw away the money. These scandalous bargains swelled his fortune; on the ides of

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 2. This writer says that Brutus and Cassius, in order to gain the veterans, had instigated the abolition of one of Caesar's best laws, that which forbade soldiers to sell their allotment of land till they had held it twenty years.

² After Caesar's death, Sextus, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees, had commenced war against the governor of Further Spain, Asinius Pollio, and had recovered the two provinces, where he had raised six legions. When he received the decree here mentioned granting him an indemnity, of which he received nothing, together with what was more profitable to him, a command of the sea, like that which Pompey had held (App., *ibid.*, iii. 4), he repaired to Marseilles, where he assembled some vessels. (Dion, xlv. 9; xlv. 40; App., *ibid.*, iv. 84, 96.)

³ *Ita ne vero? . . . ut omnia facta, scripta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris, plus valerent quam si ipse viveret?* (Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 10; Cf. *Philipp.*, i. 7, 8.)

⁴ *Philipp.*, ii. 37.

March he owed £350,000; before the kalends of April he had paid it all and capitalized nearly seven times the amount, which served him to bribe soldiers, senators, and his colleague Dolabella, thenceforth one of the most dangerous foes to his former party. To gain the Sicilians Antony gave them the citizenship; perhaps this was really one of the dictator's ideas. But he did not scruple to undo at need his most important laws. He established the third decuria of judges, composing it of centurions and manipulares of the Gallic legion Alauda. He abolished the arrangement about appeal to the people and the governorship of the consular provinces, the prolongation of which for six years he authorized, in order to secure for himself after his consulship a retreat whence he could long defy his enemies.¹ When by all these measures Antony thought he had made himself sufficiently strong, he half broke the truce made with the murderers by getting Brutus and Cassius despoiled of their rich governments of Syria and Macedonia, and giving them in exchange the two poorer ones of Crete and Cyrene;² Dolabella, his colleague, adjudged himself the first named, and he took the second, wherein were stationed considerable forces. "The tyrant is dead," sadly exclaimed Cicero,³ "but the tyranny still lives!"

II.—OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (APRIL, 44).

In the meanwhile there arrived at Rome a young man hitherto little noticed, Octavius, great nephew of Cæsar through his mother Atia, who was the daughter of one of the dictator's sisters. At four years old he had lost his father, a wealthy Roman knight of a plebeian family coming from Velletri. Cæsar, having no children of his own, had taken charge of him. At fifteen he received the laticlave, the sign of senatorial dignity; later on a pontificate, and after the African war military rewards, though he had taken no part in the expedition. An illness prevented his arriving in Spain in time to be present at the battle

¹ Cic., *Philipp.*, i. 8, 9; v. 3, 6; Ascon., ad Cic. *in Pison.*, 39.

² There is some uncertainty as to the designation of the two provinces.

³ *Ad Fam.*, xii. 1, and *Philipp.*, v. 4.

of Munda; but Cæsar wished to take him with him against the Parthians, and had sent him to Apollonia in the midst of the legions which were assembling there.¹ The squadrons of the army



Pallas of Velletri.²

of Macedonia came and manœuvred by turns beneath the young man's eye, and by his uncle's orders he took part in their

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 9; Dion, xlv. 2; Nicolaus Damascenus, 4; Vell. Pat. *Pat.*, ii. 59. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 9) even says that he gave him the title of Master of Horse for a year.

² Louvre Museum. This statue, the most beautiful of the antique Minervas which has come down to us, was found, in 1737, a mile from Velletri, amid the ruins of a Roman villa which perhaps belonged to Octavius.

exercises. This precaution saved the fortune of Octavius, for with that marvellous address of which he soon afterwards gave so many proofs, he attached the soldiers to himself, and when tidings came of the death of the dictator, the tribunes invited him to put himself under the protection of these devoted legions. His friends Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer.¹ This would have been tantamount to a declaration of war against



Gable Ornament in Marble found at Apollonia.²

the senate and murderers; and Octavius, a man of reserved mind, who inclined to prudence as much as Cæsar did to boldness, rejected the scheme, but daring in his own way, he resolved, notwithstanding the warnings of his kin, to go to Rome alone, and there lay claim to his dangerous heritage. He quite understood that he could only escape proscription by rendering himself formidable,

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 59. This Salvidienus was the son of a poor peasant, and had himself been a herdsman in his youth; he had raised himself step by step under Cæsar, and had taken his place among that general's highest officers. (App., *ibid.*, v. 66.) The Apollonians offered Octavius all their goods; he afterwards rewarded them by declaring their city free and exempt from taxation.

² Heuzey, *Mission*, etc., pl. 34, No. 1.

and that there was no alternative for his destiny but the fate or the fortune of Cæsar.

Being uncertain as to the disposition of the garrison of Brundisium, he landed at the little port of *Lupia*, where the scene at the funeral ceremonies had already been heard of, as well as the decrees of the senate confirming the dictator's acts. From that time he took the name of Cæsar, which was greeted with acclamations by the first soldiers whom he met. To him flocked the freedmen and friends of his adopted father, and the veterans from the colonies who came to offer him their swords, if he wished to avenge that father's death. But he, advancing no pretension but that of fulfilling the last wishes of the illustrious victim, travelled without any noise or ostentation. Near Cumæ he learnt that Cicero was in the neighbourhood; he went and paid him a visit, and won the old man's heart by his urbanity and pretended simplicity of heart.² At the end of April he entered Rome.³ Antony was absent; he was scouring Italy to recruit friends, and especially to secure veterans.

Octavius was at that time scarcely nineteen; in vain did his friends renew their entreaties that he would lay aside the name of Cæsar; on the second day after his arrival he presented himself before the prætor and declared that he accepted the heritage and the adoption; then he ascended the platform and promised the assembled people that he would accomplish all the legacies of the succession.⁴ Antony did not return till the end of May; Octavius demanded an interview with him, and it took place in Pompey's gardens. After protestations of gratitude and devotion,

¹ IMP. CÆSAR DIVI F. IIIVIR ITER; R(ei) P(ublica) C(onstituendæ) (Cæsar, *imperator*, son of the god Cæsar, for the second time triumvir, charged with the reconstitution of the Republic).

² Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 10 and 11 (19th of April, 44).

³ In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, found forty years ago in the Escorial, the order of events is different. According to him Octavius, who had taken all the money sent to Greece for Cæsar's double expedition, arrived in Campania with large sums, visited the colonies founded by the dictator, harangued the soldiers and populace in the towns, distributed money, and induced two legions to follow him to Rome. This story is more probable.

⁴ DIVI IVLI F.; head of Octavius bearded in sign of mourning. Coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁵ Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 20; Dion, xlv. 6.



The Young Octavius.¹



Octavius in Mourning.⁴

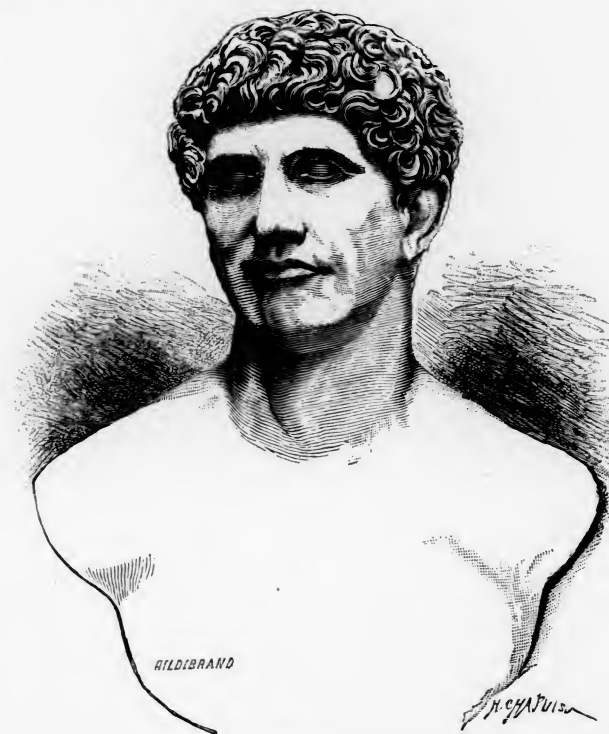
Octavius reproached him with the amnesty granted to the murderers, and his forgetfulness of the vengeance due to the *manes* of Caesar. He ended by demanding the money left by the dictator, to enable him to pay what he owed to the people. Antony was quite determined not to restore anything, and thought he would easily be able to send the new comer back to school again. He answered that "as consul of the Roman people he had no account to render to a young man; that it must be known that but for his efforts Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, and consequently the will would have been annulled; that as for the money, the little Caesar had left had served to obtain the passing of the decrees which saved his memory; that for the rest Octavius was entering upon an evil road in wishing to flatter the people, a changeful multitude, less sure in its constancy than the waves. He ought to have learnt this much in the school which he had just quitted."¹

Octavius departed deeply wounded at this bitter irony. For he lacked everything; his relatives and advisers urged him to remain in obscurity, and Antony was desirous of keeping him there. Another man might have yielded, but behind his trembling family and friends he had seen that the people and the soldiers applauded and encouraged him; and so with a boldness worthy of the bravest in the battlefield, he still persisted. His father's treasures were refused him, he sold the dictator's estates and villas, and as these domains did not suffice, he sold his own property also, and borrowed of his friends, beginning, according to Caesar's example, by ruining himself, and, like him, pledging the present for future advantage. Antony, after laughing at the pretender, ended by keeping a serious watch over his movements. He placed an increasing number of obstacles in his way; he prevented the ratification by a curiate law of the adoption, he raked up against him endless suits with men laying claim to the inheritance or demanding the payment of debts. One day when the youthful Caesar was haranguing the people, he caused him to be dragged from the platform by his lictors.² But this unfair kind of warfare, these acts of violence, served the cause of his adversary, whose popularity gathered all the credit that Antony lost.

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 20.

² Dion, xlv. 6, 7.

Antony perceived it however, and stopped. Indeed, he had need of the people for a fresh move. His province of Macedonia seemed to him to be too far from Rome, he therefore wished to obtain Cisalpine Gaul, then to summon thither the six legions of veterans whom Caesar had destined for the war in the East, make them pass through Italy, and perhaps employ them against his



Marc Antony.¹

enemies. For different reasons the young Caesar approved of this plan; Decimus Brutus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; it was to the interest of Octavius not to leave one of the conspirators "in that fortress" which commands Italy and Rome. He had many friends in the army of Dalmatia; if it landed Antony might perhaps be less its master than he thought. The

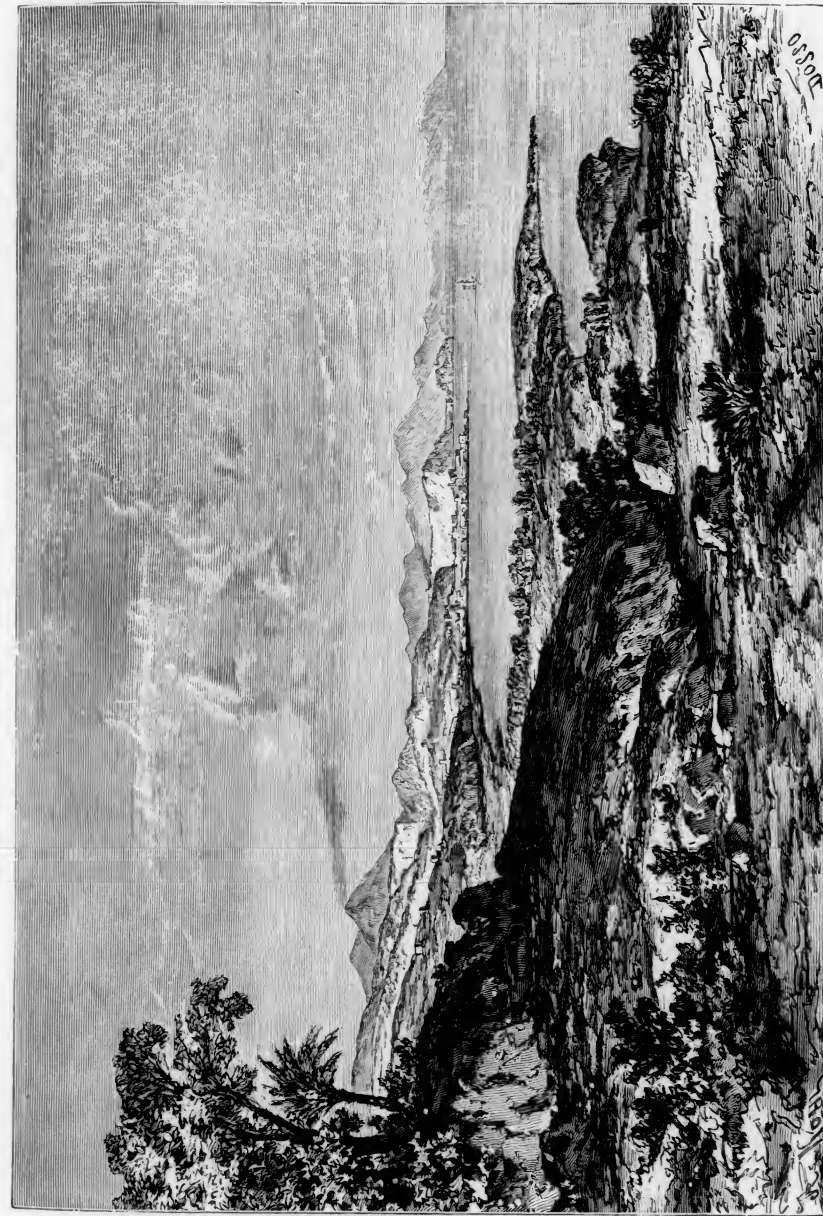
¹ Bust in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, A 96.)

two leaders of the Cæsarians were thus for the moment drawn together; they became reconciled, and Octavius used his influence in obtaining the passing of the law, which was opposed by the senate and accepted by the tribes (June or July, 44 B.C.).¹ Octavius hoped Antony would return him service for service. The people wished to give him the tribunate, though his adoption into the family of the Julii rendered him incapable of holding that office; but Antony thwarted his demand by promulgating an edict threatening with the consular authority any man who should canvass contrary to the laws. Evidently Octavius was not of age. As the people threatened to go on, the consul broke up the meeting.

Notwithstanding this check the young Cæsar had in a few weeks made great progress; the people were for him, but force was no longer to be found in the Forum; he sought it where it existed; his emissaries passed secretly among his colonies of veterans, whilst others went to meet the legions who were coming from Macedonia. These tactics succeeded. One day Antony saw some military tribunes enter his house, who reminded him that there was but one interest common to all Cæsar's friends, vengeance for his death and the maintenance of his settlements, that his end would not be attained till they ceased to divide their forces, and that he ought therefore to effect a reconciliation as quickly as possible with the dictator's adopted son. These entreaties were equivalent to a command; the two leaders allowed themselves to be led by the tribunes to the Capitol, there to swear eternal friendship. A few days later the consul publicly upbraided the young Cæsar with having hired assassins against him, and Octavius returned the accusation. Octavius could never have thought of using these extreme means, for he had need of the ablest of his father's generals, and he only wished at first to compel him to share with him.

At Rome, however, a strong opposition was rising against Antony; and the malecontents were encouraged by the division

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 25-37; Dion, xlv. 9. Several senators had declared that they would rather restore the Gauls to independence than give up that province to Antony. Others had proposed to unite Cisalpine Gaul with Italy, which would have suppressed the government, proconsul, and army maintained there.



Gulf of Pozzuoli.

which had broken out in the Cæsarian camp, the progress of Sextus Pompey, who was assembling a fleet, and the news from the East that Trebonius had seized upon Asia Minor, and that the legions of Syria were calling for Cassius. Brutus had let his colleague start; and hesitating what line of conduct to pursue, had remained at anchor in the gulf of Puteoli, whence he had sent orders for celebrating with rare magnificence the games which he owed the people of Rome for his prætorship, without, however, daring to appear there in person. Cicero entreated him not to quit Italy, so that he might be in a position to profit by the misunderstanding between Antony and Octavius. But the threats of some and the weakness of others, the legions of Brundisium, the veterans of the colonies, the senate itself, which failed to support Piso when, in an energetic speech, he broke with the consul—everything, in fact, frightened him, and he departed. His fears infected Cicero, who embarked for Greece with the intention of there awaiting the end of Antony's consulship. He went as far as Syracuse; there indecision again overcame him, and the memory of his first flight from Italy stopped him. At sixty-three it was too late to begin camp life again; better remain on the battle-field, fight there, and if need be die; he returned to Rome (31st August).

Antony had convoked the senate for the 1st of September; Cicero avoided repairing to it, excusing himself on the ground of fatigue and the state of his health. The consul took his absence as a tacit reproof, and giving way to violent invectives, he went as far as to say that he would send soldiers to bring him by force or burn his house if he did not come. On the following day there was another sitting; Antony did not appear, but left the presidency of the assembly to his colleague Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero. The latter, emboldened by the circumstances, came and took his seat, and delivered the first of those harangues which in memory of Demosthenes he called *Philippics*. While still retaining some consideration for the man, he energetically attacked his acts. Antony was furious, and spent fifteen days outside Rome in composing his reply; and on the 19th of September he summoned the senate to hear it. Naturally in this bill of accusation Cicero was represented as guilty of a host of

crimes; of the illegal execution of Catiline's accomplices, of the murder of Clodius, of the rupture between Pompey and Caesar, and of the assassination of the dictator. Antony would have liked to unite all parties against him by proving that each of them had a mistake or a crime to reproach him with; above all he desired to point him out to the veterans as the victim demanded by the manes of Caesar.¹ Cicero would certainly have incurred some danger, for the consul had the approaches of the Curia guarded by soldiers.² But he dared not even remain in Rome; he retired to one of his villas near Naples, where he composed the second *Philippic*, a divine work, says Juvenal,³ which was never delivered, and which he prudently refrained from publishing until after Antony's departure for Cisalpine Gaul.

During this war of words and these transports of eloquence, Octavius was, with far less noise, undermining the consul's power in a much more serious manner; he was enticing his soldiers away from him. Antony heard that the legions which had landed at Brundisium were being secretly worked upon by mysterious agents, and he set out in great haste (3rd of October) to stop the defection. The man who was already his rival also left the city, made a round among his father's colonists in Campania and Umbria, and brought back 10,000 men, promising each veteran who should follow him 2,000 sesterces. He also tried to win over Cicero, and through him the senate, in order to obtain from that assembly some title which might seem to confer legal authority on him. Every day he wrote to the aged *consularis*, urging him to return to Rome and put himself at the head of affairs, fight the common enemy, and once more save the Republic. He promised him his confidence and respect; he called him his father, and Cicero was persuaded.

At Brundisium Antony, forgetting that soldiers recognize no discipline when their leaders no longer recognize the laws, had severely reproved the legionaries for their affection for a *rash child*.⁴

¹ Cic., *ad Att.*, xiv. 13; *ad Fam.*, xii. 2.

² *Philipp.*, v. 7; *ad Fam.*, xii. 25.

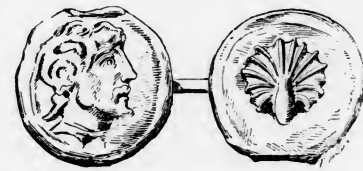
³ *Divina Philippica* (x. 125). Cicero sent it to Atticus about the end of October, asking him whether he should publish it. (*ad Att.*, xv. 13.)

⁴ Παρὰ μισανίων προτεροῖς. (*App., Bell. civ.*, iii. 43.)

They had not, said he, denounced the agents of discord who had introduced themselves into the camp. But he should know how to discover and punish them; as for themselves, he promised them a gratuity of 400 sesterces. These threats and his parsimony, two things to which the soldiers were no longer accustomed, were received with derisive laughter. He replied savagely by causing them to be decimated; some centurions were even slain in his own house, at the feet of his wife Fulvia, who was covered with their blood.² A few days later he again got rid of several suspected persons whom he had at first forgotten; then he sent his troops along the Adriatic towards Ariminum, whilst he himself, with a picked escort, repaired to Rome (October, 44). He immediately summoned the senate with the intention of accusing Octavius of high treason for having raised troops without an official commission. But he heard that two of the legions of Brundisium had just gone over to his rival, and the senate was hostile to him. He felt that at Rome he would be beaten; that like Sylla and Caesar he must seek in the camp the means of re-entering the city as its master; and he set out for Ariminum. Decimus Brutus had not submitted to the plebiscitum depriving him of Cisalpine Gaul, and to legalize his refusal he appealed to the ratification by the senate of Caesar's acts. Antony intended to drive him out of that province,³ then he would enter into a closer alliance with Lepidus, the governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and with Plancus, who commanded three legions in Transalpine Gaul; being master in person or through his two friends of the provinces which his former general had held, he would recross the Rubicon and recommence



Coin of Brundisium.¹



Coin of Ariminum.⁴

¹ BRVN; Arion on a dolphin, holding the lyre and cantharus; scalloped shell beneath. Coin of Brundisium. (See vol. i. p. 403, a coin on which Arion is holding a Victory.)

² Such is the no doubt exaggerated account of Cicero (*Philipp.*, iii. 4, and xii. 6), who speaks of 300 executions. According to Appian there were only a few soldiers put to death.

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 46.

⁴ Head of man, uncovered, with a moustache and wearing the *torques*. On the reverse, a shell. Coin of Ariminum.

the story of the dictator, but with a different ending—without the clemency which had ruined Caesar (November).

III.—OCTAVIUS, GENERAL OF THE SENATE (JANUARY, 43).

Cicero returned to Rome almost immediately (December 9th). The situation appeared better; the chiefs of the two parties had abandoned the city; the murderers and the faction of the nobles were in the East; Antony and Lepidus, the representatives of the soldiery, in the two Gauls. It was allowable then to think that the "honest folk" who were left in possession of Rome and the government might with skill and energy get power into their hands again. Cicero put himself resolutely at their head, and dreamt of the return of the glorious times of his consulship. He perceived, however, that the sword and not eloquence would decide the victory; and the senate had no army.

But the young man who had just expelled Antony had one. Would it be difficult to win him over to the good cause? He was as yet only a name, a standard, which served as a rallying point for the veterans. Well, could they not possess themselves of this standard? Animated with pious zeal the young Octavius had no other ambition save to carry out his father's last wishes. When he had ruined himself by so doing he would relapse into obscurity. A few praises, a few honours would satisfy the vanity of a youth of twenty; his age would secure his docility. Octavius would thus furnish the senators with the army they lacked, and after the victory the instrument could be broken. Would it not be a curious sight and a legitimate expiation to make Caesar's veterans serve to consolidate liberty? Such were the hopes with which the old *consularis* lulled himself, in spite of the warnings of those who pointed out to him that this youth had already displayed a prudence and boldness beyond his age. Only ten days after his return Cicero sang the praises of Octavius to the senate and people;¹ he congratulated the legions who had deserted the

¹ *Third and Fourth Philippics*. See on this subject the severe words of Brutus in epistles 16 and 17 of the book of letters of Brutus and Cicero. These letters to Brutus are probably

consul's standards and the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who was bravely resisting the unjust attack of the man whose title still made him lawful head of the Republic.

Antony was in fact already besieging Dec. Brutus in Mutina (Modena). Cicero, recommencing the useless campaign of Marcellus against Caesar, wished to have the consul called upon to lay down his arms, leave his province, and await the decisions of the senate; and if he failed to comply, to have him declared a public enemy. He demanded levies too, the suspension of civil affairs, the assumption of the war dress, and the declaration of a *tumultus* (state of siege). But he also demanded for Lepidus, whom he hoped to detach from Antony by a puerile satisfaction of his vanity, a gilded equestrian statue to be erected in the Forum; for Octavius an exemption from the *leges Annales*, a seat in the senate, and the title of *propraetor*. In order that no objection might be raised to his youth, Cicero quoted the early commands held by the victors of Zama and Cynoscephalæ; he recalled to mind that Alexander had conquered Asia ten years before he reached the age requisite at Rome for canvassing the consulship; and he guaranteed the patriotism of the young Caesar; he knew, said



Coin of Hirtius.¹



Coin of Hirtius.

he, even his innermost thoughts; he pledged his word that Octavius would never cease to be what he then was, that is to say, such as they would always wish him to be. The senate, more timid than the rash old man, who on recovering his speech became so valiant, granted what was asked for the dictator's heir, adding thereto the erection of an equestrian statue,² a seat in the senate among the *consulares*, and the ratification of his promises to the soldiers; the public treasury was charged with the acquittal of his debt.³

a compilation made in the time of Augustus or Tiberius. (Cf. P. Meyer, *Über die Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cic. ad Brut.*, 1881.)

¹ C. CAESAR COS. TER.; veiled head of Julius Caesar. On the reverse, A. HIRTIVS PR., with the *lituus*, *praeforiculum*, and axe.

² Velleius Paterculus (ii. 61) remarks that hitherto only Sylla and Pompey had obtained an equestrian statue. For the like honour to be granted to a youth of nineteen there must have been many partisans of Caesar in the senate.

³ Cic., *Philipp.*, v. 17; App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 51; Dion, xli. 29.

The two new consuls, however, Hirtius and Pansa,¹ former friends of Cæsar, succeeded in getting one more attempt made to preserve peace. The deputies sent to Antony returned at the end of January with a reply that could not be accepted; he wished to have the consulship for Brutus and Cassius, in order to make peace with them; for his legionaries he required money and land; this was always, since Sylla's time, the first condition in a treaty of peace; for himself the command of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions, and the upholding of all his acts like those of Cæsar. Cicero could not yet, however, force on a declaration of war; the decree charging Octavius and the two consuls to raise the blockade of Modena only spoke of a tumult to be appeased.² Octavius had for this campaign received the title of *proprætor* together with the *imperium* and an authority equal to that of the two consuls in office. Another *senatus-consultum* forbade him to be called a boy.³

Antony had numerous friends⁴ at Rome who succeeded in getting the despatch of a second embassy decided upon; and in order to rid themselves of Cicero, he had been appointed one of the deputies. He perceived the snare in time, and by his twelfth *Philippic* he obtained the reversal of a decision which would have allowed Antony time to take Modena by famine. The letters of Sextus Pompey, who was assembling an army at Marseilles and offered his services, and the news from the East, where Brutus and Cassius had taken possession of their governments of Syria and Macedonia, seconded his efforts and determined the senate.

In the course of March, 43, Hirtius and Octavius entered on the campaign, and were joined at the end of the month by

¹ Vibius Pansa was the son of a man proscribed by Sylla. (Dion, xlv. 17.) Even before restoring their rights to the children of the proscribed Cæsar had obtained the election of Pansa to the tribuneship in 51. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, viii. 8, 6 and 7.)

² The word *tumultus* had two meanings; it signified a formidable war [especially a Gallic war], demanding the efforts of all the citizens, or a disturbance not worthy of the name of a war. Cicero took it in the former of these senses, the senate in the second; all the citizens however, donned the *sagum* of the soldiers. The citizens were taxed 5 per cent. on their property; the senators paid in addition to this four obols for each tile on their houses, as we used to pay for our windows. (Dion, xlv. 31.)

³ *Ne quis eum puerum diceret, ne majestas tanti imperii minueretur.* (Serv., *ad Eclog.*, i.)

⁴ Dion (xlv. 1-28) puts into the mouth of one of them named Calenus a violent speech against Cicero, reproducing the accusations and calumnies of his adversaries. The famous consulship of 63 is there very roughly handled.

Vibius Pansa with fresh levies. Antony tried to induce them to unite with him, reminding them that they too were Cæsarians; that the man he was besieging was one of the murderers, and that they would be the first victims of the party whose passions they served. The consul Hirtius sent on the letter to Cicero, who read it aloud to the senate with an eloquent commentary.²



Coin of Vibius Pansa.¹

These last days of the orator are splendid; he now carried into public affairs the activity which after Pharsalia he had devoted to his literary labours, and which had rapidly developed so many masterpieces.³ After fifteen years' silence on the rostra, he had now taken possession of it to restore its power and glory. An old man whom one would have thought broken down with years and varying fortune, became in himself the whole government. In the senate he restored confidence to the timid and courage to cowards; in the city, clad in war-dress in order to show everyone the imminence of the peril, he challenged voluntary gifts to supply the exhausted treasury, and excited the devotion of the poor, who laboured without wages to fill the empty arsenals. In the provinces his letters sustained the constancy of the besieged in Modena, restrained Plancus and Lepidus, confirmed the younger Pompey in his favourable disposition, and summoned Pollio from Spain, Brutus from Macedonia, and Cassius from Syria, to the aid of the senate. The last named of these wrote to him: "I am astonished at your surpassing yourself; the *consularis* is greater than the consul, and your toga has done more than our arms."⁴

But Lepidus did not vouchsafe any reply to his advances; he urged the senate to treat with Antony; and he drew Plancus and Pollio into his crafty or at least very unsenatorial policy;

¹ PANSA; mask of Pan. On the reverse, C. VIBIVS. C. F. C. N. IOVIS AXVR, Jupiter with rays round his head, holding a patera and a spear. This god was worshipped at Terracina (Anxur) under the form of youthful Jupiter with his divine partner Feronia, who was assimilated to Juno. (Serv., *ad Æn.*, vii. 799.)

² *Philippic* xiii.

³ *Plura brevi tempore eversa, quam multis annis stante republica scripsimus.* (de Off., iii. 1); the *de Partit. Orat.*, the *Brutus*, the *Paradoxa*, the *Orator*, the *Acad. Quæst.*, the *Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, the *Tusc. Quæst.*, the treatises *de Senec.*, *de Amic.*, *de Fato*, *de Gloria*, *de Off.*, and the *Topica*.)

⁴ *Ad Fam.*, iii. 13.

the son of the proscribed of 78, and former master of horse under Cæsar, had interests which Cicero's rhetoric could not make him forget. As for the tyrannicides, they were far distant, and not at all in a state to intervene in the conflict which must be decided so near Rome. Already one of them, Trebonius, had paid the debt with his blood; Dolabella had surprised him in Smyrna and put him to death. Later on it was told how threatening portents



Valley of 'Homer's Grottoes,' near Smyrna.¹

had announced the public misfortunes; the Mother of the Gods, whose statue in the Palatine looked towards the rising sun, suddenly turned her face towards the west, as though unwilling to see the places occupied by the murderers; that of Minerva at Mutina bled.² The gods became Cæsarian, so at least thought the multitude to whom these miracles were related, for prodigies always take place for those who are ready to believe in them.

¹ Delaborde, *Voyage dans l'Asie mineure*, pl. 6B.

² Dion, xlv. 33.

A slight advantage gained by Antony's troops before the junction of the three generals spread uneasiness in the city. On the 15th of April, 43, Pansa arrived in the neighbourhood of Bologna, where his colleagues were, and on the following days the battle raged fiercely in three places at once. Already Pansa was mortally wounded, and his troops were retiring in disorder upon the *Forum Gallorum* (Castel-

Franco), when Hir-tius appearing at the head of twenty cohorts again turned the tide of victory. During this double action Octavius had defended the camp against Antony's brother. The latter asserted that the young Cæsar, terrified at the very first onset, had fled without his insignia, and that for two days he had not been seen again. Other narratives on the contrary spoke highly of his courage; he had seized, it was said,



The Mother of the Gods.¹

a standard which he long carried in the thickest of the fray.² The soldiers conferred the title of *imperator* on their three leaders.

The two armies re-entered their lines; it was necessary, however, to make haste in relieving the place unless they wished famine to open its gates. Antony pressed it closely; nothing

¹ Statue in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, i. pl. 39.)

² App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 67. That writer shows a strange partiality for Antony. (Cf. Dion, xlv. 37; Suet., *Octav.*, 10; Cic., *Philipp.*, xiv.: *ad Fam.*, x. 11, 30, 33.)

could enter or leave it; nets spread in the Secchia and Panaro intercepted the communications which bold swimmers had at first established. "But," says Pliny, "Antony was not master of the air;" carrier-pigeons bore the messages of D. Brutus into the consul's camp.¹ Hirtius and Octavius, urged by him to throw aid into the town, attacked and broke through the enemy's lines



Medallion representing Numatius Plancus and the Genius of Lyons.²

(27th of April). Hirtius fell in this combat; his colleague Pansa died next day of the wounds he had received in the first action.³

Before the fight at Castel-Franco, a report had spread at Rome that one of the consuls had been beaten, and some of Antony's friends, in order to prepare for a movement against Cicero, said that on the 22nd of April the old *consularis* would get himself elected dictator. On that very day the news of the

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 53; Dion, xlv. 36.

² M. de Witte, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, 1877. The word *Felicitas* is the consecrating word pronounced by Plancus that his offering may bring good fortune to the new colony. As for the name of *Lugdunum*, it has been derived from two Gallic words, *lug dun*, rock or hill of the raven. Thus the medallion shows a raven upon a rock. But Baron Raverat and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville dispute this etymology.

³ The death of the two consuls was an event too favourable to Octavius for him not to have been accused of having caused it. He was said to have himself struck Hirtius in the mêlée and caused poison to be spread on Pansa's wounds. (Suet., *Octav.*, 11; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10.)

first battle arrived; Cicero forthwith obtained a vote of thanksgiving to the gods, of rewards to the troops, and a monument to consecrate the memory of those who had fallen in defending their country.¹ When the result of the second battle was heard the people flocked to his house and led him to the Capitol with great acclamations. It might have been thought that the real victor was the eloquent old man who had forced the senate to fight and win. "This day," he wrote to Brutus, "has repaid me for all my troubles."² The war indeed seemed at an end; Antony fled towards the Alps, throwing open the prisons on his way in order to recruit his army with all the miscreants therein.³ But Decimus, now set free, was following him full of ardour; Plancus, restored to the senate, and having by its orders just founded the City of Lyons, swept down thence with an army to close Gaul against him, and Lepidus had renewed his protestations of fidelity. It was no longer thought worth while to maintain any caution, and ten senators, under the presidency of Cicero, were appointed to examine the acts of Antony; this was a first step towards the abolition of even Cæsar's acts.⁴ The friends of the fugitive proconsul were troubled; his wife Fulvia was called to account for his ill-gotten wealth; the prudent Atticus hastened to tender his services to her.⁵

IV.—FORMATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE; THE PROSCRIPTIONS; DEATH OF CICERO (43 B.C.).

Amid this joy and festivity Octavius was almost forgotten. It was in the name of Decimus Brutus that fifty days of supplication⁶ were decreed; the conduct of the war was even taken from Octavius and entrusted to the general whom he had just saved, although Brutus had only, as he himself said, shadows and phantoms rather than soldiers. The successes of Cassius in

¹ This was the fourteenth and last *Philippic*.

² *Ad Brut.*, 3.

³ Cic., *ad Fam.*, xi. 10; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 78.

⁴ Πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκρόωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 82.)

⁵ Corn. Nepos, *Att.*, 9.

⁶ Cic., *ad Fam.*, xi. 18; App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 74; Dion, xlv. 39.

Asia, the progress of Brutus in Macedonia, and of Sextus Pompey on the sea, increased the general confidence still more; and then two legions were about to arrive from Africa; what need had they of that *boy*?



Marc Antony.¹

Before the consul Pansa expired he had, it is said, summoned Octavius to his death-bed, and after speaking of his gratitude to Cæsar, and of the desire which he had kept in the depths of his heart to avenge him some day, he had added that the dictator's heir, hated as he was of the senate, had but one path of safety open to him, a reconciliation with Antony.² These warnings were not needed by the young aspirant. When Brutus came to thank him for the safety which he owed him; "It was not for you," he replied, "that I took up arms; the murder of my father was an execrable crime; I only fought to humble the pride and ambition of Antony." From that



Coin of Antony's First Legion.³

day Decimus wrote to Cicero to mistrust this zealous son. Octavius, indeed, satisfied with having shown the world that he must be taken account of, was unwilling to crush Cæsar's old lieutenant altogether; he allowed Ventidius to lead to him across the Apennines two legions raised in lower Italy. And Antony being tamely pursued, reached unhindered the town of Frejus, where he



Legionary Coin of Antony.⁴



Legionary Coin of Antony.⁵

put an end to the indecision of Lepidus by enticing away his troops (29th of May). A zealous republican and friend of that general, named Juventus Laterensis, had hitherto dissuaded him from this alliance; when he saw the two leaders embrace one another, he stabbed himself with his sword. Decimus Brutus was too weak to hold his own with his raw levies against this imposing force, which was still further augmented a short time afterwards by the defection of Asinius Pollio, the

¹ Head of Marc Antony, from a coin.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 78.

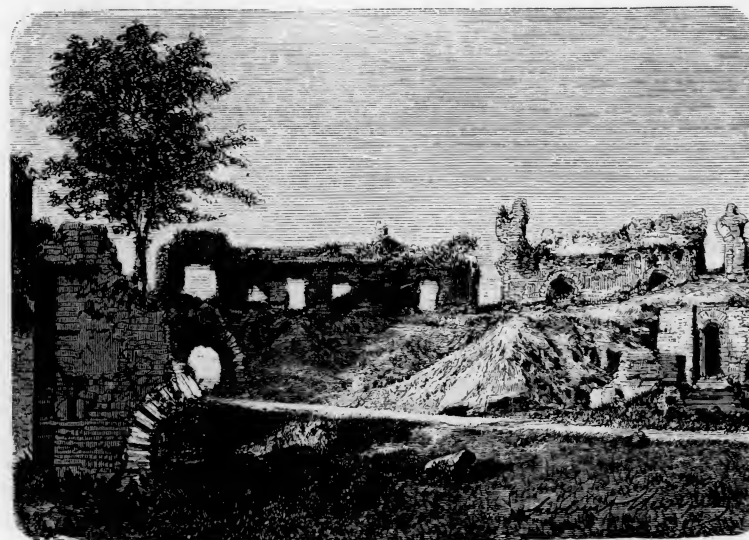
³ LEG. PRI; eagle between two standards. Silver coin.

⁴ ANT(oni) AVG(ur) IIIVIR R(ei) P(ublicæ) C(onstituendæ), and a galley. On the reverse, CHORTIS SPECVLATORVM; three military standards surmounted by crowns.

⁵ CHORTIVM PRAETORIARVM; eagle between two standards.

governor of Spain, and of Plancus, governor of long-haired Gaul; and Antony found himself again at the head of twenty-three legions.

Then it became absolutely necessary to remember Octavius. To detain him until the arrival of Cassius and Brutus, whose return was urged on by a decree of the senate, Cicero wished to load him, to *overwhelm* him with honours.¹ He got an ovation decreed him; this was a means to separate him from his legions,



Roman Ruins at Frejus—The Amphitheatre.

for it was usual for the general to disband his troops after the triumph. An attempt was also made to work upon his soldiers; lands and money were offered them, and especially leave to retire, and it was attempted to sow discord in their ranks by giving to some and refusing others. And finally when Octavius left his camp for a few days, deputies from the senate appeared therein. The soldiers refused to listen to them, but themselves sent to Rome a deputation of 400 veterans who declared in the Curia that their chief, being exempted by a senatus-consultum

¹ *Cæsarem Laudandum et tollendum*. The last word has two meanings, of which one is sinister. (Vell. Patere., ii. 62; Suet., *Octav.*, 12.)

from the *lex Annalis*, desired to come and canvass the consulship. The permission to do so was refused; "If you do not grant it," said one of them, tapping his sword, "this will obtain it for him,"¹ and they returned to Octavius, who forthwith crossed the Rubicon with eight legions.

The senate tried to stop him by a humble embassy, which granted him everything, even to a largesse of 2,500 drachmæ for the soldiers, a reward for their insolent bravado. As these humiliating concessions proved ineffectual, they assumed the grand courage of former days; they put on the garb of war; all the citizens were armed, and some earth was disturbed on the Janiculum in order to raise fortifications there. The prætor Cornutus, a zealous republican, displayed great warlike ardour; he reckoned on the two legions which had just landed from Africa; but as soon as the young Cæsar appeared they went over to him. The same day he entered the city amid the plaudits of the populace, and the senators hastened to pay their court to him. Cicero arrived late: "What," said Octavius ironically, "You appear last among my friends." He fled on the following night, whilst Cornutus slew himself.

A popular assembly proclaimed Octavius consul, giving him the colleague whom he himself selected, his relative Pedius (22nd of September, 43), together with the right of choosing the præfect of the city; and he had not yet completed his twentieth year.² He at once obtained the ratification of his adoption, the repeal of the proscription pronounced against Dolabella, and the distribution among his troops,³ at the expense of the public treasury, of the promised rewards. Pedius on his side proposed an enquiry into the murder of Cæsar; in order to reach Sextus Pompey he included in the accusation the murderers and their accomplices, even those who had been absent from Rome at the time when the deed was committed. The trial commenced immediately; Decimus Brutus was accused by Cornificius, Cassius by Agrippa, etc.

¹ This is the same speech already attributed to one of Cæsar's centurions, and is perhaps no more authentic than the other.

² *Consulatum iniiit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 65.)

³ 2,500 drachmæ to each soldier. "Hence the custom of giving the like sum to the soldiers of every legion which enters Rome in arms after having proclaimed an *imperator*." (Dion, xl. 46.)

They were condemned to banishment and the loss of their property.¹ Of all the senators only one had dared to defend them; a few months later he paid for his boldness with his life.²

Now Octavius could treat with Antony without fearing to be eclipsed by him. He was consul, he had an army, he was master of Rome, and round him had gathered all those among the Cæsarians whom Antony's violence or unsteadiness had driven from him. His interest enforced this alliance upon him, for alone he could not have contended against the twenty legions which Brutus and Cassius had already assembled in the East. Pedius made the first advances; he caused the repeal of the sentence of outlawry pronounced against Lepidus and Antony.³ It was this news which had decided the defection of Plancus. Decimus, abandoned by him and shortly afterwards by all his soldiers, tried to reach Macedonia in disguise; being recognized and seized near Aquillia by a Gallic chief, he solicited an interview with his former companion in arms. Antony replied by ordering the head of the fugitive to be sent to him; then he announced to Octavius that he had just sacrificed this victim to the manes of Cæsar; he was the second who fell.⁴ After this exchange of courtesies, Lepidus had little trouble in arranging a settlement which secret emissaries had doubtless been preparing since the battle of Modena.

At the end of October the three leaders met near Bologna, in an island of the Reno,⁵ the banks of which were lined on each side by five legions. The strictest precautions were taken, as afterwards in the middle ages, against treachery. They passed three days in drawing up the plan of the second triumvirate and arranging the division of the Roman world among them. Octavius was to resign the consulship and to be replaced in that office for the remainder of the year by Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant. A



Ventidius.⁶

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 95; Dion, xlv. 45.

² Livy, *Epit.*, cxx.; Dion, xlv. 48; Vell. Patere., ii. 69.

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 96.

⁴ Trebonius had been the first. A third tyrannicide, Basilus, was about this time slain by his slaves, whom he treated cruelly. (App., *ibid.*, 98.) A fourth, Aquila, had perished before Modena (Mutina.)

⁵ Probably at Crocetta del Trebbio, two miles west of Bologna, where an islet 500 yards long is to be seen. (Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88.)

⁶ P. VENTIDI PONT. IMP.: soldier standing. Reverse of a silver coin of Marc Antony.

new magistracy was created, under the name of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius¹ assumed to themselves the consular power for five years, with the right of disposing of all offices for the same period; their decrees were



Antony Triumvir.²

to have the force of law, without needing the confirmation of either the senate or the people; and finally, they reserved for themselves two provinces each near Italy; Lepidus took Narbonensis and Hither Spain, Antony the two Gauls, Octavius Africa, Brutus and Cassius remained undivided, as did Italy; but Octavius and Antony were to go and fight the murderers, whilst Lepidus remained at Rome and watched over the interests of the association. The triumvirs had forty-three legions; in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they pledged themselves to give them 5,000 drachmæ apiece after the war, with the lands of eighteen of



Lepidus Triumvir⁴

the finest cities in Italy, among others Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Capua, Ariminum and Vibona.³ When these conditions had been drawn up in writing, and each had sworn to observe them, Octavius read aloud to the troops the conditions of the treaty; and in order to cement the alliance they required him to marry one of Fulvia's daughters.⁵ The army in fact had succeeded to the sovereignty of the people; it deliberated, approved or rejected; the camp replaced the Forum, to the great danger of discipline and order, not to say of liberty. Of late, since *the great stroke of the ides*, the word, if not the thing itself, had often reappeared. But the last of Rome's citizens, the man who had just made a free voice heard, was already proscribed.

By that inexorable fatality which we have so often pointed out, the senatorial party was about to suffer by the law it had made for its opponents. The proscriptions and confiscations of

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 2; Dion, xlv. 55.

² M. ANTONIVS. III. VIR. R.P.C.; head of Antony; behind it the augur's *lituus*. Gold coin.

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 3; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10.

⁴ M. LEPIDVS III. VIR. R.P.C.; head of Lepidus; behind it, a simpulum and sprinkler. Gold coin.

⁵ Clodia, born of a former marriage of Fulvia with the turbulent Clodius.

Sylla were to begin again; but it was now the nobility who were to pay with their lives and fortunes for the crime of the ides of March and for the torrents of blood with which forty years before the oligarchy had flooded Rome and Italy.

In later times it was related that many prodigies had announced the triumvirs' fury. One of these may well be called true; some vultures, it was said, came and alighted on the temple consecrated to the genius of the Roman people; there were indeed birds of prey gathering together, greedy for carnage.

Before reaching Rome the triumvirs sent an order in advance to the consul Pedius to put to death seventeen of the most considerable men in the State; Cicero was among the number. Then they arrived one after another. Octavius entered first; on the following day Antony appeared; Lepidus came only third. They were each surrounded by a legion and their prætorian cohort. The inhabitants beheld with affright these silent soldiers, who went in succession and took up their position at every point whence the town could be commanded. Rome seemed like a city conquered and given over to the sword. One more day passed in cruel anxiety; a few men assembled in the Forum by a tribune, passed a plebiscitum confirming the usurpation by legalizing the triumvirate (November 27th).¹ At last in the night the following edict was posted at all the cross-ways: "Lepidus, Marcus Antonius and Octavius chosen triumvirs for the reconstitution of the Republic thus declare:² Had not the perfidy of the wicked answered benefits by hatred; had not those whom Cæsar in his clemency spared, enriched, and loaded with honours after their defeat, become his murderers, we too should forget those who have declared us public enemies. Enlightened by the experience of Cæsar, we will forestall our enemies before they take us by surprise. . . . Some of them have already been punished; with the help of the gods we will reach the rest. Being ready to undertake an expedition against the parricides beyond the seas, it has seemed to us and will appear to you necessary that we should leave no enemies behind us. There must be no hesitation, they must be swept away with one blow from among us. Yet we will be more merciful

¹ C. I. L., vol. i. 466; *Fasti colotiani*.

² Οὐδὲν λήγοντες. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 8.)

than another *imperator*, who also restored the ruined Republic, and whom you hailed with the name of Felix. Not all the wealthy, not all who have held office will perish, but only the reprobate. That is why we have preferred to draw up a list of



Genius of the Roman People.¹

proscribed persons rather than to order an execution in which the soldiers, blinded by rage, might have struck down some of the innocent. This then is our order: let no one hide any of those whose names follow: whosoever shall aid in the escape of a proscribed man shall be himself proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. As a reward a man of free condition shall receive 25,000 Attic drachmæ, a slave 10,000, together with freedom and the name of citizen. The names of the executioners and informers shall be kept secret."

Then followed the list of 130 names; a second containing 150 appeared almost immediately afterwards, and this was succeeded by others. Senators received the honour of a separate list; their names were not, as in Sylla's time, mixed up with those of common *proscripti*, and it is not certain that some did not hold to this distinction even in death.²

Before day-break guards had been placed at the gates and in all places which might serve for escape. To deprive the condemned of all hope of pardon, at the head of the first list stood the names of Lepidus' brother, of L. Caesar, Antony's uncle,³ of

¹ Statue in the National Museum at Naples. It comes from the Farnese Collection.

² Dion, xlvii. 4.

³ This Lepidus and L. Caesar, cousin of the dictator, had been the first to vote for the *senatus-consultum* which declared the brother of one and the nephew of the other public enemies. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 12.)

a brother of Plancus, of Pollio's father-in-law, and of C. Toranius, one of the guardians of Octavius. Each of the triumvirs had given up one of his relatives to win the right of indulging his vengeance without stint. They kept their accounts with scrupulous exactness; such and such a head claimed by one appeared to the others to be worth two or three; they bargained, they agreed, and the three heads were given to balance the account. As in the fatal days of Marius and Sylla, the rostra had its hideous trophies; thither the heads must be carried to receive the blood-money. Hatred, envy, greed, every evil passion broke loose, and it was easy to get a name inserted in the fatal list or to hide the corpse of a murdered enemy amid those of the proscribed. The virile



The Triumvirs.¹

robe was given to children in order to release their property from tutelage before the time, and then they were condemned. A head was brought to Antony: "I do not know it," replied he, "let it be taken to my wife." It was that of a wealthy private individual who had refused to sell one



Fulvia.²



Fulvia.³

of his villas to Fulvia. One woman, in order to marry a friend of Antony, got her husband proscribed and gave him up herself. A son revealed the hiding-place of his father, a prætor in office, and was rewarded with the ædileship. C. Toranius asked the assassins for a respite of a few moments to send his son to entreat Antony's clemency. "But it was thy son," they answered, "who

¹ Heads of Octavius, Marc Antony, and Lepidus side by side on a bronze coin of Ephesus.

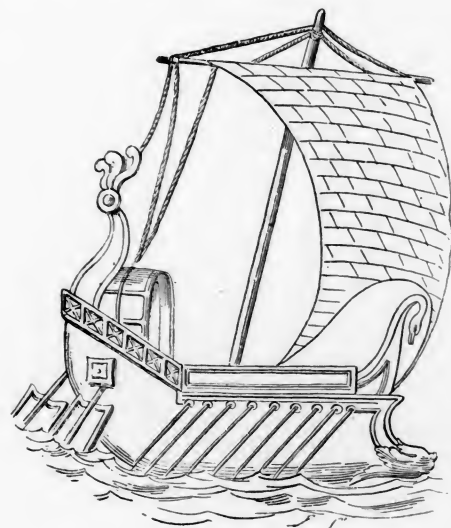
² Head of Fulvia as Victory. On the reverse, C. NVMONIVS VAALA; soldier attacking an entrenchment.

³ Fulvia, Antony's first wife, with the attributes of victory, the wings and shield. From a very rare bronze coin bearing the inscription, ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ [Fulvianorum]. (*Revue Numism.*, 1853, pl. x., No. 5.)

demanding thy death." The tribune Salvius was killed at table, and the murderers obliged the guests to continue the banquet.¹ Verres perished then; Antony wished to have his Corinthian bronzes. Plancus had hidden himself near Salernum, but he could not give up the delicacies of life and the perfumes which disclosed his retreat. In order to save his slaves, who were put to torture, he gave himself up.

Sextus Pompey.²

There were, however, some fine examples of devotion; Varro was saved by his friends, others by their slaves; Appius by his son, whose filial piety the people afterwards rewarded

A Vessel.³

by giving him the ædileship. Antony's mother, the sister of L. Cæsar, threw herself before the murderers crying: "You shall not slay him till you have killed me—me, the mother of your general." He had time to flee and hide himself; a decree of the consul erased his name from the list of the proscribed. Many escaped, thanks to the ships of Sextus Pompey, who had just taken possession of Sicily, and whose fleet was cruising along the coasts. He had caused a notice to be posted in Rome itself, where the triumvirs promised

¹ Dion, xlvii. 5, 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 12–51. He speaks of 300 senators and 2,000 knights being proscribed. The numbers are less in Livy (*Epit.*, cxx.); there mention is only made of 130 senators.

² From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 184.

³ Ship with lifts, sail, and ram. (Rich, *Dict. des antiq.*, etc., under the word *Ceruchi*.)

100,000 sesterces for a head, that he would give 200,000 for each proscribed man saved. Several succeeded in reaching Africa, Syria, and Macedonia. Cicero was less fortunate; Octavius had abandoned him to Antony's rancour, with regret, however, for it was a useless murder. Since they were going to impose silence on the Forum, what was an orator without a platform? A voice without echo, which would grow silent of its own accord. But Antony and Fulvia wished for the hand which had written and the tongue which had delivered the *Philippics*, and Octavius had called to mind the joyful cry uttered by Cicero at the news of the murder of Cæsar, his homicidal regret at not having been able to strike too. By a just retribution he who, except in one instance, was more distinguished for humanity than any other Roman, was about to meet the fate which he had wished to inflict on a greater man than himself: *pati legem quam fecit*.¹

Cicero was with his brother at his house in Tusculum. At the first news of the proscriptions they hastened to Astura, where stood another of his villas, situated in a little islet which was sufficiently near the coast to become united to it in later times. Thence they counted upon taking ship and reaching Greece; but they lacked provisions and money; Quintus went back to get some. His son fell into the hands of the murderers, who put him to the torture to make him reveal the spot where Quintus was hidden; in spite of fearful sufferings the youth kept silence; the father, who saw and heard all, could not endure the sight, and gave himself up. At Astura Cicero found a vessel which carried him to Circæi; there despair seized him; he went ashore exclaiming: "I will die in this country which I have so often saved."² He formed a design of returning to Rome, secretly penetrating into the house of Octavius, and killing himself upon the hearthstone, in order to attract an avenging fury on his life. His

¹ See p. 401, note 2. Livy says of Cicero's death: *Quæ vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortune compos item fecisset.* (Fragm. of Book cxx.)

² *Moriar in patria sæpe servata.* (Livy, *Fragm.*, cxx.) The historian adds; *Omnium adversorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit præter mortem.* (Cf. Quintil., *Inst.*, xii. 1, and Lucan, *Phars.*, vii. 65, who is very hostile to him.) On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 66), under Tiberius, and Juvenal (viii. 237), under Trajan, are very favourable to him. It is strange that Tacitus never mentions his name except in the *Dialogue of Orators* (40), and incidentally in the speech of Crematius Cordus. (*Ann.*, iv. 34.)

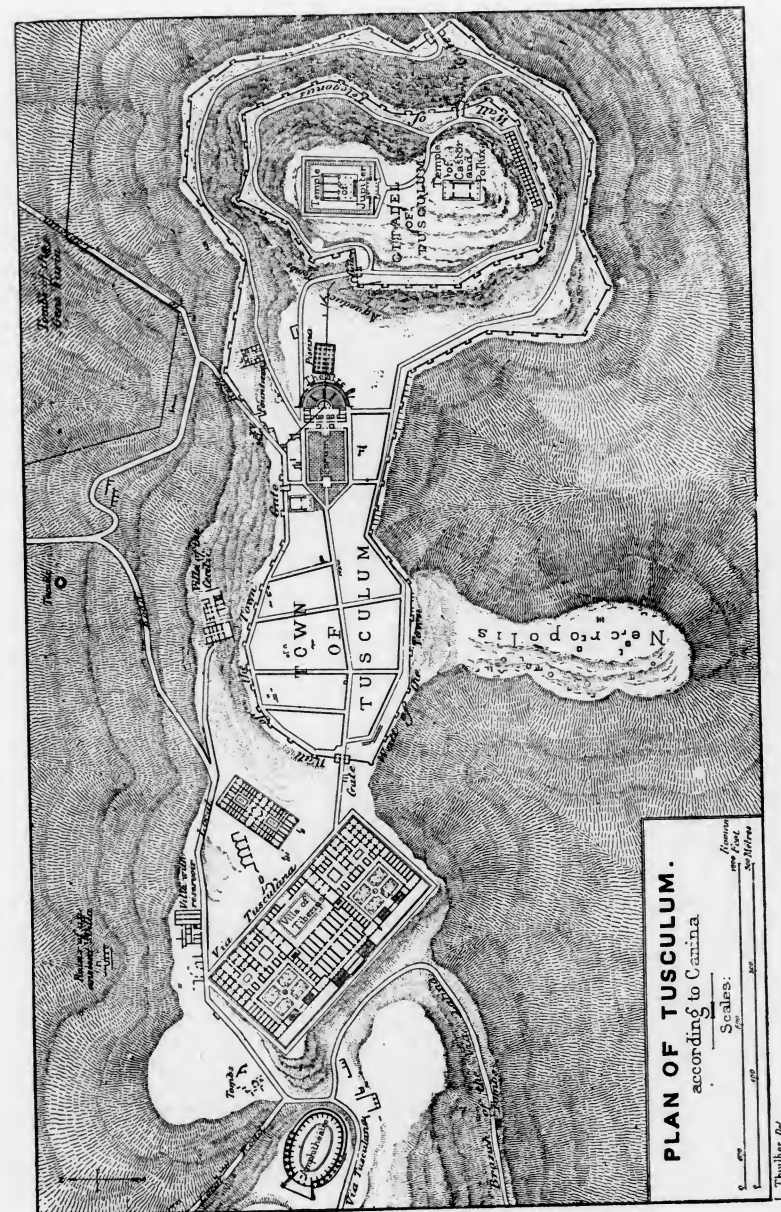
servants, however, still led him away as far as his house at Formiæ, where he landed to rest himself for a short time from the fatigues of the sea.¹

Scarcely had he got into his litter again when the assassins arrived, led by a centurion named Herennius and a legionary tribune called Popillius, whom he had formerly saved from an accusation of parricide. They burst in the doors; but as all in the house asserted that they had seen nothing of their master, they were undecided what to do, when a young man named Philogonus, whom Cicero had himself instructed in literature, told the tribune that the litter was being carried towards the sea by covered passages. Popillius, with a few soldiers, made a rush to reach the outlet before it, whilst the rest of the band with Herennius hastened along the passage. The noise of their steps warned Cicero that he was discovered; he stopped his litter, and carrying his left hand to his chin, a common gesture with him, he looked steadily at the murderers. His disordered and dusty hair, his pale and wasted countenance, made the soldiers hesitate, and they covered their faces while Herennius struck. He had put his head out of the litter and presented his throat to the murderer (4th of December, 43). "Of all his misfortunes," says Livy, "death was the only one which he bore like a man."

According to Antony's orders they cut off his head and his hand, which were brought to the triumvir while he was at table. At the sight of them he expressed a savage satisfaction, and Fulvia, taking up the bloody head, pierced with a bodkin the tongue which had pursued her with so many well-merited sarcasms. The sad remains were then fastened to the rostra. Crowds flocked to see them, as they had but lately done to hear the great orator, but with tears and groans. Octavius himself was secretly grieved at his death; and although under his reign none ever dared pronounce that great name, he gave the consulship to his son as a reparation.

On one occasion he even bore witness to his virtues. "I have

¹ Formiæ (*Mola di Gaeta*) is four miles from Gaëta. There may still be seen there, about a mile from the shore, some remains of Cicero's villa, and the inhabitants point out an obelisk which they assert is his tomb. (Eustace, *Classical Tour*, ii. 313.) He was sixty-four years of age all but twenty-nine days.



heard tell," relates Plutarch, "that several years afterwards, Augustus having one day entered the apartment of one of his nephews, that youth, who was holding a work of Cicero's in his hands, surprised at seeing his uncle, hid the book under his robe. Augustus, who perceived this, took the book, read a great part of it standing, and returned it to the youth saying: "He was a wise man, my son; yes, a wise man, and one who loved his country well."¹

Thus perished, in the splendour of his talent, the prince of Roman orators, and one of the most honourable men who have ever adorned literature, one of those whose writings have most contributed to the moral development of humanity.

Doubtless Cicero cannot be counted among great minds. As a philosopher his part is small; he expounds and discusses, without advancing any original views, the opinions of different schools. He himself says so to Atticus: "I have little trouble about it, for I only furnish the words for which I am never at a loss."² His treatise *concerning Duties* is the gospel of the Latins, but he copied Panætios; most of his works on rhetoric are translated or imitated from the Greeks. His *Laws* are rather a brilliant résumé of Roman legislation than a theory in the style of Aristotle or Plato; and his mind has such difficulty in rising above present things, that in the *Republic*, the most original of his works, he shows the ideal of the best government fully realized in the constitution of Rome. Possessing a supple and brilliant understanding, he lacks depth and breadth; he is above all things an artist in language.

As a philosopher, he may be blamed for many contradictions; as a *consularis* for many errors; as an individual for many weaknesses.

His philosophy was like Janus, it had two faces, one for the profane, another for the initiated. In the peroration of the *Verrine*

¹ Atticus, Cicero's great friend, did not perish with him. We have seen how he took his precautions with Antony by aiding with his wealth the triumvir's wife, who during the siege of Modena had remained at Rome without any resources. This clever man, the friend of the tyrannicide, married his only daughter to Agrippa and his granddaughter to Tiberius. Accordingly he had taken great care to destroy all his correspondence with Cicero, in which the new masters might have read his homicidal wishes against Cæsar.

² *Ad Att.*, xii. 52; *Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.*

Orations, he retains the gods and the old beliefs as oratorical properties; in the *Republic* and the *Laws*, as a useful instrument of government; and in the *Tusculan Disputations*, in the treatise concerning the *Nature of the Gods*, paganism is no longer aught but a tissue of fables and symbols; in the two books on *Divination*, the public religion is so completely destroyed with deadly irony that the pagans demanded the burning of that work. The conclusion which is naturally reached by himself and his readers from these contradictory data, is that men must doubt, because certain problems are insoluble.

In politics his view did not extend beyond a limited horizon. He knew better than any other man the vices of the nobles and of their government; but as a *novus homo* he served their interests, in order to induce them to accept him. A great orator, he grew intoxicated with his own eloquence, and dreamt of governing the empire with speeches. Had he possessed the master quality of the statesman, the art of discovering the real wants of his times, he would have placed his fine faculties at the service of the new ideas, and aided Cæsar in carrying out a pacific reform which would have averted the bloody revolution of the second triumvirate; but with Cæsar he would have occupied a second place, and he wished to be first in everything.

His correspondence reveals serious faults, a feminine vanity,¹ skill in compromises, and a changeableness which made him pass in a few days from one sentiment to the very opposite;² but what man seen as he is, in the full glare of day, and in the secrecy of his inmost feelings, would preserve that reputation for austere gravity which is only the mask of a clever intriguer?

In short, if he created nothing, at least his marvellous facility in appropriating the ideas of others has circulated an infinite number of beautiful and grand thoughts which we should otherwise

¹ The proof of this is found everywhere throughout his correspondence. See his curious letter to Luceius whom he urges to write the history of his famous consulship, "favouring friendship a little more than truth."

² At the end of October, Cato was his dearest friend; at the beginning of November he would have willingly made him out to be a dishonest man, and that too, for the very same matter; *Amicissimus meus qui honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixit (ad Att., vii. 1)* . . . *qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. (Ibid., 2.)* Seneca said; *In Cicerone constantia desideratur. (Suasor., 11, 12.)*

have lost, and which, collected in his works, have made him one of the preceptors of the human race.¹

When he boasted of having snatched from ageing Greece her philosophic glory, he deceived himself. But Greek civilization had travelled towards the East. Cicero concentrated, if I may so say, its scattered rays and sent them back towards the barbarian West, for which Greece had done nothing.² What does it matter to us after all that he was only an echo, since that resounding echo has spread throughout the whole world words which, but for him, would have remained idle and unknown.

In ethics and theology we have the idea of unity and divine Providence, of the immortality of the soul,³ of human liberty and responsibility, of punishments and rewards, reserved for another life.

In political morality we have the idea of universal citizenship whereof charity should be the chief bond, the perfecting of our species, the necessity for all to work for the general good, and the obligation to found the useful upon the honourable, law upon equity, sovereignty upon justice, that is to say, the civil upon the natural law, revealed by God Himself, since He had graven it on the hearts of all men.⁴ Such are some of the noble beliefs which the magic of his style has popularized. All this is not, it is true, either rigorously demonstrated or dogmatically systematized. It is the effort of a fair soul seeking everywhere what elevates and consoles, arriving at the truths of natural religion, and not the patient work of the philosopher constructing a coherent system. But to speak to the heart, is all this logic necessary?

¹ Alexander Severus, in his *Lavarium*, places him beside Moses and Plato. (Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 31.) "After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass upon his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example." (Merivale, vol. iii. p. 212.)

² He himself says in his *pro Archia* (100); "What is written in Greek is read almost everywhere; the Latin never quits its territory, which is a small one."

³ On this life to come and on the government of the world by Providence he has often doubts in his *Treatises*, but not in his *Speeches*, and it is his speeches especially which have been read.

⁴ It has been said of Cicero that he was one of the representatives of that former Christianity which has so often been noticed, and of which Plato was, as it were, the apostle. Erasmus indeed, is quite ready to demand his canonization; he does not doubt; . . . *quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt aliqua divinitas occupavit.* (Le Clerc, *Œuvres de Cicéron*, vol. xxviii. p. 7.) Petrarch had already spoken to the same effect. (Mezières, *Pétrarque*, p. 345, 414, 416.) On the ensemble of Cicero's moral ideas, see a very learned chapter by M. Havet. (*Le Christianisme et ses origines*, vol. ii. p. 110-142, chap. xi.)

I would willingly conclude with Quintilian: "A man grows better by delighting in Cicero,"¹ and with Dante, that posterity will always preserve his name:

*De cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura
E durerà, quanto 'l mondo lontana.*²

In those bloody saturnalia of the second triumvirate, Octavius, notwithstanding his youth, had displayed extreme cruelty; as he was the most intelligent, on him falls the heaviest share of the responsibility. The murder above all of the man whom he had called his father, who had secured his first steps and obtained for him his first honours, leaves on his name a blot which is not wiped out by the glory of the reign of Augustus. This blood stains the hand which has shed it, and "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten it."³

¹ *Institut.*, x. 1; *Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.*

² *Inferno*, ii. 59-60.

³ Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act v. Scene 1.

⁴ From an agate in the National Museum of Naples, pl. 106. (See above, on p. 292, the influence of Greek art on the transformation of the ancient Medusa.)



Head of Medusa.

CHAPTER LX.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE UP TO THE DEATH OF LEPIDUS (43-36 B.C.).

I.—PREPARATIONS OF THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE MURDERERS.

DURING the days of blood, Lepidus and Planus, the consuls-elect, had issued an edict, under threat of proscription, to hold festivals on the renewal of the year. They even had the courage to celebrate each of them a triumph for some insignificant successes won in Spain and Gaul. The soldiers, punning on the double meaning of the word *germanus*, which means a brother as well as a German, sang behind their chariot: "It is not over the Gauls but over their own brothers that our consuls triumph." Each of them indeed had given up a brother to the murderers. The soldiers felt themselves to be necessary,¹ and did not think that their leaders, in tolerating their insolence, paid too dearly for the power which they had conferred on them. They would scarcely allow



Lepidus.²

¹ Ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφάλειν ἔχοντων. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 35.)

² Bust in the Parma Museum, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, pl. 9.

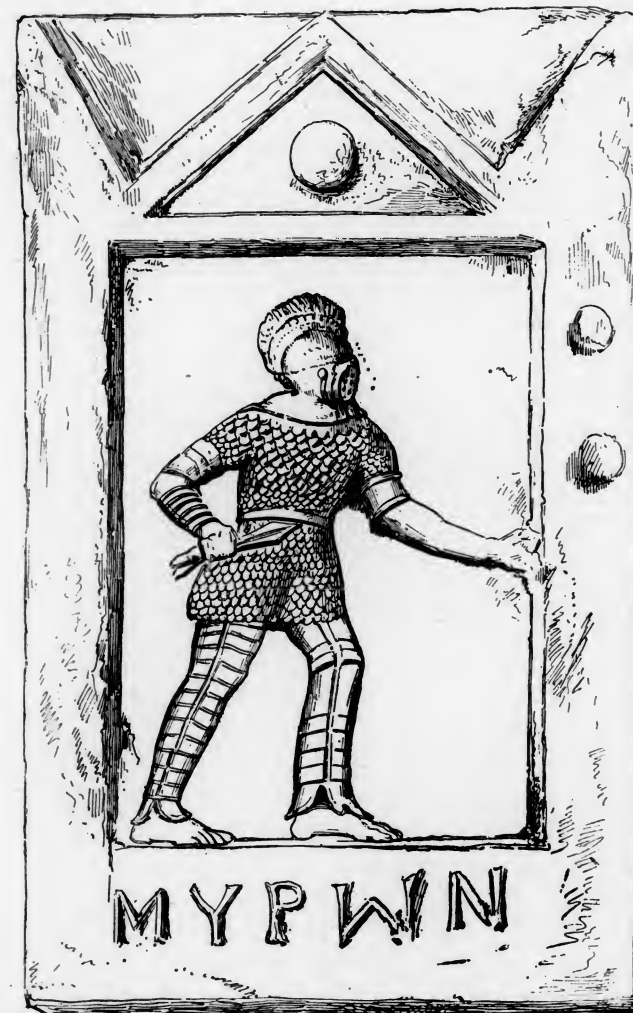
the property of the proscribed to be sold. One wanted a villa, another some land; this man took the house, that man the money and slaves. Some forced wealthy citizens to adopt them that they might become their heirs; others, less patient, slew the man, proscribed or not, whose fortune they coveted. Happy were those whose houses they contented themselves with plundering. The whole city trembled before this soldiery recruited from robbers, gladiators, and slaves escaped from their prisons. One of the consuls was, however, bold enough to crucify some of these legionary slaves.

Save for this noise of soldiers, a deadly silence reigned round the three masters of Rome. Some women, it is said, dared to break it. To fill their military chest, which stood in need of 80,000,000 sesterces, they had imposed a heavy contribution on 1,400 of the richest matrons. Led by Hortensia, the daughter of the orator, they repaired to the Forum, and made their way up to the tribunal of the triumvirs. Hortensia began: "Before presenting ourselves before you," said she, "we have solicited the intervention of Fulvia; her refusal has obliged us to come hither. Already you have taken away our fathers, our children, our brothers, our husbands; to deprive us of our fortune also is to reduce us to a condition which befits neither our birth, nor our habits, nor our sex; it is to extend your proscriptions to us. But have we then raised soldiers against you or sought after your offices? Do we dispute the power for which you are fighting? From the time of Hannibal our ancestors have willingly given to the treasury their jewels and ornaments; let the Gauls or the Parthians come and there will be found in us no less patriotism; but do not ask us to contribute to this fratricidal war which is rending the Republic; neither Marius, nor Cinna, nor even Sylla during his tyranny dared to do so."¹ The triumvirs tried to drive the orator and her fellows from the spot, but the people began to be stirred, and they prudently yielded. The next day an edict appeared reducing the number of taxed matrons to 400.

The political foes of the triumvirs had paid for their opposition with their lives: the rest of the people paid for their cowardly

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 32. This speech of Hortensia, like so many others of antiquity, is probably not authentic; yet Quintilian (i. 1, 6) says he read it. (Cf. Val. Max., viii. 3, 3.)

submission with a part of their possessions. All the inhabitants



Gladiator Fully Armed.²

of Rome and of Italy, citizens and foreigners, priests and freedmen,

² Helmet with visor, coat of mail, *lorica hamata*; the arms, thighs, and legs are guarded by bands of metal. The name reads Myron. Bas-relief in the Louvre Museum, No. 629 of the Clarac Catalogue.

possessed of more than 100,000 drachmæ, *lent* the tithe of their property and *gave* a year's income.¹ It is needless to add that the laws and the magistracies were treated with no more respect than property and life. "They changed the magistrates," says one of the ancients, "they abolished the laws; they made others

Serapis.²

according to their good pleasure, so that Cæsar's reign seemed to have been the golden age."² When, glutted with blood and rapine, the triumvirs announced that the proscription was at an end, the senate awarded them civic crowns as saviours of their country. Octavius, who had shown himself the cruellest, reserved to himself a few more murders, declaring that he had not punished all the guilty.

The last

measure of the triumvirs in this terrible year was an act of devotion: a decree for the erection of a temple to Serapis and Isis. This was a far from costly concession to the popular element, and a continuation on other grounds of the war against

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 34. Dion (xlviii. 14) gives different numbers, but shows a still more deplorable condition of things at Rome and in Italy.

² . . . ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανήναι. (Dion, xlvii. 15.)

³ Found at Tivoli.

the nobles. The lower people sought after new gods, and they had good reason; for more than a century their old gods had been deaf to their prayers. But the senate disliked these foreign superstitions, which they could not direct in furtherance of their policy; they had attempted in 58 to expel Isis from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the populace had opposed them. In 53, at the time of the oligarchical reaction, another decree ordered the destruction of all chapels of the Egyptian goddess, and forbade the worship of her even in the interior of houses, and Cæsar renewed this prohibition six years later. To maintain the purity of the Roman faith was the least of the triumvirs' cares; Isis was pleasing the populace; so they restored her to them.

On the first of January, 42, Plancus and Lepidus entered into possession of the consulship; the oath to observe the laws and acts of Cæsar was renewed, with great honours to his memory, festivals, temples, and a complete apotheosis. As he was declared a god,² they gave him a flamen, a college of Julian priests, and public sacrifices; it was forbidden to carry his image at the funerals of his relatives, since he had passed from his earthly family into that of Jupiter; the right of asylum was allowed to

Isis.¹

¹ Fine bronze from Herculaneum. This statuette combines the attributes of Fortune with those of the goddess Isis. (*Bronzes d'Herculaneum*, p. 99.)

² Θεοῦ τιμὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος. (Dion, xlvii. 19.)

the *heroön*, or chapel, which was raised to him on the spot where his body had been burnt, and all citizens were to celebrate the anniversary of his birth. Any man among the plebs who refused was devoted to Jupiter and Cæsar, that is to say, was put to death; a senator or senator's son got off with a fine of 250,000 drachmæ. This was the beginning of that strange legislation which under the Empire established so great a penal difference between the *honestior* and the *humilior*.¹ A difficulty arose. The festival of Apollo fell on the same day as that of Cæsar, and the Sibylline oracle prescribed that only the son of Latona should be honoured on that day. It was agreed that the new god should give way, that his recent divinity should not avail him against that of the older god, and so the festival of Cæsar was fixed on the eve of the Apollinarian games.

The triumvirs settled all the offices for the following years; then Octavius repaired to Rhegium and Antony to Brundisium, where the fleet was only awaiting a fair wind to carry the army to Greece. Cornificius, who commanded in the name of the senate in the old province of Africa, had just been conquered and slain by Sittius, governor of Numidia; all the West, therefore, except Sicily, where Sextus Pompey had established himself, obeyed the triumvirs. After a futile attempt by the young Cæsar against Sextus, they crossed the Ionian sea, without any molestation from the Republican fleet, which numbered 130 large vessels, under the orders of Mureus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Cæsar had merely passed through the East, the principal scene of Pompey's glory. The name of the latter was still respected there; and as the murderers of the dictator were looked upon as having avenged on him his rival's death, they had found a safe asylum in these provinces, which were moreover animated with a spirit wholly differing from that of the West. On quitting Italy, Brutus had repaired to Athens, where at first he only seemed to occupy himself in attending the lessons of Theomnestus, the Academic, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic. He worked, however, at gaining the young Romans resident in that city, and distributed money among them without any regard to services or

¹ See in the *Mémoires* of the *Acad. des inscriptions* (vol. xxix., part 2) my memoir on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores*.

age. Horace was scarcely twenty, yet he was appointed legionary tribune.¹ As soon as it became known that Brutus was collecting soldiers, the remnants of the Pompeian legions left in Greece after Pharsalia flocked round him. A quæstor who was bearing to Rome the taxes of Asia, allowed himself to be won over, and delivered up to him 500,000 drachmæ, which helped him in his negotiations with the troops; 500 horse whom Cinna was leading to Dolabella in Asia also went over to his side, and the younger Cicero raised a whole legion and gave it to him. Finally, in Demetrias he found vast collections of arms got together by Cæsar for his expedition against the Parthians.

The plebiscitum which had deprived him of the government of Macedonia was illegal, since the acts of the dictator had been confirmed. The proconsul, Q. Hortensius, recognized him as his lawful successor, and made over the command to him, a decision which gave him a vast province and an army, threatening Italy. Antony had ordered his brother Caius to contest Greece with the Republicans by joining with his own troops those under the command of Vatinius in Illyria. In order to prevent their junction Brutus marched upon Dyrrachium and enticed away the soldiers of Vatinius. At Apollonia Caius Antonius was no longer master of his own men; in the first engagement he lost three cohorts; in the second he was conquered and made prisoner by the younger Cicero, and then put to death by the order of Brutus, in retaliation for the murder of Dec. Brutus, who had been sacrificed by Antony (43). An expedition against the Bessi brought Thrace too under the Republican general, whom his troops saluted with the title of *imperator*. From the Euxine to the Adriatic all obeyed him; and he collected 16,000 talents.

It must not, however, be thought that any violent love for the Republic existed in these countries. The Athenians, who had lost everything save their eloquence, celebrated in prose and verse the act of the tyrannicides, and raised bronze statues to Brutus and Cassius, beside those of Harmodios and Aristogiton. But the other Greeks, less fond of rhetoric and better moulded to obedience, submitted to the orders of Brutus, because they saw in him the

¹ Horace, *Sat.*, I. vi. 48.

lawful representative of the Roman government. Moreover, the new Civil war would doubtless end in proscriptions, which would allow of plunder, and certainly in gratuities to the victors. If each of the triumvir's soldiers had been richly rewarded for a partial victory, how much would not those of Brutus receive for a triumph which would save his head and his party? Accordingly, all the adventurers from all the countries on the east side of the Adriatic flocked round the standard of the tyrannicides, as on the opposite shore they came and ranged themselves beneath the ensigns of Caesar's avengers. Excepting to the leaders and their personal friends, booty was everything and the cause nothing.

Cassius had also repaired to his government of Syria, where he had left a good character behind him at the time of the expedition of Crassus, and all the troops had gone over to him. Antony's colleague Dolabella arrived at almost the same time in the province of Asia, where his emissaries surprised Trebonius, one of Caesar's murderers. Trebonius demanded to be led before the proconsul: "Let him go where he will," replied Dolabella,

on condition that he leaves his head behind him." He was tortured for two whole days, and his head was kicked about by the populace of Smyrna. But Dolabella could not maintain this first advantage; being besieged in Laodicea in Syria, he ordered one of the soldiers of his guard to cut off his head.



Coin of Laodicea.¹

When this news reached Rome Cicero had already proposed the outlawry of his son-in-law; he instigated the voting of a *senatus-consultum* confirming Brutus and Cassius in their governments, and placing under their orders all the troops scattered between the Ionian sea and the Euphrates, with the right of raising the necessary money and of summoning to their aid the contingents of allied kings.² In announcing these decrees to them, he urged them to return to Italy in order to free the senate from any need of the dangerous support of Octavius. But neither of them had that decision which doubles a man's strength. In a time of

¹ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; local deity standing. Bronze coin of Laodicea.

² Cassius even solicited aid of the Parthians, to whom he sent the son of Labienus, and among whom he recruited a few archers. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxvii.; App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 59 and 63; Dion, xlviii. 24.)



Ruins of Xanthos (theatre and tomb) from Sir Charles Fellows *Lycaia, Caria, Lydia*.

revolution, when opinion contributes so much towards success, where rashness is advisable again and again, they tried to carry on a methodic warfare, stopping before every town, and never leaving behind them a shadow of resistance. Instead of responding to Cicero's appeal, Brutus sent him sarcasms on his prudence and on his connection with Octavius; he cast doubt on his courage and foresight. But whilst he was writing fine stoic sentences to him and to Atticus, events were hurrying, and the news of the formation of the triumvirate, of the proscriptions, and of Cicero's death, found him on the road to Asia with his army, and Cassius marching towards Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the help she had furnished to Dolabella.

They then perceived the necessity for uniting. At the interview at Smyrna Cassius still prevailed on his colleague to follow the plan of awaiting the enemy in the East, and of employing the troops in subduing the nations which offered resistance; these were the Lycians, Rhodes, and the king of Cappadocia. They divided between them the money which Cassius by his exactions had already collected, and then separated. Brutus entered Lycia, where he met with no resistance except before the town of Xanthos. Rather than surrender, the Xanthians set fire to their houses and threw themselves into the flames with their wives and children;² of the whole population there survived but 150 persons. Patara in affright gave up all the gold and silver it possessed, whether in coined money or in ingots; whosoever attempted to hide his wealth was put to death. Cassius on his side attacked Rhodes. The inhabitants invoked their title of allies of the Roman people: "By giving help to Dolabella," replied he, "you have torn up that treaty." He overcame their fleet in two battles, and took their city, which he plundered. They besought him to leave them at least the statues of their gods. "I will leave you the sun," said he. Some consoled themselves, regarding this speech as an involuntary but certain presage of approaching death. He beheaded fifty of the principal

Coin of Xanthos.¹

¹ Head of the Sun; in front, a bird. On the reverse, ΞA , a pomegranate flower, two monograms, a thyrsus and an unknown object. Silver coin of Xanthos.

² Dion, xlvii. 34.

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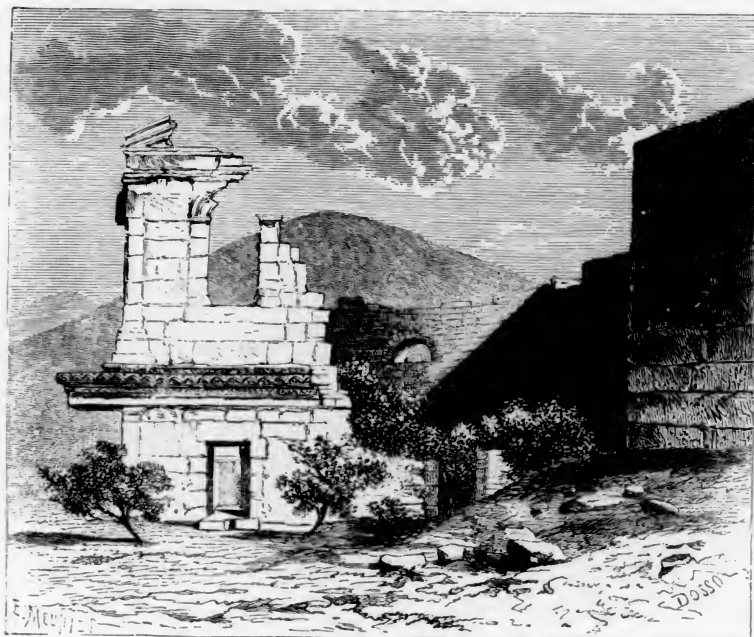
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² Dion, xlvii. 34.

inhabitants, and carried off from the island 8,500 talents. Already at Laodicea he had plundered the temples and the public treasury, and put the noblest citizens to death. At Tarsus, which had taken advantage of these complications to vent an old quarrel with Adana, he exacted 1,500 talents. On returning to the mainland he entered Cappadocia, where he slew the king, Ariobarzanes, in order to possess himself of his wealth, and he put the whole of



Patara (Ruins of the Theatre according to Fellows *Lycia*, &c., pl. 8).

Roman Asia under the most intolerable exactions. The province had to pay ten years' taxes all at once. In Judæa he had fixed the contribution at more than 700 talents; and as the money did not come in quickly enough, notwithstanding Herod's zeal, he caused the inhabitants of the towns to be sold.¹

In his former government of Cisalpine Gaul, Brutus had earned by his justice the gratitude of the inhabitants, who had raised a statue to him, and who succeeded in inducing Augustus

¹ Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. 18.

to leave it standing; he attempted to mitigate the evils of the war. In a second interview with Cassius at Sardis, he blamed him severely for bringing their cause into detestation. "It would have been better," said he, "to let Caesar live. If he shut his eyes to the injustice of his party, he himself at least never despoiled anyone." But they had the most numerous army that Rome had ever led to battle; it was necessary to feed, pay and retain soldiers and officers by yielding to all their covetous desires; so that the last chiefs of the Republic seemed to set themselves to work to prove to the nations, which suffered by the passions they did not share, the necessity of a government capable of securing that most precious of all liberties, the freedom of home, property, and life.



Coin of Sardis.¹

II.—DOUBLE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI (AUTUMN, 42).

Laden with the plunder of Asia, the two armies set forth on their return to Europe. One night as Brutus sat wakeful in his tent [at Abydos], a spectre of strange and terrible aspect appeared before him: "Who art thou, man or god?" said the stoic general without a tremor. "I am thy evil genius," replied the phantom, "thou wilt meet me again on the plains of Philippi," and he vanished. On the following day Brutus related this vision of his troubled mind to the epicurean Cassius, who, like Lucretius, explained to him the vain nature of dreams and apparitions. In Thrace they were joined by a chief of the country, named Rhaseuporis, who led them by the shortest road into Macedonia. They had 80,000 infantry and 20,000 horse, as rapacious and undisciplined as those of the triumvirs; and in order to incite them to fight well they gave them each 1,500 drachmæ, to the centurions 7,500, and to the tribunes in proportion; 20,000 auxiliaries, perhaps, followed their nineteen legions.

A hostile army commanded by Norbanus, eight legions strong, had entrenched itself in the defiles of the Sapeans. Guided by the

¹ CAPΔIC; head of the city of Sardis, veiled and turret-crowned. Bronze coin.

Thracian Rhaseuporis, they turned this position by crossing impracticable mountains; Norbanus escaped by retiring rapidly upon Amphipolis, which Antony was approaching; but he abandoned the strong position of Philippi to his foes.



Proserpine gathering Flowers.²

because it was the best passage from one continent to the other, and the Greeks had placed there the scene of the poetic legend of Proserpine carried off by Pluto as she was gathering flowers in that fertile plain.³ Here camped the last army of the Republic, and the first soldiers of the Empire.



Coin of Philippi (Gold).⁴



Coin of Philippi (Silver).

The Republicans occupied a formidable position. Being masters of the fortress of Philippi, which stood on a rocky promontory in the midst of the plain, they had taken up their position in front of

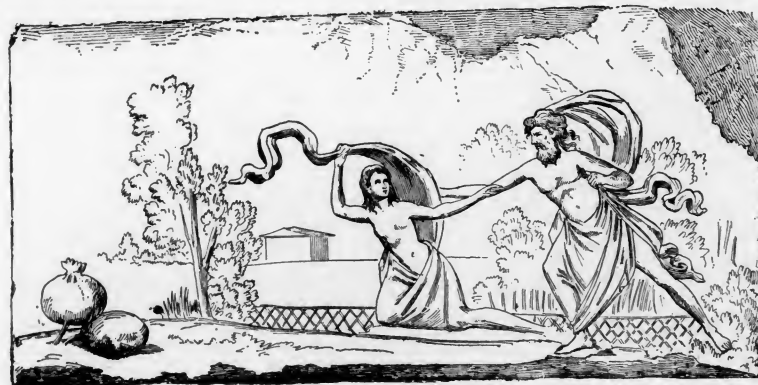
¹ Leake, *Travel in North Greece*, vol. iii. p. 183, 191.

² Terra-cotta from Cyrene in the *Cabinet de France*. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 8.)

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 105.

⁴ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ; tripod and bunch of grapes. Reverse of a gold coin of Philippi.

it on both sides of the *Via Egnatia*; Brutus on the slopes of the Panaghirdagh, Cassius on two hills near the sea, in order to maintain communication with the fleet, which was stationed behind him at Neapolis, and with his stores established in the island of Thasos. An entrenchment ran between the camps which faced westward, the side from which the triumviral army approached, and a river, the Gangas, covered the front. But this river was fordable



Pluto and Proserpine.¹

everywhere, and the entrenchment, 300 yards long, would not be difficult to cross for an enterprising enemy.

Antony had taken up his position in front of Cassius, and Octavius, on his left, facing Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in point of numbers. If the Republicans were stronger in cavalry, their legionaries were not so good as those of the triumvirs, who were almost all old soldiers. But they had a formidable fleet, which intercepted all supplies for the Cæsarians by sea. Accordingly Antony, threatened with famine, longed for battle, which Cassius, on the contrary, wished to put off. Brutus, eager to have done with his anxiety and terminate the Civil war, for the end of which his Asiatic auxiliaries clamoured, persisted in his advice to fight, and carried the majority with him. In both camps the



Coin of Neapolis.²

¹ Mural painting discovered at Ostia and published in the *Monum. inéd. de l'Institut archéol.*, vol. viii., pl. xxviii., No. 2.

² Mask or head of the Gorgon. Silver coin of Neapolis.

illustrations usual on the eve of a battle were made,¹ to conciliate the favour of the gods, but Antony made sure of it by choosing his point of attack well. He manœuvred so as to cut off the enemy from his

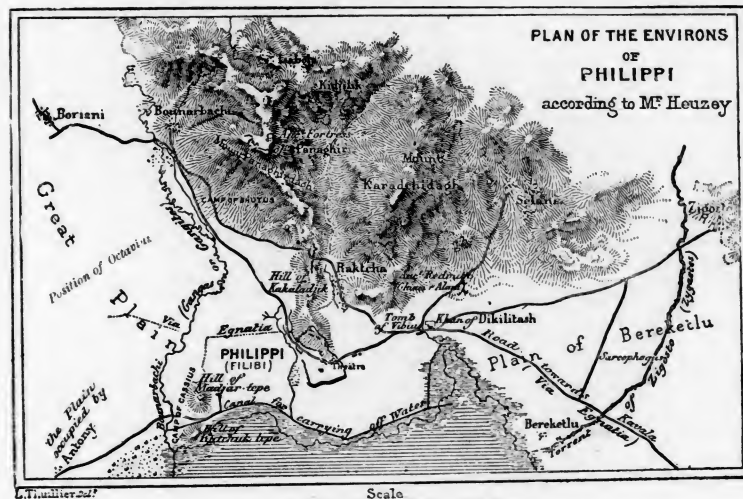


Coin found at Neapolis (Kavala).²



Coin found at Kavala.

fleet; it was thus on the south that the action began. Octavius was sick, so sick that he had not the strength to bear arms or to stand upright; nevertheless, he quitted his camp and took his place between the lines of his legionaries. On this



Plan of the Environs of Philippi.³

decisive day the soldiers needed to see their chief, dead or alive, in the midst of them. One of the lieutenants of Brutus, named Messala, attacking the Cæsarians impetuously, broke through their left wing and penetrated into their camp, where the litter of Octavius, which had been left there, was riddled with arrows. The report spread that he had been killed, and Brutus thought that the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony pierced

¹ Dion, xlvii. 38.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 3.

³ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, plan A.

through the enemy's ranks and took his camp. The dust which covered the plain and the extent of the line of battle, prevented the incidents of the action being observed. Cassius, who had taken refuge with some of his men on a neighbouring height, saw a body of cavalry coming towards him; to avoid falling alive into the hands of his foes, he ordered a freedman to kill him; it was Brutus who, having conquered, was hastening to his aid. The flatterers of the new royalty afterwards said that at the critical moment terror had seized the soul of the Epicurean sceptic; that he had thought he saw Caesar covered with a purple mantle and with a threatening countenance, urging his horse upon him. "Yet I had slain thee," exclaimed he, turning away his eyes, and driven by the vengeance of the god, he himself offered his throat to the sword.¹ Brutus, on seeing his dead body, shed tears and called him the last of the Romans. He himself, by his fierce virtue, better merited that title.

Quintilius Varus, whom Cæsar had twice found in the hostile ranks and twice dismissed unharmed, caused himself to be slain, like Cassius, by his freedmen. Labeo, one of the murderers, with his own hands dug a hole in his tent the length of his body, and then laid bare his throat to his slave. At the sight of Cassius dead, his friend Titinius slew himself. It was an epidemic of suicide, explained by the certainty of the fate reserved by the triumvirs for their foes.

On the day of this first battle of Philippi, Domitius Calvinus, who was bringing the triumvirs a considerable reinforcement of troops from Italy, had been beaten by the fleet of Brutus. Thus the sea was still closed to them; famine threatened, and the autumn rains rendered their position in these low and marshy lands scarcely tenable. Before them was an army still formidable, but behind them was famine, far more formidable. They must needs fight, then. Antony eagerly sought an opportunity for so doing, but for twenty days the Republicans refused. In spite, however, of a fresh gratuity of 1,000 drachmæ to his soldiers,²

¹ Val. Max., I. viii. 8.

² The triumvirs on their side on the day following the battle gave 500 drachmæ to each soldier, 2,500 to the centurions, 5,000 to the tribunes. We quote the figures in order to show plainly why they fought.

and the promise to give up to them the plunder of Sparta and Thessalonica, Brutus saw that discouragement was setting in among his troops. The Thracians of Rhaseuporis left his camp; the Galatians of Dejotarus went over to that of the triumvirs, who threw into his lines messages full of promises for deserters. Brutus feared lest those of his soldiers who had served under Caesar should go and join his adopted son. To stop this movement he gave battle. This time Octavius drove back the enemy opposed to him right into their camp, whilst Antony, having also won on his side, shut in the legions of the left wing and cut them to pieces.¹ Their leader would have been taken by some Thracian horsemen but for a ruse of Lucillius, one of his friends, who cried: "I am Brutus," and made them lead him before Antony, who admired his devotion.

Meanwhile Brutus had reached a height where he halted to accomplish what he called his deliverance. Strato, his teacher in rhetoric, held out a sword to him, averting his eyes; he fell upon the point with such force that he was pierced through and immediately expired. Popular imagination has surrounded the last moments of the Republican chief with dramatic circumstances. The phantom he had seen at Abydos, they said, again appeared to him, according to its promise, on the night before the battle, and passed before him sad and speechless. According to others an expression of anger and bitter deception escaped him at the final moment: "Virtue, thou art but a name!" Cato, whose life had been a simple and upright one had died with more calmness, reading a treatise on the immortality of the soul. Brutus died despairing of liberty, philosophy and virtue, a just chastisement for the dreamer who had thwarted his age without perceiving it, for the man of meditation who, thinking to stop with a dagger-thrust a revolution which had been gathering way for more than a century, had only succeeded in letting loose fearful calamities upon his country. The Republicans held him up as their second martyr, but he was not worthy of the honour.

Some of the friends of Brutus had slain themselves by his side; others, as the sons of Cato and Lucullus, had fallen in the

¹ Such is Appian's account. (*Bell. civ.*, iv. 128.) Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*, represents Octavius as being again beaten in this second engagement.

fray; the former of these had fought bravely, crying his name aloud to the Cæsarians in order to draw more foes within reach of his sword, and had sold his life dearly. Hortensius, the son of the great orator, was a prisoner; by the order of Brutus he had put to death, by way of reprisal for the proscriptions, C. Antonius, who had fallen into his hands; Antony now caused him to be slain on his brother's tomb. The triumvir displayed some mildness, however; he wished to have Brutus honourably buried; but Octavius had the corpse beheaded and sent to Rome to be laid at the foot of Cæsar's image.¹ He was pitiless towards his captives, and looked on coldly at their execution. A father and son besought each that the other's life might be spared; he made them draw lots. Another asked that he might at least be buried. "That," said he, "concerns the vultures." Yet he welcomed Valerius Messala, in spite of his friendship for Brutus, and often allowed him to praise the virtue of the Republican leader. More than 14,000 men had surrendered, the others were slain or in flight; some of the latter reached Sicily, and the whole of the fleet, assembled under the command of Domitius Ahenobarbus, joined itself to that of Sextus (Autumn of 42).²



Coin of Domitius Ahenobarbus.³

If vengeance be a pleasure of the gods, Cæsar must have been satisfied; from the heights of Olympus, whither they had raised him, he had seen all the heroes of the ides of March fall, within three years, in battles or proscriptions,

¹ According to Dion (xlvii. 49) this head did not reach Rome; it fell into the sea in a tempest. Porcia, the wife of Brutus, learning of her husband's death, wished to kill herself; being closely watched by her family she could only accomplish her purpose by swallowing red-hot coals. (*App., Bell. civ.*, iv. 136.) But Plutarch (*Brut.*, 53) had read a letter from Brutus in which he reproached his relations with having so neglected his wife that she had allowed herself to die in order to be freed from a painful malady. Another heroic legend to be suppressed.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 13; Dion, xlvii. 49; *App., Bell. civ.*, iv. 131. According to M. Heuzey, who, in his *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, discovered the battlefield of Philippi, Antony forced the entrenchment between the two hills of Madjiar-tepe and Kutchuk-tepe, whilst Cassius was occupied in fortifying his two extended lines, then seized upon his camp and drove his army back in disorder in the direction of Philippi. After the death of Cassius, Brutus went and encamped at Madjiar-tepe in order to maintain his communications with the sea. But Antony took Kutchuk-tepe by surprise and posted four legions there. M. Heuzey thinks that after the second battle of Philippi, Brutus withdrew on to the slopes of the Karadchidagh, and that he slew himself in one of the valleys occupied by the hamlets of Isabola and Kidjilik.

³ Head of Domitius Ahenobarbus, cousin of Brutus. From a coin.

or struck by their own hands with the swords which they had stained with his blood.

III.—FRESH DIVISION OF THE WORLD; ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA; WAR OF PERUSIA (41—40).

The two victors made a fresh division between them. Octavius took Spain and Numidia, Antony, Gallia Comata and Africa. Gallia Cisalpina, being too near to Rome, was to cease to be a province.¹ As for Lepidus, he was already excluded from a share, because they thought he had a secret understanding with Sextus Pompey; he afterwards received Africa. The leaders' shares being thus settled, it remained to give the soldiers theirs. They fully intended to be paid for the victory. They had been promised each a portion of land and 5,000 drachmæ, or about £200, and there were 170,000 of them, without counting the cavalry. The triumvirs had nothing left; the wealth of Asia seemed inexhaustible; Antony took upon himself to find in that country a great part of the 200,000 talents required.³ Octavius, whose health was still weak, assumed the task, apparently more thankless, of dispossessing the inhabitants of Italy in order to distribute their lands among the veterans. While he was making his way towards Rome, where he was certain to win the troops to him by giving them what Antony contented himself with promising, the latter passed through Greece, took part in its games, its festivals, and the lessons of its rhetors, and by this condescension to their tastes won the name of the friend of the Greeks. But in Asia, amid those voluptuous cities, the warrior lost himself in delights. In that land of luxury and pleasures, the Romans threw away the remnant of modesty which they retained at Rome. Antony surrounded himself with flute-players, mountebanks and dancing women. He entered Ephesus, preceded by women dressed as Bacchantes, and youths in the garb of Fauns and Satyrs. Already

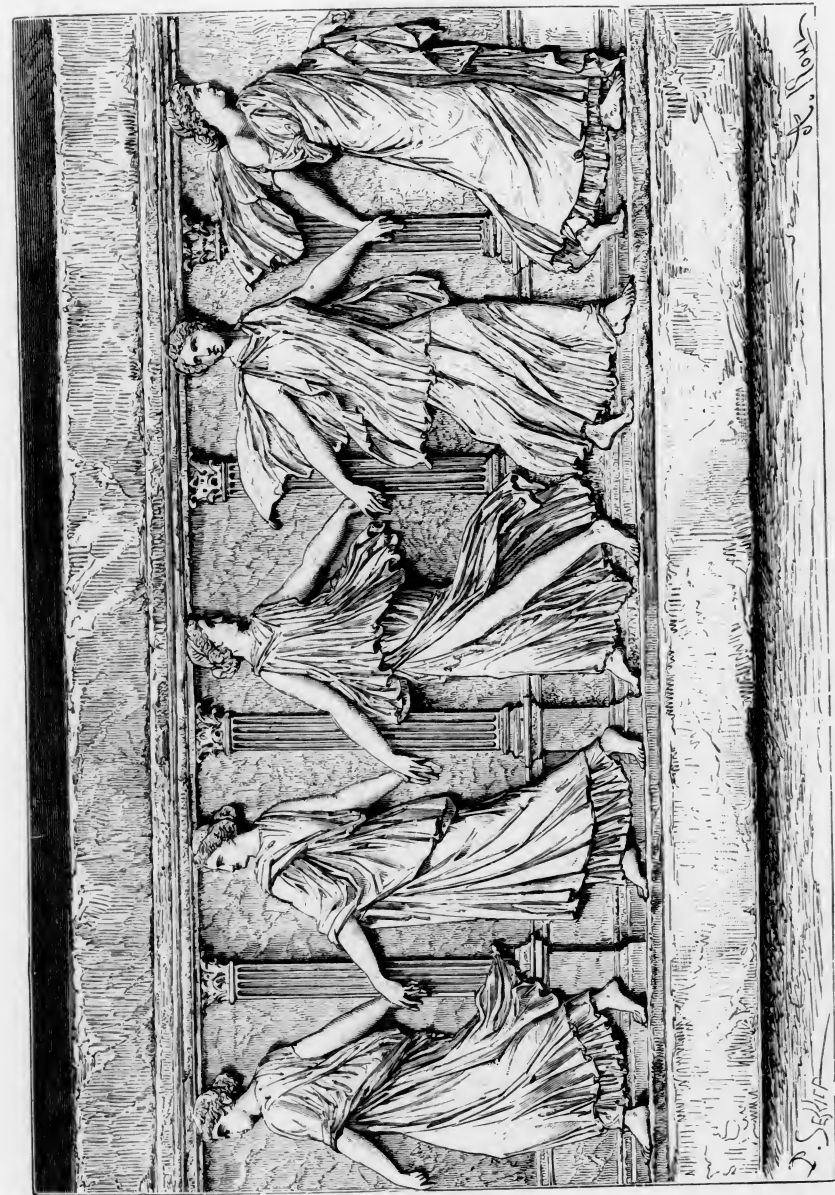


Sextus Pompey.²

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 3. Octavius thus completed what Cæsar had begun; γνώμη Καίσαρος.

² MAG(nus) PIVS IMP. ITER. Coin of Sextus Pompey.

³ Plut., *Anton.*, 24. The number is given by Appian (v. 5) as 170,000 soldiers.



Dancing Girls (bas-relief in the Louvre).

he assumed the attributes of Bacchus, and set himself to play the part by continual orgies. In order to supply money for his prodigal expenditure, he oppressed the nations cruelly. After Cassius there remained but little gold in the temples and treasuries of the cities; but he plundered private individuals. His flatterers easily obtained the inheritance of a living man; for a good dish he gave his cook the house of a citizen of Magnesia; to another man, for a song, the office of receiver of taxes of four cities.¹

When the deputies of the towns protested against the ten years' tribute which he had imposed upon them, he answered that they ought to think themselves fortunate that their houses and lands were not taken from them, like the Italians, but only their gold, and of that no more than they had given to Cæsar's assassins; and that he even allowed them two years to pay the whole. As this tax only produced 40,000 talents, he doubled it, and required that it should be paid in two sums. "If you force us to pay the tribute twice in one year," a certain Hybreas dared

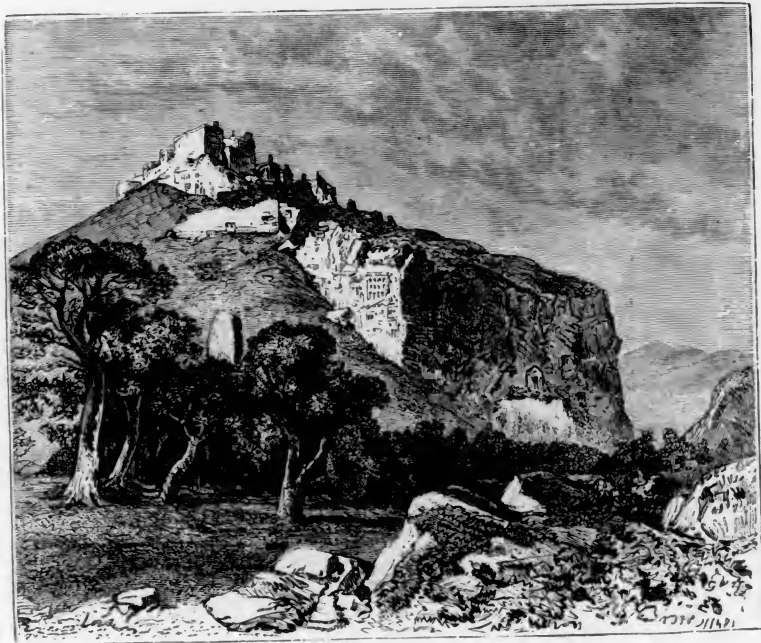
Dancing Faun.²

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4; Strabo, xiv. 148.

² Bronze statuette found at Pompeii in the *atrium* of the house which has retained his name. It is one of the most perfect works in the Museum of Naples.

to say to him, "give us two summers and two autumns. No doubt you have also the power to do so."¹

He remembered those who had suffered for him, however. To the Rhodians he gave vast domains which they could not govern, and he exempted from taxation Tarsus, Laodicea of Syria, and Lycia, where Brutus had left so many ruins, and where



A town of Lycia.²

modern travellers have discovered the curious or magnificent remains of so many cities.

Terrified at the threats of Cassius, Cleopatra had provided him with some troops and money; Antony now called her to account for this conduct. She came to Tarsus to plead her cause,

¹ The passage in Plutarch (*Anton.*, 24) is not very clear. Appian (v. 4) says that he consented to receive the taxes for only nine years, to be paid in two, which is more easily understood.

² Tlos, one of the six great cities of Lycia. The engraving is made after Sir Ch. Fellows. (*Lycia, Caria*, etc., pl. 6.) The other five towns were Xanthos, Patara, Pinora, Olympus, and Myra. (See above, p. 468, and 470, the ruins of Xanthos and Patara.)



Venus surrounded by Nereids and Cupids (bas-relief in the Louvre).

or rather to try upon him the influence of her charms. Nothing in the range of female strategy was omitted to make the plot successful. She went up the Cydnus in a vessel, the poop of which was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver. The perfumes burnt on the vessel diffused their scent far along the banks. "It is Venus herself," cried the dazzled inhabitants; "She comes to meet Bacchus." Antony fell beneath the spell, and when he saw this elegant and cultivated woman, who spoke six languages, hold her own against him in his orgies, and in his soldier-talk, drink with him, swear with him, he forgot Rome, Fulvia, and the Parthians, and followed her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41 B.C.). Then began the excesses of the *inimitable life*, endless suppers, hunts, nocturnal adventures through the town to beat and insult people at the risk of being beaten in return.¹

Whilst he was wasting precious time in these infamous debauches, his wife and brother in Italy were declaring war against Octavius.

On the 1st of January, 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius and Servilius Isauricus had taken possession of the consulship. Fulvia, an ambitious and violent woman, exercised over both of them an influence which left the government in her hands; the indolent Lepidus was completely set aside.² The arrival of the young Caesar shook this royalty. He irritated Fulvia still more by sending home her daughter, whom he had married in the preceding year, merely to please the soldiers.

In the first place she demanded that the lands which he should give to the legions of Antony should be distributed by their general's brother, in order that Octavius might not have all their gratitude; to this he yielded. Then, as there arose against him a chorus of complaint about this division of land, she tried to profit thereby, as she needed disturbances in Italy in order to tear her husband away from Cleopatra.³ The veterans claimed the

¹ Plut., *Anton.*, 26. At her instigation Antony caused her sister Arsinoë to be put to death at the altar of Diana of Miletus, and he allowed her to poison Ptolemy, her brother, and husband.

² Dion, lxxviii. 4.

³ Martial (xi. 21) speaks of some tenderer sentiments which Fulvia entertained for Octavius to which he made no response. Martial is very malicious of tongue, but Fulvia gave occasion for spiteful remarks. She had reached her third husband; the two first had been two famous tribunes, Clodius and Curio, and during her widowhood her grief had not been inconsolable.

eighteen cities which had been promised to them, and the inhabitants were enraged at the injustice which compelled them to pay for all Italy. In addition to this, the latter demanded an indemnity and the former money to cover the expenses of their establishment. Meanwhile the new colonists overstepped their boundaries, appropriated the neighbouring fields, and took all that they found to their liking. The dispossessed owners flocked into the city with their wives and children, crying piteously, and stirring up the people, who, being deprived of work by the disturbances, and of provisions by the cruises of Sextus, insulted the soldiers, spoiled the houses of the wealthy, and would have no more magistrates, not even their own tribunes, that they might plunder more at their ease. Urged on by Fulvia, Lucius then interfered, promised his protection to the expropriated Italians, and assured the soldiers that if they had no land, or had not enough, his brother would be able to make them full amends with the tributes which he was levying for them in Asia.¹



Lucius Antonius.

The Italians grew bolder in their opposition when they saw it was encouraged by a consul, and resolved to take up arms in defence of their fields; in many parts bloody conflicts ensued. The veterans on their side heaped recriminations upon Octavius for not keeping his promises, and reached such a point of insubordination that a revolt seemed imminent. One day at the theatre, one of them took his seat upon the bench set apart for the knights; the crowd murmured, and to appease the tumult Octavius sent him out. But after the show the soldiers crowded round the general with threats, accusing him of having put the man to death to please the crowd; the soldier was obliged to come and show himself to his comrades. They then exclaimed that he had been thrown into prison, and as he affirmed that nothing of the kind had taken place, they turned against him, calling him liar and traitor; they wished to make the military dress inviolable. On another occasion Octavius having kept them waiting for him at a review, they grew angry, and a tribune who undertook his defence was attacked; he succeeded in getting away, and plunged

¹ Dion, xl. 6, 7; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 12, sq.

into the Tiber to escape his pursuers; but he was dragged out again and killed, and his body was placed on the road by which Octavius arrived. He contented himself with mildly reproving them for this violence.

His situation was becoming critical. Everyone laid to his charge the ills they suffered, and even some of his veterans, won by the promises of Fulvia and Lucius, abandoned him. But the treasures which Fulvia was promising them, her husband was at that very time dissipating in mad prodigalities. Octavius sold the rest of the property of the proscribed, borrowed from the temples, and turning everything into money, brought back by largesses some of those who had left him. A master stroke completely set up his affairs again. He assembled the veterans in the Capitol, caused the conventions lately agreed upon with Marc Antony to be read to them, and declared his firm resolution to carry them out. "But Lucius," he added, "is working to upset the triumvirate, and will make everything uncertain again by a war, the authority of the leaders as well as the rewards due to the soldiers. As for me, ever ready to maintain concord, I willingly take the senate and the veterans as judges of my conduct." The veterans accepted this strange arbitration; they constituted themselves into a tribunal at Gabii, and invited the two opponents to present themselves before them. The young Caesar hastened to appear there; Lucius Antonius, frightened perhaps at a possible ambush, did not come, and Fulvia, who at Præneste held reviews with a sword at her side, scoffed loudly at the *booted* senate. This scene none the less restored to Octavius the support of almost all the veterans. The Italians naturally threw themselves upon the opposite side, which appeared the most numerous. Lucius collected seventeen legions of recruits; Octavius had only ten, but they were seasoned soldiers, with Agrippa for general. Things seemed to go ill with him at first. Lucius got possession of Rome, which Lepidus should have defended, and gathering the people together, he told them that his brother renounced his triumviral authority; that he would canvass the consulship in the usual manner as soon as he had punished Lepidus and Octavius, and that thus the Republic and liberty would be re-established. It was the counterpart of the comedy played at Gabii, a play got up to win the

people, as it had there been to win the army. Lucius was naturally hailed as *imperator*, a title of which the soldiers were lavish, since in return their leader had to give them a *donativum*.

But Agrippa easily drove him out of Rome, and pressed him



Vulcan.¹ (See next page).

so hard that he compelled him to take refuge in the fortress of Perugia, where he shut him in with immense works of circumvallation. Antony's friends, Asinius Pollio, Calenus, and Ventidius, took very little part in this war, being uncertain whether the triumvir approved of it. Fulvia, who led help to her brother-in-law, could not force the besiegers' lines, and the garrison was decimated by a famine which became proverbial under the name of *fames Perusina*. Sling-bullets thrown during this siege and recovered in our own

days have preserved the memory of it: "You are dying of hunger, and you hide it from me," said the one; to which a traitor replied, "We are without bread (*sine masu*)"² Antonius, compelled to give

¹ Marble statue, which was at first erected in the town of Tarentum, according to the inscription cut on its base. (Montfaucon, *Suppl. I*, vol. i., pl. 30.) Vulcan was an old Italian deity, whom the Romans identified with the Hephæstos of the Greeks.

² In this war of Perugia, Asculum must have sided with Antony, for there has been found at the foot of its walls a sling-bullet with the name of Ventidius, a famous Asculan, one of Antony's partisans. Another fact unknown to historians is perhaps revealed by these singular monuments; one of them bears these words; *Q. Lab. Part. Mar. Vlt.*, that is, Q. Labienus Parthicus to Mars the Avenger. This Labienus, who was the master of Asia Minor, must

way to the cries of the soldiers, surrendered. In order to avoid giving Antony any pretext for war, Octavius contented himself with relegating Lucius to Spain, whither at the same time he sent a man of energy, D. Calvinus, who succeeded in keeping that province under his sway. He also spared the veterans found in Perugia, and enrolled them in his legions, but the magistrates of the city and some 300 knights or senators were slain, at the foot of an altar raised to Cæsar, on the ides of March in the year 40. To every entreaty addressed to him to spare one of them, Octavius replied with the words of Marius, "He must die." The town had been given up to pillage; a citizen set fire to and destroyed it, and threw himself into the flames.¹ In order to punish Juno, the presiding goddess of the city, who had so ill defended them, and whose image Octavius carried away to Rome, as though the goddess had been his accomplice, the inhabitants when they rebuilt their town, placed it under the protection of Vulcan; he had at least saved his temple from the flames.

The destruction of that ancient city was the last of the triumvir's acts of cruelty.² Fresh proscriptions were dreaded, however. Horace, who was as yet unattached, utters a cry of despair, and counsels the wise to flee to the Fortunate Isles to escape this iron age.³ All Antony's friends got away, but without going so far; Pollio took refuge with a few troops upon the vessels of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who, while acting in concert with Sextus, had reserved to himself the free command of the fleet which had belonged to Brutus;⁴ Antony's mother reached Sicily, where Sextus received her with honours; Tiberius Claudius

therefore, have sent aid to the foe of Cæsar's son. (Desjardins, *Les Balles de fronde*; see vol. ii. p. 570.)

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 15; *morendum esse*, and Dion, xviii. 14; a doubtful fact, resting merely on reports; *scribunt quidam*, in Suetonius; *λόγος ἔχει*, in Dion. Appian (v. 48) only mentions a small number of executions. Nursia escaped with a fine, but so heavy a one that the inhabitants preferred to abandon their town and territory. (Dion, xlviii. 13; Cf. Vell. Patere., ii. 74; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 49.)

² Senec., *de Clementia*, i. 11.

³ Ode xvi. of the book of the *Epodes*, published after his death.

⁴ This Domitius was the son of the Dom. Ahenobarbus slain at Pharsalia. Though it was not known for certain whether he had taken any part in the murder of the dictator, he had been proscribed by Pedius as a tyrannicide. He was the grandfather of Nero. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 55; Suet., *Nero*, 3.)

Nero, who had commanded an army corps in Campania, also sought refuge in the island; his wife, Livia Drusilla, and his son Tiberius, then two years old, were at that time fleeing from the man whom one of them was to marry and the other to succeed. As for Fulvia, she and her children, accompanied by Plancus, succeeded in reaching Greece. Octavius was thus left master of Italy and of the whole West, for the son of Calenus, who after his father's death had taken command of the legions in Gaul, yielded up that province to him, and Spain submitted to him. The incapable Lepidus claimed his share; he was sent into Africa with six legions of soldiers, who were either malcontents or too much attached to Antony. This struggle of one year's duration was called the war of Perusia (41—40.)

These sounds of war drown the memory of the calamities which had just befallen the peninsula, and which must be called to mind to give a full picture of those fearful times. Nothing in modern history can furnish an idea of the miseries and woes caused by this fresh expropriation of the rural population of Italy.¹ The first had taken place at the expense of the old Italiote races whom Sylla had despoiled in order to settle his 120,000 soldiers. The second, by a just retribution, dispossessed those who had profited by the first. The sons of the dictator's veterans gave place to the legionaries of the triumvirs. Virgil was thus driven from his little patrimony near Mantua; Horace, who after his flight from Philippi had repaired to Rome, had just lost the estates left him by his worthy father, the freedman of Venusia. Tibullus and Propertius suffered the same fate. Protected by Pollio and Gallus, who were charged with the division of lands in Cisalpine Gaul, and who had seen his early verses, Virgil twice obtained the restitution of his twice invaded fields. But all the dispossessed land-owners had not beautiful verses wherewith to redeem their property; the more fortunate remained as tenants upon the lands they had held as proprietors. Others begged or died by the wayside, or driven to go and people distant colonies, left behind

¹ The expression is from Appian. (*Ibid.*, v. 5.)

them in stranger hands the paternal home and the tomb of their forefathers:

*Nos patrie fines et dulcia linquimus arva...
Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has segetes!*¹

The Ofellus of Horace is the portrait of many men of that time, but all were not able to say like him: "Meet adverse fortune with a manly heart:

Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."²

For forty years past the right of property had ceased to exist in the peninsula—a consideration which would alone be sufficient to prove the necessity of the Empire.

IV.—TREATISE OF BRUNDISIUM (40) AND OF MISENUM (39); DEFEAT OF SEXTUS POMPEY AND DEPOSITION OF LEPIDUS (36).

Neither Fulvia's cries nor the report of this war had been able to divert Antony from his pleasures, or rather he had perceived that it was only a question of a cabal got up by the intrigues of his wife. A bold attack of the Parthians at length roused him. The harshness and exactions of the governor whom he had left in Syria had led to a revolt. The Parthians, summoned by the inhabitants, and led by a son of Labienus, who had taken refuge at the court of Ctesiphon, had invaded that province and broken into Asia Minor.³ In the spring of the year 40 Antony repaired to Tyre, the only city of Phœnicia which they had not yet entered; letters from Fulvia which awaited him there, apprised him of the end of the war of Perusia and the flight of all his friends. It became necessary to make up for the effect produced by this check by reappearing with a considerable force upon the shores of Italy. Committing therefore to the able Ventidius



Q. Labienus
Parthicus
(Silver Coin).

¹ Virgil, *Bucol.*, i. 3 and 71-72. A little poem of 183 lines, the *Dire*, sometimes attributed to Virgil; also contains imprecations against all who have despoiled the author of his domain.

² *Satire*, II. ii. 112-136.

³ Labienus there conquered Decidius Saxa, and after that victory took the title of *imperator* and the surname of *Parthicus*.

the charge of holding ground against the Parthians, he set sail, with 200 vessels furnished by Cyprus and Rhodes, for Athens, where he found Fulvia. The interview between the pair was an exchange of bitter and well justified recriminations, upon the one side about the stay in Alexandria, upon the other about the foolish Perusian war. Meanwhile events were progressing rapidly in the West, where Octavius had taken possession of Gaul. It was necessary to put a speedy stop to this growing fortune; leaving Fulvia in Sicily, ill with vexation and shame, Antony came to an arrangement with the Pompeian Domitius, who opened a passage for him across the Ionian sea, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Brundisium. At the same time he invited Sextus Pompey to attack Southern Italy; already Rhegium was blockaded, the Pompeian troops were arriving before Consentia, and Sardinia had gone over to the enemy.

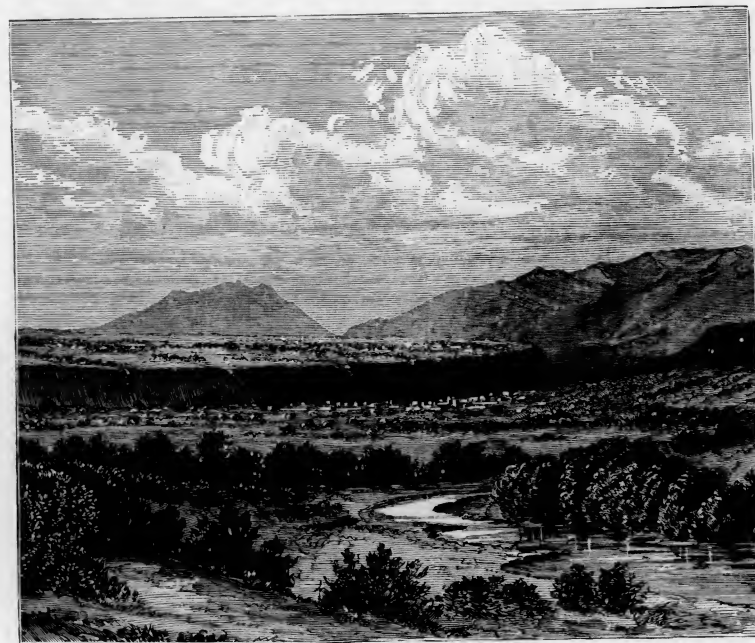
Octavius appeared to be in serious danger, but he obtained fresh strength from this union against him of men who had but yesterday been fighting among themselves. Whilst the enemy's camp would contain a son of Pompey, a triumvir, and one of Caesar's murderers, he was left the sole representative of the new principle round which so many interests had already gathered; and such is the advantage of clearly defined positions, even in political matters, that this great coalition was in reality little to be

Coin of Rhegium.¹

dreaded. The memory of the battles at Philippi was still too fresh in the minds of the veterans of the triumviral army for them to be willing to fight against one another. They compelled their leaders to treat, and Cocceius Nerva, a friend of both the triumvirs, brought about an arrangement; the conditions were drawn up by Pollio and Mæcenas, and the death of Fulvia hastened its conclusion. Antony caused one of his wife's advisers, who had been the principal instigator of the war of Perusia, to be put to death; and as a proof of his desire to establish a real peace, he gave up to his colleague the letters of Salvdienuis, a lieutenant of Octavius in Gallia Narbonensis, who offered to bring him his troops. Summoned to Rome upon some pretext, the traitor was

¹ ΠΗΓΙΩΝ; lyre. Reverse of a coin of Rhegium.

there put to death. A fresh partition of the Roman world gave Antony the East as far as the Adriatic, with the obligation to fight the Parthians; to Octavius the West and the war against Sextus; Scodra (Seutari) on the Illyrian coast, marked the common boundary. They left Africa to Lepidus, and agreed that when they did not wish to hold the consulships themselves they should



View of Sicily.

give it to their friends in turn. Octavia, the sister of the young Caesar, already left a widow by Marcellus, was married to the other triumvir.¹ She had just given birth to him who is perhaps the "predestined child" of Virgil's fourth eclogue, that Marcellus, "the glorious scion of Jupiter," whom the poet was to immortalize in the sixth book of the *Æneid* (40).²



Coin of Salvdienuis.



Octavia (Coin).

¹ Plut., *Anton.*, 31. He calls Octavia *χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν γυναικός*.

² Propertius (iii. 18) makes Marcellus die at the age of twenty, which would put his birth in 43, more than two years before the peace of Brundisium and Virgil's *Eclogue*; but Servius

The friends of peace hoped that this lady, who was respected by all the people and tenderly loved by her brother, would be able by her virtues to retain Antony and preserve harmony between the two masters of the Roman world (40).¹

The triumvirs returned to Rome to celebrate this union. The feasts were sad, for the people wanted bread; Sextus, who had not been included in the treaty of Brundisium, continued to intercept trading vessels. Nothing came through, and the traders

Octavia.²

no longer dared leave the ports of Smyrna, Alexandria, Carthage, and Marseilles. Following the soldiers' example the multitude demanded peace with loud cries. An edict taxing landowners 50 sesterces for each of their slaves, confiscating to the treasury a portion of all inheritances caused fresh irritation.

Abuse was heaped

on the triumvirs, but the people could no longer make even a riot; veterans fell upon the multitude and put them to flight, leaving numbers of dead behind them.² Antony was the first to weary of these cries, and urged his colleague to treat with Pompey.

(*ad Æn.*, vi. 862) gives him two years less; "He fell ill," says he, "in his sixteenth year, and died in his eighteenth." I am more disposed to accept the age given by the learned commentator than that given by the poet. It must be acknowledged however, that there are always great difficulties left on the subject of the "predestined child."

¹ In the same year the tribune Falcidius carried the law which bears his name and which remained famous under the Empire; it forbade a man to dispose of more than three-quarters of his property in legacies, and secured the remaining quarter, the *Falcidian Fourth*, to the heirs.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 68; Dion, xlviii. 19.

³ Cameo in the possession of M. le Baron Roger, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 31.

A few months previously Octavius had married the sister of Scribonius Libo, Sextus' father-in-law, in the hope that this alliance would open the way to an agreement. Libo did, in fact, intervene between his son-in-law and the triumvirs. Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompey, herself represented to her son that blood enough had been shed in this unhappy quarrel, and Sextus yielded.¹ They all three met on Cape Misenum, upon a dike constructed from the shore to the admiral's galley and cut through in the middle, so that the negotiators, on either side of an interval through which the sea flowed, could discuss questions without any fear of surprise. Pompey had his fleet behind him, the triumvirs their legions. The latter consented to allow him to return to Rome, but he demanded to be received into the triumvirate in the place of Lepidus; the conference was broken up. Urged on by his freedman Menas, he was about to return to Sicily and declare hostilities again, when Libo and Mucia induced him to consent to a second interview, at which the following conditions were agreed upon: "Sextus shall have Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Achæa as provinces, with an indemnity of 15,500,000² drachmæ. He shall have the right of canvassing the consulship though absent, and of discharging the functions of that office through one of his friends. The citizens who have taken refuge with him may return to Rome and resume their estates; those who have been put upon the lists of proscription shall only recover a quarter of their property; the murderers of Caesar are excluded from the amnesty. The gratuities reserved for the triumvirs' soldiers shall be granted to his also; and slaves who have taken refuge with him shall have their freedom. On his side he shall clear the sea of pirates, withdraw his garrisons from the points occupied by them upon the coasts of Italy, and send the wheat which Sicily and Sardinia used to supply to Rome.³ The treaty shall be confided to the guardianship of the Vestals."

¹ One of his principal officers, Murcus, urged him to treat. His freedman Menas, who commanded for him in Sardinia, tried hard to turn him from it by representing to him that he must let famine do its work. He did not succeed in convincing him, but he made him suspicious of Murcus, whom Sextus put to death. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 77; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 70; Dion, xlviii. 19.)

² Dion, *ibid.*, 36.

³ Plut., *Anton.*, 33; Dion, *ibid.*; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 72; Vell. Paterc., ii. 77.

When the three chiefs were seen to cross the narrow barrier which separated them, and embrace in token of peace and friendship, one shout of joy went up from fleet and army. It seemed as if this was the end of all their ills. Italy would no longer dread famine; the exiles and proscripti would return to



Vessel
bearing Standards.¹

their country. It was again announced to the troops that a marriage would cement the union; Pompey's daughter was affianced to the nephew of Octavius. Then the three chiefs feasted one another. The lot fell upon Pompey to entertain his new friends first. "Where shall we sup?" asked Antony gaily. "In my *carinae*," answered Sextus, pointing to his galley, a cutting allusion to the fact that at Rome, Antony possessed the house of Pompey the Great in the quarter of the *Carinae*.² In the middle of the feast Menas is said to have whispered in Sextus' ear: "Shall I cut the cables and make you master of the whole Empire?" He reflected an instant and then answered: "You should have done it without asking me; Pompey cannot betray his sworn faith." The anecdote is doubtful, like many of those related by the ancients. Before separating they drew up the list of consuls for the following years (39).

The two treaties of peace of Brundisium and Misenum were only a truce in the eyes of those who had signed them; but for Italy, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, they marked the close of the bloody struggles. For three centuries and a half, with the exception of one day, that on which Vitellius died, Rome and the peninsula were torn by no more wars.

After the peace of Misenum, Octavius and Antony went to Rome for a short time to receive the testimonies of popular rejoicing. The one soon set out again to subdue a few Gallic tribes who had revolted; the other went to attack the Parthians. Antony took with him a *senatus-consultum* ratifying all his acts beforehand.³ The senate might consider itself happy that one of

¹ From an engraved gem. (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*)

² Plut., *Anton.*, 33; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 73. Precautions similar to those employed at interviews between princes in the Middle Ages were taken for these feasts. Antony and Octavius repaired to them with arms concealed about them. (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75.

its masters had asked for a decree; this vote proved its existence, which might have been doubted at the negotiations of Misenum, where no more attention had been paid to it than to Lepidus. The triumvirs did not forget it, however, for they created new senators daily; they were soldiers, barbarians, and even slaves; one of the latter obtained the praetorship.¹ It is true, indeed, that the number of praetors had been raised to seventy-seven. As for the people, they received written orders on the days of the comitia, and voted accordingly.

The treaty of Misenum was impossible to carry out. It was out of the question that Octavius should leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions, as well as the repose of Italy, at the mercy of Pompey, who on his side dreamt of obtaining the supreme power of Rome for himself. Meanwhile Sextus held a brilliant court at Syracuse; with a trident in his hand, and clad in a mantle of sea-blue, he caused himself to be styled son of Neptune, and he had some right to do so, since he had been the first to prove to the Romans, who refused to perceive it, what power the empire of the seas confers. But in the ten years which had elapsed since he left Rome, and during which he had lived as best he could, Pompey had acquired the habits of the leader of a band of adventurers rather than those of a general. Slaves and freedmen commanded his squadrons. If a free voice was raised among the Roman nobles who had taken refuge with him, he grew angry as though it had been insolence. The assassination of Murcus² had discouraged the most devoted, and many had seized the pretext of the peace of Misenum to abandon him. Personally brave, he did not know how to make use of victory, and we shall see how he let slip several favourable opportunities.

The first breaches of the treaty came from the triumvirs. To begin with, Antony refused to put Sextus in possession of Achæa, upon the pretext that the Peloponnesians owed him large sums which he wished to make them repay; then Octavius repudiated Scribonia in order to marry Livia, then six months advanced in

¹ His election caused such a scandal however, that the triumvirs, after having given him his freedom, caused him to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian Rock. (Dion, *xlvi.* 34.)

² Cf. p. 495, note 1.

pregnancy, whom he forced Tiberius Nero to give up to him. To these challenges Sextus replied by repairing his vessels and leaving the pirates free to cruise; the price of provisions very shortly increased in Italy (38).

Coin of Marcus.¹

Octavius tried to carry his two colleagues with him; Lepidus agreed to join him, but spent all the summer in collecting troops and vessels. As for Antony, urged by his wife, he left Athens, where he had passed the winter, and went to Brundisium in search of the young Caesar, and not finding him there, hastened back to Greece, begging him to keep the peace.

Coin of Cumæ.²

The whole burden of the war thus fell upon Octavius. Fortunately he had negotiated for the treachery of the freedman Menas, who delivered Corsica, Sardinia, three legions and a strong squadron into his hands. He received him with marks of great esteem, raised him to the rank of knight, and gave him the command of his fleet, under the chief control of Calvisius Sabinus.³

Coin of Messina.⁴

At the very first encounter the freedman proved his devotion and his ability. He held his own against a Pompeian fleet in the gulf of Cumæ, and slew its leader, another freedman of Sextus, who was replaced by an ex-slave. Octavius tried to cross into Sicily; being attacked in the middle of the straits he would have left the victory to his enemies had not the approach of Menas obliged them to run back into Messina. The fight was scarcely over when a storm destroyed almost the whole of his fleet; but Sextus did not know how to profit by this advantage, and Agrippa was just arriving.

¹ MVRVS IMP.: man clad in the toga stretching out his hand to a kneeling woman; in the background, a trophy. Silver coin of the Statian family, to which Marcus belonged.

² Head of Apollo. On the reverse, KVMAION; a shell and an ear of barley. Coin of Cumæ.

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 81-4. Appian gives Menas the name of Menodoros, which the ex-slave had perhaps assumed after his manumission. (Dion, *xlvi.* 46.)

⁴ MESEANION; hare running right; beneath, a dolphin. (See in vol. i. p. 465, another specimen of the coins of Messina.)

This great man, who had just pacified Aquitania and crossed the Rhine like Caesar, took in hand the conduct of the operations. Instead of striking his blows hastily, he wished to make them sure by leaving nothing to chance. Octavius had a good harbour in the Mare Superum, but none in the Tyrrhenian sea, which lay near Sicily. Agrippa

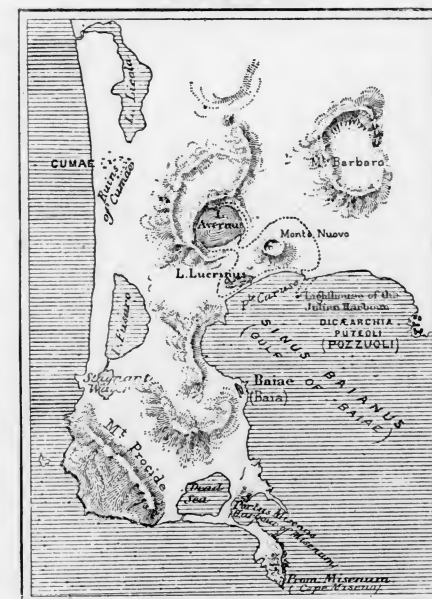
created the Julian Harbour by connecting Lake Lucrinus with Lake Avernus, and both with the sea;¹ then he built a fleet, and by continual exercises he trained sailors and legionaries. In the spring of the following year (36) Octavia again brought back her husband to Tarentum, and as she did not find her brother there, she went to meet him and bring him towards that town with Mæcenas and Agrippa. The interview took place upon the banks of the Bradanus, between Tarentum and Metapontum.² For several days the two triumvirs were seen walking about without guards, and lavishing upon each other the marks of a

confidence which deceived neither themselves nor any one else. They deprived Sextus of the priesthood and the consulship, and prolonged their own triumviral authority for five years; Antyllus, a son of Antony and Fulvia, was affianced to the daughter of Octavius and Scribonia, the notorious Julia, and mutual presents

¹ Dion, *xlvi.* 50; Strabo, v. 244. Agrippa had taken possession of the consulship on the 1st of January, 37. He cut down the gloomy forest which surrounded Lake Avernus, but the harbour was used for barely half a century.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 93-4.

³ The Monte Nuovo (see plan) has only been in existence since 1558. (See vol. i. p. xvii.)

PLAN
OF THE
JULIAN HARBOUR.

Scales
English Miles
Roman Miles
Note..... Supposed limit of the Julian Harbour.

seemed to seal this so oft renewed friendship; Antony gave his colleague 120 vessels in exchange for 20,000 legionaries, and set out for Syria.¹ They were never again to meet, save on the waves that wash the promontory of Actium.

Immediately after Antony's departure the war was resumed with great vigour. A powerful fleet sailed out of the new harbour



Coin
of Tarentum.²

made by Agrippa, and, according to custom, imposing religious ceremonies called down the divine protection upon it. During the sacrifice the army uttered pious acclamations.⁴



Coin of Metapontum.³

Agrippa advised that Sicily should be attacked at three points, by Lepidus, who was at length coming from Africa, at Lilybæum; by Statilius⁵ Taurus, the commander of the galleys ceded by Antony, at the promontory of Pachynum, and by Octavius on the north coast.⁶ The three fleets started at the same time; but that of

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 95.

² ΤΑΡΑΣ; head of a woman with diadem; round it, three dolphins.

³ ΑΕΥΚΙΗΠΙΟΣ; bearded head with helmet ornamented with the monster Scylla. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΙ and two heads of grain.

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 97.

⁵ In 1875 there was discovered in the grounds lying on the Esquiline between the ruins said to be those of the temple of *Minerva Medica* and the *porta Maggiore* a vast subterranean gallery, the walls of which are pierced with a great number of *loculi*, wherein were little urns of terra-cotta containing *le ceneri della legione interminabile dei servi e dei liberti della gente Statilia*. This was the tomb of the Statilii Tauri and their *familia*, freedmen, and slaves. Along these walls there also runs a strip, fifteen inches in width, covered with the most beautiful paintings discovered for a long time on the soil of Rome. They relate the legend of Æneas, more than ever national to Rome since Caesar's time, but differing in certain particulars from that which Virgil was about to consecrate. We give some of the best preserved portions which M. Fiorelli, the learned director of researches in the kingdom of Italy, has been kind enough to have copied for us from the originals. According to the commentary by M. Brizzio (*Pitture e sepolcri scoperti sull' Esquilino*) our first plate represents the death of Lausus, the son of Mezentius, who had come to attack Lavinium before the ramparts were completed. The Latins make a sortie, kill the son of the king of the Rutuli, and compel Mezentius to flee. The second plate takes us back to the first stories in the legend; Amata, queen of Laurentum, informs Turnus that he must give up Lavinia, his promised bride, who has just been promised to Æneas for a wife, and who with downcast head betrays the grief which this rupture causes her. On the right the Trojans are building Lavinium. The town, personified by a woman with a crown of towers upon her head, watches the workmen and incites them to work. The third plate shows Latinus seated on his *throne*, promising Æneas his daughter Lavinia, who approaches, followed by her maidens.

⁶ Menas was no longer in the service of Octavius. After the interview of Tarentum he had returned to Sextus; a third piece of treachery brought him back shortly afterwards to Octavius, who received him, but gave him no command.

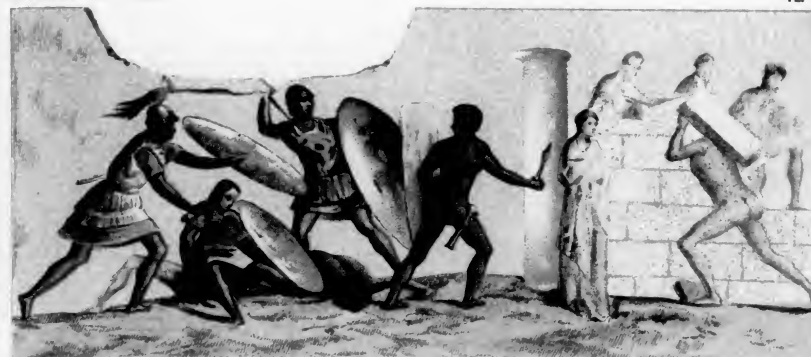


MASSIMO PINXIT

Imp. Prætor

PAINTINGS FROM THE TOMB OF STATILIUS TAURUS

second he sent the so oft renewed friendship; Antony gave to Fulgus 100 talents in exchange for 20,000 legionaries, and sent him for Syria. They were never again to meet, save on the way that made the promoters of Antony.



MASSUERO DINX'

Imp. Frailery.

PAINTINGS FROM THE TOMB OF STATILIUS TAURUS

Octavius was overtaken in the narrow channel between Caprea and the Isle of the Sirens, by a violent storm, which swept over the Ionian sea and prevented Taurus leaving the harbour of Tarentum. Lepidus alone succeeded in landing, and laid siege to Lilybæum. Octavius sent Mæcenas to Rome to prevent the disturbances which the report of this check might cause, and visited all the harbours where his vessels had taken refuge, in order promptly to repair the damages. Though he did not possess his uncle's



Julia, daughter
of Octavius.



Isle of the Sirens.¹

military genius, he had his perseverance. "I will manage to conquer in spite of Neptune," and to punish him he forbade his statue to be carried at the games in the circus. Sextus, on the contrary, confiding in the protection of the god whose colours and trident he bore, let the tempest do its work. He forgot that in

¹ From the *Aeneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

certain cases the best way to protect one's self is to attack, and instead of pursuing the remnants of Octavius' fleet, or attempting descents upon Italy which the general discontent would have favoured, he concentrated his fleet at Messina, as though the once dreaded ocean monsters, Charybdis and Scylla, would defend the entrance of the Straits for him.

Coin of Sextus Pompey.¹

In a month Octavius got his fleet into order again. Sextus had fortified Lipara, the most important of the Æolian islands, and an excellent naval station, in order to protect the approaches to the straits of Messina, and to cover the northern shores of Sicily. Agrippa seized it; and at the same time Octavius, on the other side of the straits, threw three legions into Sicily near Tauromenium. A check sustained by the fleet of Lepidus was compensated by a naval victory won by Agrippa in sight of Mylæ, but a fresh defeat met by Octavius on the east coast drove him back into Italy.

Lepidus,
High Pontiff.²Agrippa with the
Rostral Crown.³

He had passed through the greatest dangers, having wandered about a whole night in a boat, without a guard, without any attendant. This general, who was always ill or unfortunate on days of battle, nevertheless retained the confidence of his soldiers; Cæsar's shadow protected him.

The legions which he had left before Tauromenium under the command of Cornificius, were exposed to the greatest dangers;

¹ MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER.; the lighthouse of Messina surmounted by a statue of Neptune: in the foreground, a vessel with a Roman eagle and an acrostolium. On the reverse, PRÆF. ORE MARIT. ET CLAS. S. C., surrounding the monster Scylla. Silver coin of Sextus Pompey. See (vol. i. p. cxi.) another representation of the monster with the girdle of "barking dogs." The promontory of Scylla, at the entrance of the Straits of Messina, does not deserve the sinister reputation given it by the ancients. The waves break and "bark" there as they do on every headland that stretches far into the sea. Charybdis, to the south of Cape di Faro and some distance from the Sicilian coast, was far more dangerous to the undecked boats of the Greeks. It is a whirlpool formed by the meeting of contrary currents. Captain Smith saw seventy-four-gun ships drawn out of their course by it. [Before the many earthquakes which occurred there in the Middle Ages both were probably more dangerous.—Ed.]

² LEPIDVS PONT. MAX. III. V. R. P. C. From a silver coin. (Cohen, *Méd. cons. Emil.*, pl. ii., No. 18.)

³ M. AGRIPPA COS. TER. COSSVS LENTVLVS; head of Agrippa with the rostral and mural crown.

The Modern Scylla (Engraving from the *Bibliothèque nationale*). See note on last page.

Pompey cut off their supplies by sea, and on the land his cavalry surrounded the camp. Cornificius decided upon beating a retreat by impracticable roads where the still burning lava-streams of Ætna had dried up the springs. He was anxious to reach the northern coast, where Agrippa, after his victory, had occupied several points; he carried out this difficult movement with a firmness which gained him great honour, and afterwards obtained for him the privilege of being borne home in a curule chair every time he supped out.¹

Coin of Lilybæum.²

At the moment when he effected a junction with the three legions sent to meet him, Agrippa obtained possession of Tyndaris, an excellent position, whence he could lend a hand on one side to Lepidus, who had at length subdued Lilybæum, and on the other threaten Messina. The end was approaching; once more Octavius bore down upon Sicily with the remainder of his troops, this time gathered into a mass of twenty-one legions, 20,000 horse, and 5,000 archers and slingers, who assembled between Mylæ and Tyndaris, where Lepidus had arrived. Pompey held in force the north east corner of Sicily, from Mylæ to Tauro-menium, with Messina as his head-quarters, and he had fortified all the defiles which gave access into this immense entrenched camp. A movement of Agrippa having led him to believe that the Cæsarian fleet was making for Cape Pelorus, he abandoned his posts on the west, which Octavius immediately seized, and the triumvirs were able to commence their movement upon Messina. Threatened in his lair by two formidable armies, Pompey refused battle on land. But it was needful for him speedily to strike some decisive blow, for he was short of money and provisions; he decided to try his fortune on the element which had hitherto protected him.

Each fleet counted 300 sail; the shock took place between

¹ Dion (xlix. 7) says *ἐνι θρόνον*, an expression which might apply to the curule chair, which was incrustated with ivory.

² *ΑΙΑΥ(βα)ΙΤΑΝ*; woman's head veiled. On the reverse, *ΠΥΘΙΩΝ ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝ*, the names of two magistrates; serpent coiled round a tripod. Bronze coin of Lilybæum. For another, see vol. i. p. 460.

Mylæ and Naulochus, in sight of the two armies drawn up in battle array upon the shore (3rd of September, 36 B.C.). The action was very fierce, and the victory long remained undecided. Agrippa, like the first consul who conquered the Carthaginians on



Sextus Pompey.²

the sea, had armed his vessels with harpoons, to hold on to the enemy's ships, which were swifter than his own, and compel them to receive his boarders.¹ When Sextus saw victory inclining to the side of the Octavians, he extinguished the signal-light of his admiral's galley, threw his ring and the insignia of command into the sea, and took flight with seventeen vessels. Messina was in a state to sustain a long siege, and he still had two armies in the island, one near Lilybæum and the other towards Naulochus; but he left them in disorder. Like a true pirate chief, he landed for a short time on the coast of Bruttium to plunder the temple of Lacinian Juno, and thence set sail towards Asia,³ thinking to claim from Antony the price of the services he had rendered the triumvir's mother in the war of

¹ The harpon of Agrippa was a piece of wood, five cubits (seven feet, six inches) long, strengthened with iron bands and terminated at each end with a ring, one of which bore a strong iron hook and the other cords, by means of which a machine drew back the harpon when, thrown by a catapult, it had caught hold of one of the enemy's ships. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 118.)

² Statue of Parian marble, found not far from Tusculum, and signed by Ophelion, son of Aristonidas. (Louvre Museum, No. 150 in the Clarac Catalogue.)

³ Dion, xlix. 18.



Messina (From a Print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

Perusia. At Lesbos he heard of the unfortunate issue of the expedition against the Parthians, and thought the opportunity was a favourable one for rebuilding his fortunes at the expense of that of the wavering master of Asia. He easily took several cities, but some negotiations which he opened with the kings of Pontus and the Parthians, made his last friends abandon him. Even his father-in-law Seribonius Libo left him; being some time afterwards forced to give himself up, he was put to death at Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35).¹

The eight legions which he had deserted had assembled in Messina to which Lepidus laid siege. They demanded the triumvir, as a reward for going over to his standards, to grant their soldiers, like his own, the plundering of the town which had given them refuge. Notwithstanding Agrippa's opposition, Lepidus consented, and for a whole night the unhappy city was given over to be sacked and pillaged by its defenders and its foes. Lepidus then found himself at the head of twenty legions. He persuaded himself that with such a force it would be easy for him to take



The Triumvir, Lepidus.²

a higher position than had been accorded him since the commencement of the triumvirate. In a conference with Octavius he spoke haughtily, and claimed the addition of Sicily to his government; Octavius reproached him with his calculated delays and his secret negotiations with Sextus, and they parted, both disposed to begin another civil war. Octavius knew how little affection the troops

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 134-144, and Strabo, iii. 141. Dion makes him die at Midea, in Phrygia.

² Bronze bust found at Montmartre in 1787, in the ruins of an ancient foundry. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3120 in the Catalogue.)

had for his rival; he dared to appear in their camp without arms and without guards; he was already haranguing them when Lepidus, hastening up with a few devoted soldiers, drove him away with arrows. But their fidelity was shaken, several legions went and ranged themselves under the standard of Octavius when he approached with his army, and Lepidus barely escaped being killed in opposing the desertion which was becoming general. He was obliged to go and throw himself at the feet of his former colleague and ask that his life might be spared. Octavius was strong enough not to be cruel; he banished him to Circeii, leaving him his estates and his dignity of high pontiff. There Lepidus lived for twenty-three years. "He was," says Montesquieu, "the worst citizen in the Republic, and one is well pleased to see his humiliation. He lacked firmness and talent, and he was wholly indebted to circumstances for the important position to which fortune seems to have raised him for a time only to make his fall more signal."

CHAPTER LXI.

DUUMVIRATE OF OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (36-30).

I.—WISE ADMINISTRATION OF OCTAVIUS; REVERSES AND FOLLIES OF ANTONY IN THE EAST (36—33).

THE problem of the future destiny of the Republic was becoming simpler. But lately there had been factions—the people, the senate, the nobles, and sets of ambitious men, great or small. Above this chaos of intrigue three men had raised themselves, then two, then one only. When he was dead anarchy reappeared, and again three men had seized the power in order to commence once more the same abortive experience.

Antony.¹

Reverse.

Now there remained but two, as there had been seventeen years before. But how much monarchical ideas had progressed! At the time of Cæsar's and Pompey's triumvirate, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero still lived. Now those noble hearts were cold, the people and the senate had abdicated for ever, one might even say without regret. Antony was master in the East, Octavius in the West, and they were reigning together till one of them should gain all.

Since the deposition of Lepidus, Octavius had forty-five legions, 25,000 horse, nearly 40,000 light troops, and 600 vessels carried his flag.² But for revolutionary commanders the morrow of the

¹ M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony, bare, facing right. On the reverse, L. MVSSIDIVS T. F. LONGVS. III. VIR. A. P. F. (*auro publico feriendo*); Mars with helmet, standing with his foot upon a shield, and holding a spear and the *parazonium*. Gold coin. A souvenir of Antony's victories in the East, which another of his coins typifies by a genius of the East with wings and aureole, having one foot on a globe, but announcing by the caduceus and cornucopia which he bears the prosperity that these victories were to secure.

² App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 127.

victory is more to be feared than the day of combat. The soldiers, knowing their power, imperiously demanded the same rewards as after the battle of Philippi. He promised them crowns and arms of honour; to their tribunes, to their centurions he would give the *toga praetexta*; he would make them senators of their towns. "All these fine things are playthings for children," answered the tribune Ofilius; "a soldier wants money and lands." Octavius did not seem offended by this freedom, but the tribune disappeared the following night.¹ For the rest he distributed 20,000 discharges and bounties, for which Sicily alone furnished 1,600 talents; each soldier received 500 drachmæ. After having regulated the administration of Sicily and sent Statilius Taurus to Africa to take possession of that province, he returned to Rome; the senate received him at the gates of the city; the people, who saw the return of plenty, accompanied him crowned with flowers to the Capitol. They would have loaded him with honours. Beginning already to play his part of disinterestedness and modesty, he would only accept the tribunitian inviolability, the ovation, and a statue of gold.² They also proposed to raise him to the dignity of high pontiff, to be taken from Lepidus; he refused, so as not to break the law which declared this office to be for life.

Cæsar had lost himself by proclaiming aloud his scorn of those political hypocrisies which lend a kind of life to the dead. Octavius accepted the yet popular falsehood that the Republic still existed. The second triumvirate had become, by virtue of a plebiscitum, a legal magistracy, thus differing from the first, which had only been a secret association of three powerful men. Octavius showed himself the scrupulous observer of this legality. Before re-entering the city, outside the pomerium (for an *imperator* could not harangue in the Forum) he had read a speech in which he accounted to the people for all his acts, and he caused copies of it to be distributed. Therein he appealed to necessity as an excuse for the proscriptions; he promised peace and clemency for the future, and in proof of this new moderation he caused the letters written to Sextus Pompey by several great people to be publicly burned. In order to show that only the necessities of

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 128.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 130; Dion, xlix. 13-15.

war and not a spirit of rapine had obliged him to raise so much money, he abolished several taxes and caused the arrears owed to the treasury by the State debtors and by the publicans to be remitted.¹ Finally he declared he would abdicate as soon as Antony should have finished the war against the Parthians. Meanwhile he restored to the urban magistrates their former powers, and in order that none might doubt the sincerity of his promises, he would have at the foot of his statue no other inscription than this; "For having, after long troubles, restored peace on land and sea."

And this was true, for his energetic administration put everything in the peninsula in order. Sabinus expelled the robbers; the slaves who had escaped under cover of the disorders were seized and restored to their masters, or when not claimed, were put to death; several cohorts of watchmen which he organized pursued the malefactors in Rome, and in less than a year the security so long lost was restored in the city and in country places.³ At last Rome was being governed. Instead of magistrates using their offices only in the interest of their own ambition and their own fortune, it had now a vigilant administration, occupying itself with the welfare and safety of its inhabitants. Thus the towns of Italy, saved from famine by his victory and restored to repose, blessed this beneficent authority; some had already placed the image of Octavius among the statues of their tutelary gods.

After the treaty of Brundisium, Antony had remained at Athens with Octavia in the midst of festivities, watching at once over events in Italy and over affairs in the East. The Parthians were little formidable outside their immense plains. On the irregular soil of Syria and of Asia Minor their cavalry had not been able to stand against the Roman infantry, and Antony's lieutenants had everywhere gained brilliant advantages. Sosius had driven them from Syria; Canidius, conqueror of the Armenians



Antonius and Octavia.²

¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 130; Dion, xlix. 15.

² M. ANTONIVS M. F. N. AVGVSTI. IMP. TER., with head of M. Antony. On the reverse of another of Antony's coins is the head of Octavia, with the inscription, COS. DESIGN. ITER. ET TER. III. VIR. R. P. C. Antony was consul-elect in 35, the third year of the renewed triumvirate.

³ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 132.

and of the people of Albania and Iberia, their allies, had carried his ensigns to the foot of the Caucasus. But the greatest successes fell to Ventidius, that Asculan who, in the Social war, had been led captive behind the triumphal chariot of the father of Pompey the Great. In Cilicia he had beaten the Parthians and Labienus, who was killed in his flight. A fresh Parthian army had met with the same fate; Pacorus, its commander, was also left on the battlefield, and the Parthians had been driven beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Ventidius however, had not dared to pursue them, fearing perhaps to excite the jealousy of his chief; but in order to close against them the road to Asia Minor, he had stayed to besiege the fortress of Samosata, in Commagene, where Antiochus the king had given free passage to the Parthians.¹

Coin of Samosata.²

In honour of these successes Antony gave magnificent games in Athens, where he appeared with all the attributes of Hercules. The Athenians, who had already exhausted all kinds of adulation, could find during these fêtes but one other new flattery, that of offering him the hand of Athene, their protectress. He accepted, demanding 1,000 talents as the marriage portion of the goddess. "When thy father, the mighty Zeus, espoused thy mother Semele, he did not demand that she should bring him an inheritance," said the poor people who had fallen into the trap. "Zeus was rich, I am poor," answered the triumvir. Roused however, by the victories of his lieutenants, Antony showed himself for a while in Asia, at the siege of Samosata, the conduct of which he took from Ventidius, sending him to triumph at Rome. On his arrival Antiochus had offered him 1,000 talents as ransom for the town; the triumvir was glad to get 300 for taking his departure. He again returned to Athens, leaving Sosius in Syria.³

Antiochus of Commagene.⁴

This general had much ado among the Jews. The cause of all the troubles in this little kingdom was the minister

¹ Dion, xlix. 19-21.² ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤ; lion passant.³ Plut., *Anton.* 35.⁴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙ. (the great king Antiochus Epiphanes); head of Antiochus IV., king of Commagene, with diadem.

of Hyrcanus, the Idumæan Antipater. Nominated procurator of Judæa by Cæsar and supported by his son Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, he had conceived the project of taking the throne away from the family of the Maccabees. The Parthians expelled him and replaced the feeble Hyrcanus by his nephew Antigonus, but Herod taking refuge at Rome, there gained the favour of Antony, who caused him to be recognized by the senate as king of the Jews in order to oppose him to the nominee of the Parthians.

Sosius, ordered to support the new king, took Jerusalem by assault, and the last representative of the heroic family of the Maccabees was carried to Antioch, there to be beaten with rods and beheaded. Herod took unopposed possession of the throne, whereon he thought to establish himself by marrying Mariamne, the heiress of the dynasty which had just come to an end¹ (37).

On quitting Tarentum and Italy for the last time (36), Antony had left Octavia and her children there. He had finally decided to conduct the war against the Parthians himself. But hardly had

Octavia.²

he touched the soil of Asia when his passion for Cleopatra awoke more madly than ever. He sent for her to Laodicea, acknowledged the children he had had by her, Alexander and Cleopatra, and gave the title of king of kings to the former, as if he reserved for his heritage the kingdoms he was about to conquer. The enemies of

¹ Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 8, 15; Dion, xlix. 22; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75; Tac., *Hist.*, v. 9.² Bronze bust found at Lyons and preserved in the Louvre Museum. (Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiq.*, etc., No. 639.)

Rome were not to bear alone the cost of his generosity. Cleopatra, faithful to the unchanging policy of all the intelligent rulers of Egypt, obtained the addition to her kingdom of what the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, the Arabs and the Mamelukes, Bonaparte and Mehemet Ali, have always coveted, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyprus, with a part of Judæa and Arabia, and the whole of Cilicia Trachea, which furnished the cedars of Taurus used for the navy, that is to say, nearly all the coast from the Nile to Asia Minor.¹ These countries were for the most part Roman provinces. But was there still a Rome, a senate, laws, anything beside the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir?

Antony had then thirty legions, representing an effective force of 60,000 men, 10,000 horsemen, and 30,000 auxiliaries, furnished principally by the Armenian Artavasdes, the enemy of another Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene. Asia trembled at the news of these preparations.² As far as Bactriana, as far as India, men spoke of the immense army of western warriors; moreover, division prevailed amongst its enemies. A new revolution had stained the throne of Ctesiphon with blood. At the news of the death of his son Pacorus, Orodes had fallen into profound despondency, and had chosen Phraates as his successor. The latter, impatient to reign, had killed his father and all his brothers. Several nobles threatened by him had fled, and Antony, renewing in favour of the most important of them, Monaeses, the generosity of Artaxerxes to Themistocles, had given him three towns for his maintenance.

From Mount Ararat, the culminating point of Armenia, there descend two mountain chains which surround the immense basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The one covers Syria and Palestine with its heights, the other, Media, Susiana, and Persia. From the first juts northward the Taurus, which stretches away to the extremity of Asia Minor; from the second, the mountains which form on the east the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. To reach Ctesiphon, situated on the Tigris, there were then two roads; the shorter one led across the arid plains of Mesopotamia and was

¹ Strabo, xiv. 669 and 677; Plut., *Anton.*, 37; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 4; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 9; Dion, xlix. 32.

² Plut., *Anton.*, 39.

taken by Crassus; the other and longer one, by the mountains of Armenia and Media Atropatene, passed round those burning solitudes and led the Roman infantry over ground favourable to its tactics towards Ecbatana and Ctesiphon, in the very heart of the Empire. This was the one chosen by Antony. The season was already too far advanced when he began the campaign; he should have taken up his winter quarters in Armenia and there given his troops a rest, wearied as



Marc Antony and Cleopatra.¹



Orodes (Arsaces XIV.).



Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.).²

they were with a march of 8,000 stadia, and in the first days of spring, before the Parthians had left their quarters, he would have made an easy conquest of Media; but urged by the desire to rejoin Cleopatra, he continued to advance in order to end the war quickly.

Three hundred chariots carried all his engines, among which was a ram eighty feet long. Impeded by this clumsy apparatus, Antony decided to leave it behind him under escort of one division, and went as far as Phrahata, a short distance from the Caspian Sea. Finding all his attacks on this place miscarry, he recognized the mistake he had made in abandoning his engines, still more so

¹ Silver coin, with heads of Marc Antony and Cleopatra. (Millin, *Gal. Mythol.*, pl. clxxviii. bis, fig. 672.)

² From two coins in the *Cabinet de France*.

when he heard that Phraates had surprised the body of troops which guarded them, had killed 10,000 men, and burnt the convoy. Discouraged by this check Artavasdes retired with his Armenians. In order to raise the courage of his troops, Antony, with ten legions, went to seek the enemy, met them a day's journey from his camp, put them to flight, and pursued them for some time. But when the legionaries, returning to the battlefield, found but thirty slain, this victory, which at first they had thought so great, seemed hardly a skirmish, and comparing the result with the effort it had cost, they became discouraged. Indeed, on the morrow they saw the enemy reappear again as bold and as insulting as ever. During this affair a sally of the besieged had carried dismay into the Roman camp; the three legions left in the lines had fled; on his return Antony caused them to be decimated.

Winter approached; if it was dreaded by the Romans, who already fell short of provisions, Phraates was afraid of being unable to keep his Parthians in tents during the cold weather. He made overtures which Antony eagerly accepted; the legions were to raise the siege, and the king engaged not to disturb their retreat. For two days the march was quiet; on the third the Parthians attacked them in what they thought a favourable place. But a Marsian who had been their prisoner for a long time had warned the triumvir; his troops were in battle array and the enemy was repulsed. The four following days were like the two first; on the seventh the enemy showed themselves again. The legions formed a square, and the light troops disposed on the wings and as rearguard kept the enemy at a distance. Unfortunately the tribune Gallus, after having repulsed the enemy several times, stubbornly held a position where he was surrounded; 3,000 men had already perished when they were able to relieve him. From that time the Parthians, emboldened by success, each morning renewed their attack, and the army could only advance by fighting. In danger, Antony recovered the qualities which had formerly gained him the love of the troops; brave and indefatigable, he encouraged his men during the action by his example, and in the evening went among the tents lavishing help and comforts on the wounded. "Oh, retreat of the Ten Thousand!" cried he more than once, thinking with admiration of the courage and success of

the companions of Xenophon. At last, at the end of twenty-seven days' march, during which they had engaged in eighteen actions, the Romans reached the frontiers of Armenia, on the banks of the Araxes, the shore of which they kissed devoutly, as the sailor escaped from the storm embraces the land upon which the tempest has thrown him.¹ Their road from Phrahata was marked by the corpses of 24,000 legionaries!

If the king of Armenia had not so soon left the Roman camp the retreat would have been less disastrous on account of his 6,000 horsemen. Antony however, did not reproach him and postponed his vengeance lest he might delay his return to Cleopatra. In spite of a rigorous winter and continual snows he hastened his march and lost 8,000 men more. He at last reached the coast of Syria, between Berytus and Sidon, where Cleopatra joined him with clothing, provisions, and presents for the officers and soldiers. An occasion offered for him to repair his defeat; Phraates and the king of the Medes quarrelled over the spoils, and the Mede offered to join the Romans for a new campaign with all his forces. Cleopatra prevented her lover from answering this call to honour, and carried him in her train to Alexandria.

Coin of Berytus.²

In spite of this disastrous retreat, which contrasted with the successes obtained in the same year by his colleague, Antony sent messengers of victory to Rome; but Octavius took care that the truth should be known, though in public he spoke only with praise of the army in the East, in whose honour he decreed feasts and sacrifices.³ At the games celebrated the following year on the death of Sextus, he wished Antony's chariot to appear with triumphal pomp, and he caused his statue to be placed in the temple of Concord as a sign of the cordial understanding which existed between them. This was characteristic of the man who always had in his mouth the proverb, *Hasten leisurely*, and this other, *You are in time enough if you arrive*.

Coin of Sidon.⁴¹ Plut., *Anton.*, 49.² Head of the city, turreted.³ Dion, xlix. 32.⁴ A ship with the inscription, ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΑΟΥ ΝΑΥΑΡ.

Octavia did not enter into these selfish calculations; on the contrary, she tried to save her husband from the fatal influence¹ which was leading him to ruin, and asked permission of her brother to leave Rome to rejoin Antony. He granted it, wishing to the last to temporize, or in the secret hope that an affront



Bronze Standard found at Athens.²

offered to his sister would furnish him with a pretext for war and deprive his rival of what popularity he still possessed. Antony had then returned to Syria, where he was making preparations for

¹ Horace said of Cleopatra; *Fatale monstrum*. (*Od.*, I. xxxvii. 22.)

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 109. In the two frames were set portraits of the emperors.

a new expedition, apparently directed against the Parthians, but in reality against the king of Armenia. He learnt there that his wife had already arrived at Athens, and as Octavius had anticipated, he ordered her not to come any further.

She easily guessed the motives for this offensive message, but replied only by asking where he wished her to send what she would herself have brought him. This was clothes for the soldiers, a great number of beasts of burden, money, and considerable presents for his officers and friends, and finally, 2,000 picked men with as fine arms as those of the Praetorian cohorts. The manœuvres of Cleopatra rendered these noble efforts vain; she affected a profound despair and a disgust for life which made Antony fear a desperate resolution; he dared not break his chain, and she would not allow him to make the expedition against the Medes that year lest he should escape her (35).

On Octavia's return to Rome her brother ordered her to leave the house of this worthless husband. She refused, and continued to bring up with her own children those of Antony and Fulvia, giving them the same care, nearly the same affection. And if some friend of her husband's arrived in the city to canvass an office or attend to some particular business, she received him at her house and obtained from her brother the solicited favours. But this conduct defeated her aim. The contrast between such virtue and such injustice increased the public hatred against Antony.



Armenian
Captive.¹

In the following year (34) he made a short expedition into Armenia. Delliuss had preceded him, under pretext of demanding for a son of Antony and Cleopatra the hand of one of the daughters of Artavasdes, but in reality to lull the vigilance of that prince. Antony penetrated as far as Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, and invited the king to come and act with him in the expedition against the Parthians. In spite of all these assurances Artavasdes feared some treachery; hearing however, that the triumvir was marching upon Artaxata, he hoped to appease the storm by accepting the invitation; he was seized, loaded with

¹ ARMENIA CAPTA; Victory taming a bull. Gold coin. (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, i. pl. 48. No. 46.)

golden chains, and dragged to Alexandria, which Antony entered in triumph.¹ All that remained of art-treasures still left in Asia



Ptolemy Caesarion.²

by the proconsuls went to decorate the new capital of the East; all the library of Pergamon, consisting of 200,000 volumes, was carried thither.

Rome was offended at this infringement of her rights, but the triumvir had forgotten that he was a Roman. Shortly after this he caused two golden thrones to be erected on a silver tribunal, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. He declared her queen of Egypt and Cyprus, associated Caesarion with her, and bestowed the title of king upon Alexander and Ptolemy, the two sons whom he had had by her; to the former he gave, together with Armenia, Media and the kingdom of the Parthians, which he already regarded as his conquest; to the second, Syria and Cilicia, with Phœnicia; he assigned as a marriage portion to their sister Cleopatra, the future wife of Juba II., Libya bordering on Cyrenæica. Then he presented the two princes to the people, Alexander wearing the Median robe and the tiara, Ptolemy clad in the long mantle and bearing the diadem of the successors of Alexander.

Henceforth the new-made kings only appeared in public surrounded by a guard of Asiatics or Macedonians. Antony himself laid aside the toga for a purple robe, and he was seen crowned like eastern monarchs with a diadem, bearing a golden sceptre, and with a scimitar at his side, or else, accompanied by Cleopatra, passing through the streets of Alexandria,



Cleopatra Selene, Daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.³



Juba II., King of Mauretania, Husband of Cleopatra Selene.³

¹ Dion, xlix. 39-40.

² From a bas-relief in the temple of Denderah. (Rosellini, *op. cit.*)

³ Visconti, *Iconog. grecq.*, iii. pl. 55.

now in the costume of Osiris, more often as Bacchus, drawn in a chariot decked with garlands, with cothurni on his feet, a crown of gold upon his head, and the thyrsus in his hand. He had made his legionaries attendants and guards of the queen; their shields bore her monogram,¹ and on the coins was seen the double image of Antony and Cleopatra. How pressing the need of a master when this madman could find 100,000 men still ready to fight to win empire for him!



Agrippa.



Cleopatra.²

One day however, he remembered Rome, and was not ashamed to demand of the senate the confirmation of all his acts. The consuls in office, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius, dared not, though they were his friends, read his mad despatches aloud.

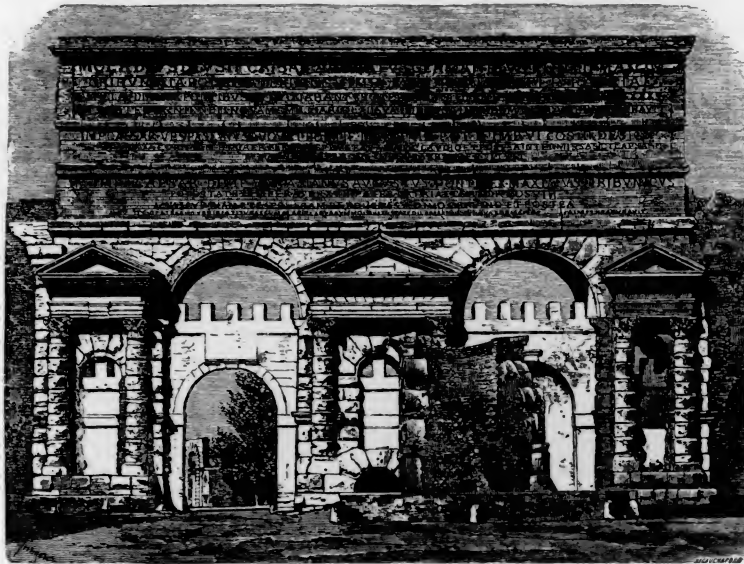
While Antony was dishonouring himself in the East, what was Octavius doing? We have already said he was governing; he was giving Italy the repose for which it yearned. In order to have the right to make useful changes, Agrippa the *consularis* and oft-victorious general, accepted by Octavius' orders the modest office of ædile (33). Forthwith he undertook immense works; the State buildings were repaired, the roads reconstructed, public fountains opened. Some of the aqueducts had fallen into decay; he repaired them and built a new one, the *aqua Julia*; the choked drains had become a cause of unhealthiness; he visited the main sewer in a boat and caused them to be cleaned out. He opened 170 free baths to the public and adorned the Circus with dolphins and oval signals showing the number of rounds.³ To complete the reconciliation of the people with the triumvir he celebrated games which lasted fifty-nine days, and in the theatre he threw tickets about, which could be exchanged for money, garments, or other gifts. Even before the festivals he had made gratuitous

¹ Plut., *Anton.*, 59; Dion, l. 5.

² Bust of Cleopatra with diadem, encircled by a Latin inscription, CLEOPATRAE REGINAE FILIORVM REGVM. Silver coin.

³ To win the prize for the race it was necessary to be the first to accomplish six rounds. At each round one of the seven dolphins and one of the seven ovals was lowered. (See the engraving on p. 541 of the first volume.) Pliny says of Rome concerning the drains; *urbe pensili, subterque navigata.* (xxxvi. 24.)

distributions of salt and oil, and had left immense quantities of goods of all descriptions exposed in the public square for the crowd to divide among themselves. This rough soldier believed in the good influence of art; he bought pictures and set them up in public places, and in Pliny's time there was still preserved



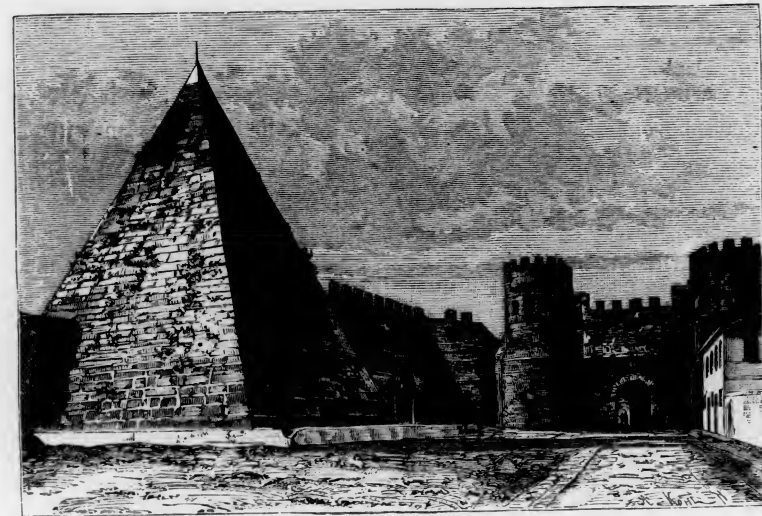
*Porta Maggiore or Porta Neria at Rome.*¹

a splendid speech of his on the advantages of drawing objects of art from their exile in the villas of the wealthy and collecting them in permanent exhibitions.² The pyramid of Cestius belongs to this period.

¹ Three aqueducts were constructed upon it, one above another: the *Aqua Julia* of Agrippa, the *Aqua Tepula* (of the year 127), and the *Aqua Marcia* (of 144), which Agrippa repaired. (Front., *de Aqued.*, ii. 8, 9, 12, 19; Dion, xlviii. 32.) The *porta Maggiore* is situated at the fork of the road to Preneste, on the Labican Way. Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus in turn consolidated this fine monument, as is recorded by the three inscriptions engraved one above the other upon the broad strip of the wall. The small, crenellated arches which injure the grand effect of the triumphal gate are the work of the Middle Ages. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 264 and 265.)

² Dion (xlix. 43) mentions the expulsion from Rome by Agrippa of the astrologers and magicians, and a *senatus-consultum* forbade the summoning of a senator before a court of justice, *ἐν ἀγορῇ*, for robbery. This passage has furnished matter for many commentaries. I think it must be looked upon as the commencement by Octavius of the reform completed by Augustus, rendering the senators answerable to the senate alone.

Though occupied with the public interest, military glory was not wanting to this government, and this was acquired by necessary expeditions. If Octavius talked of a descent upon Britain, it was to impress minds which the wars waged by Cæsar, Pompey and Antony at the ends of the earth had rendered contemptuous of modest enterprises; he also wished, by allowing these warlike rumours to circulate, to provide himself with a pretext for maintaining a considerable force. He had already perceived



Pyramid of Cestius (p. 524).¹

that instead of launching forth into distant conquests, Rome ought to subdue the barbarians at her own gates; that it was needful to give security to Italy and Greece by taming the pirates of the Adriatic and the restless tribes settled to the north of the two peninsulas.

After a brief appearance in Africa to consolidate his power there, he led his legions against the Illyrians, being desirous of getting his soldiers away from Italy, where they were growing

¹ This *septemvir epulonium* was desirous of having for a tomb a pyramid 100 feet in height, and wished to have his most costly carpets buried with his ashes. Agrippa opposed this in the name of the law of the Twelve Tables on the subject of funerals, and the heirs obtained such a high price for these tapestries that they were able to give the pyramid a coating of marble. (Wilmanns, 216.)

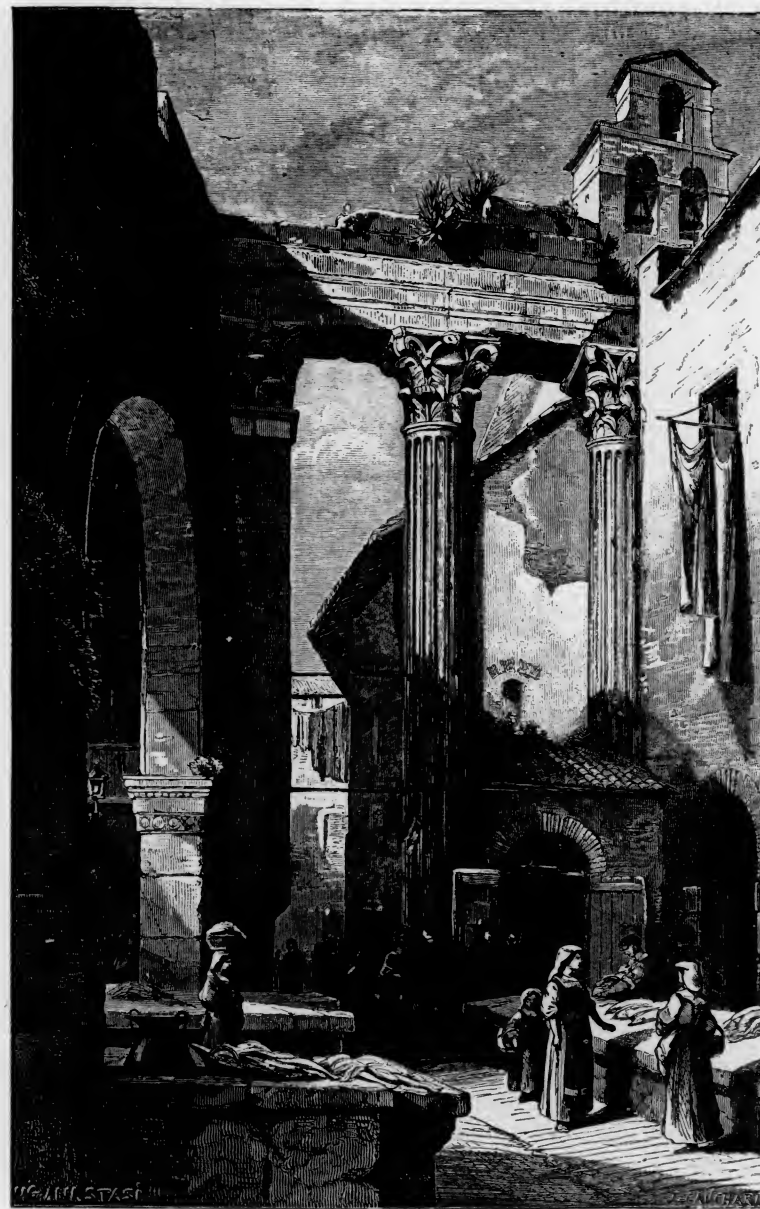
effeminate, and re-establishing firm discipline among them by a foreign war, and of holding them, without oppressing the people, in readiness for the inevitable struggle with Antony. The Iapodes, the Liburnians, and the Dalmatians were subdued. At the siege of a stronghold courageously defended by the Iapodes his troops one day fled; he seized a shield and advanced with four others over the wooden bridge leading to the wall. The soldiers, seeing their general's danger, returned in such numbers that the bridge broke; Octavius was severely wounded.¹ This was a reply to those who during the Civil war had accused him of cowardice.

The Alps leave but one wide gate into Northern Italy, the one which the Julian Alps hardly protect. To secure it Octavius went beyond those mountains and established garrisons in the valley of the Save, where he took the strong place of Siscia. Some of the Pannonians promised him obedience. In the *Val d'Aosta* he suppressed brigandage among the Salassi, and though he did not then subdue them, he made their incursions difficult by founding two colonies, which became *Augusta Taurinorum* and *Augusta Prætoria* (Turin and Aosta). Finally in Africa, the last prince of Cæsarian Mauretania being dead, he united his possessions to the province. Agrippa and Messala had displayed their usual talent in these wars (35—33).

II.—RUPTURE BETWEEN OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (32—30).

Thus of the two triumvirs, one was giving Roman countries to a barbarian queen, the other was augmenting the territory of the Empire. The former was diverting towards Alexandria the treasures and the respect of the East; the latter was decorating the Forum as in the best days of the Republic with rude but glorious spoils, and employing the booty taken from the Dalmatians in founding the Portico and Library of Octavia. Yet Antony complained; on the 1st of January, in the year 32, the consul Sosius reproached Octavius in his name with having dispossessed Sextus without sharing with his colleague the acquired provinces;

¹ App., *Bell. Illyr.*, 14 and sq.; Dion, xlix. 34-8; Suet., *Octav.*, 20.



Portico of Octavia (Present state).

with having distributed all the land in Italy among his soldiers and reserving nothing for the legions in the East. He added that Antony was ready to yield up to the people the powers which had been entrusted to him if the other triumvir would set the example. Octavius was then absent from Rome; a few days afterwards he repaired to the senate accompanied by soldiers and friends with arms concealed beneath their togas. To the consul's accusations he replied that Lepidus, having shown himself incapable and cruel, had been justly reduced to a private condition; that if Sicily and Africa had been added to the western provinces Antony had taken Egypt for himself; that for the rest he had sufficient to indemnify himself and his soldiers from the brilliant conquests he had made in Asia, but that he preferred to lavish on Cleopatra and that queen's children the treasures and provinces of Rome, whose name he was dishonouring by his conduct and his double treachery towards Sextus and Artavasdes.¹



Cleopatra (from a Coin).

Upon this declaration, which announced a rupture, the two consuls, who were friends of Antony, left Rome, together with several senators, and went to join their patron. He was then in Armenia, the tribes of which he wished to compel to redeem their king by giving up his treasures; but the Armenians had preferred to proclaim Artaxias, the son of the captive prince, who unfortunately was unable to defend himself and fled to the king of the Parthians, Phraates IV. In order to secure the alliance of the king of the Medes, Antony gave him part of Armenia and married his son Alexander to the daughter of that prince. In return the Median king gave back the standards taken from the

Phraates IV.
(Arsaces XV.).²

¹ Plut., *Anton.*, 55; Dion, l. 1-3. He also reproved him sharply for having recognized Caesarion as Caesar's son, and having declared him a member of the Julian family. [Hence he had him put to death at Alexandria as an impostor. (Cf. below, p. 532 and 545 note 2).—*Ed.*]

² Bust, facing left; diademed head of Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV., king of the Persians from the year 37 to the year 14 of our era. From a coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

legions during the expeditions of the year 36, and furnished the triumvir with cavalry and a subsidy.

On the news of the declarations made by Octavius in the senate Antony had decided upon war; he had ordered his lieutenant Canidius to assemble his land forces, and in spite of all that has been said about his effeminaey and thoughtlessness, which



Mountebank on a Crocodile.¹

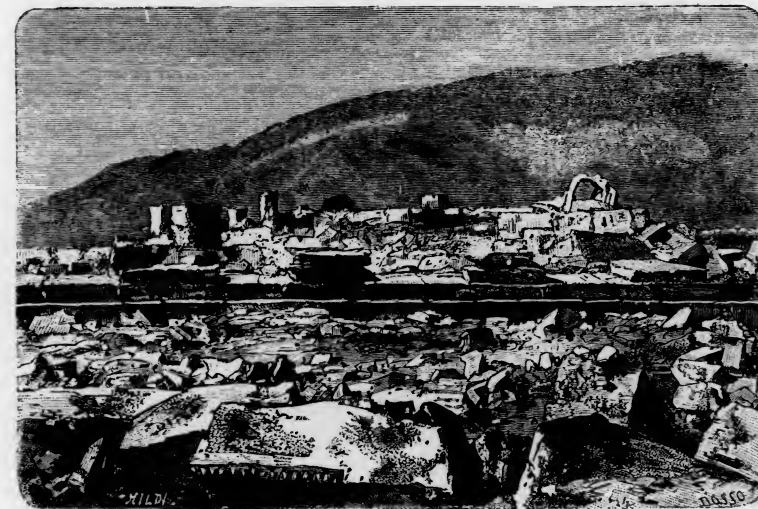
have doubtless been exaggerated, he still had sixteen legions ready to begin the campaign. He quickly reached the town of Ephesus, where 800 vessels were assembled; the queen had given 200 of them, with 20,000 talents and provisions for the whole duration of the war; but she had followed him. In vain did Antony's friends, Domitius and Planeus, urge him to send her back to her kingdom. She wished to keep watch over her lover and prevent any arrangement which might have led him back to Octavia; by means of bribery she won over Canidius, and the old soldier persuaded

his general that Cleopatra would be a better adviser for him than any of the kings who followed his standards.

Her presence soon became perceptible in the relaxation of the preparations. Feasting began again. Whilst from Syria to the

¹ Group in the British Museum representing an Egyptian performing feats of tumbling. Crocodiles often appear in the games of the Romans. (Clarac, pl. 875, No. 2223A.)

Palus Mæotis, and from Armenia to the shores of the Adriatic, kings and peoples were in movement to collect and transport provisions and arms, Antony and Cleopatra lived at Samos amid games and revelries; mountebanks, flute-players, and comedians had flocked thither from the whole of Asia in such numbers that Antony gave them for payment a whole town, the city of Priene. At Athens the *inimitable life* continued. In that city Cleopatra at length extorted from Antony the act of divorce against Octavia;



Temple of Athene Polias, at Priene.¹

he sent it to her at Rome. She obeyed, and still taking with her the children of Fulvia, she left the house whence their father expelled her. She wept at the thought that the Romans might consider her as one of the causes of this war, and she had some right to think so; but between these two ambitious spirits an insult offered to the noble woman was scarcely a pretext (32). Many who valued the peace which Octavius maintained wept with her. Roused from his amours and gay songs by the din of arms, the favourite poet of Mæcenas dolorously exclaimed; "O ship, fresh storms bear thee forth into the waves."²

¹ O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latiniqne*, vol. i., pl. 6.

² *O navis, referent in mare te novi Fluctus!* etc.

(Horace, *Od.*, I. xiv.)

Octavius was uneasy at the promptitude of Antony's preparations; his own were not terminated, and all Italy was murmuring at fresh taxes which deprived citizens of a fourth of their income, and freedmen possessed of 50,000 drachmæ of the eighth of their fortune. Fortunately Antony completed slowly what he had begun with the activity of Cæsar's former lieutenant. The summer passed in fêtes, and the war was inevitably postponed till the following year. This delay gave Octavius another advantage—the defection of several important men, who, disgusted at Cleopatra's haughtiness, returned to Italy. Among them were Plancus and Titius, both *consulares*. Plancus took it into his head rather late that the queen had made him play an unworthy part when at a festival he appeared, notwithstanding his age, with his body painted blue and his head crowned with reeds, dragging behind him a fish's tail to represent a sea god. In the senate he began at once to inveigh against Antony. "Antony must have done a great many infamous deeds the day before you left him,"



Coin
of Coponius.²

said Coponius, maliciously.¹ Asinius Pollio showed more self-respect; when Octavius urged him to march with him Pollio refused. "The services I have rendered Antony are greater, but those which he has rendered me are better known; therefore I cannot fight against him; I will await the issue of the struggle and be the spoil of the victor."

Octavius had learnt from Plancus that Antony's will was in the hands of the Vestals; he took it from them and read to the senate the passages most likely to create irritation. Antony, admitting that there had been a lawful union between Cleopatra and the dictator, recognized Cæsarion as Cæsar's legitimate son and heir, so that in taking that name Octavius was only a usurper, and all his acts for the last twelve years were illegal. He renewed the gift to the queen and her children of almost all the countries which he had in his power; and finally, abjuring his fatherland

¹ Vell. Paterc., ii. 64. Messala had left him earlier, as soon as he had seen Antony become the Egyptian woman's slave. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 38.)

² C. COPONIUS PR. C.; club covered with a lion's skin between a bow and an arrow. Prætor in 49, he was proscribed in 43, and was saved by his wife, who gave herself to Antony. (App., *Bell. civ.*, iii. 40.)

and his ancestors, he ordered that even if he should die upon the banks of the Tiber, his body should be taken to Alexandria and laid in the tomb of Cleopatra. A senator named Calvisius added still more to the public anger by relating several traits of his mad passion for this woman, who no longer swore by aught but the decrees she should soon issue from the Capitol, and none doubted but that he would give her Rome itself, whilst he made the capital of Egypt the seat of government.¹ The few friends he still possessed sent one of themselves to enlighten him as to the situation; Cleopatra heaped mortifications upon this tardy adviser, and compelled him to go back without having spoken with Antony in private. Silanus and the historian Delliis were obliged to flee to escape the snares she laid for them.

When Octavius was ready he instigated a decree of the senate depriving Antony of the consulship for the year 31, and robed as a *fetialis* he repaired to the temple of Bellona, where he performed the ceremonies in use in ancient times upon declarations of war.² The queen of Egypt alone was named. "It is not Antony nor the Romans whom we are going to fight," said Octavius, "but the woman who in the delirium of her hopes and the intoxication of her good fortune dreams of the fall of the Capitol and the burial of the Empire." To declare Antony a public enemy would indeed have been to include in the proscription all the Romans whom he had with him and the whole of his army. Octavius was too prudent to tell sixteen legions that they had no alternative but victory or death. On the 1st of January, 31 B.C., he took possession of the consulship and took as his colleague in place of Antony the brave Valerius Messala, who had beaten him at Philippi. The triumvirate had expired on the preceding day, and he had given no notice of its renewal. "It was no longer then, a triumvir going forth to fight for his own cause, but a consul of the Roman people, surrounded by the worthiest men of the State, marching against the minister of a foreign queen."

¹ Dion, l. 5; Plut., *Anton.*, 64; Suet., *Octav.*, 17. [We may suspect both the terms of Antony's will and the policy of Cleopatra as reported by the party of Octavius. Such falsifications were usual and successful in those days, and had been practised by Antony in the case of Cæsar.—*Ed.*]

² Dion, l. 4. (See vol. i. p. 103.)

Antony passed the winter of 32—31 at Patras. He was master of Greece, where he had assembled 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse. The kings of Mauretania, Commagene, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, a dynast of Cilicia, and a Thracian chief followed his standard in person. Pontus, Galatia, the Medes, the Jews, an Arab prince, and a Lycaonian chief had sent him auxiliaries. His fleet numbered 500 great war-ships, several of which had eight and ten banks of oars, but they were heavy in build, ill-managed, and denuded of rowers and marines. When the bad state of his

Swift-sailing Galley.¹

naval armament was represented to Antony, he said; "What does it matter about sailors; whilst there are oars on board and men in Greece we shall not lack for rowers." All the Greeks however, were not for him; Mantinea sent the Caesarians a contingent which fought at Actium.² Others must have followed this example, for the common misery of these people had not inspired them with common sentiments. Octavius had but 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and only 250 vessels of inferior build. Their lightness, the experience of the sailors and soldiers, who had been trained in

¹ Light vessel built upon the model of the pirate ships of Illyria and adopted by the Romans. (Rich, *Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 363, under the word *Liburna*.)

² Pausan., VIII. viii. 12.

the difficult war against Sextus, more than compensated for the inferiority in point of numbers.

Whilst Octavius repaired to Coreyra, Agrippa led the fleet to Methone, on the shores of the Peloponnesus, to intercept the convoys arriving from Egypt or Asia, and starve the multitude which Greece was too poor to maintain. The lightness of his vessels secured the freedom of his movements, though in the neighbourhood of a fleet which appeared formidable; he penetrated everywhere, even into the Gulf of Corinth, where he took Patras (Patras), the headquarters of Antony, and the island of Leucas, the outpost on the Ionian Sea. This war of skirmishes was already distressing the enemy; when Octavius' army had landed on the coast of Epirus, not far from the Antonian legions, defections began, although Antony had sworn an oath before his troops to abdicate two months after the victory. Domitius set the example; Dejotarus, Amyntas, and afterwards Philadelphos followed his lead. Antony thought he was surrounded by traitors, and reverting to

cruelty, tortured and then put to death an Arab chief named Jamblicus and the senator Postumius. He even doubted Cleopatra, suspected her of wishing to poison him, and forced her to taste before him all the meats served up to them, a precaution which the queen exposed in a terrible manner. One day when she had come to the feast, with a wreath of flowers in her hair, she asked her lover to throw one of these flowers into the cup from which he drank. As he was raising the cup to his lips she suddenly caught hold of his arm, took the cup, and gave it to a slave, who emptied it and fell down dead. Antony, filled with love and terror, gave himself up to this strange creature, who united in her person every kind of fatal fascination.

Several partial combats preceded the decisive action. Bogud, king of Mauretania, fell in the Peloponnesus, and Nasidius was beaten by Agrippa, who in another encounter at sea slew the Cilician Tarcondimotos. At the same

War Ship.¹Tarcondimotos,
King of Cilicia.

¹ From an engraved gem. (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*)

time Titius and Statilius Taurus inflicted a check upon Antony's cavalry. Meanwhile, little by little the two armies concentrated; that of Antony at Actium, on the coast of Acarnania, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia, that of Octavius facing it on



Cleopatra.¹

the coast of Epirus.² Antony had proposed to his rival to end their quarrel by a single combat, or else to repair to Pharsalia with

¹ Statue in the Museum of St. Mark at Venice. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 912, No. 2322.)

² Plut., *Anton.*, 19; Dion., l. 13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxi. 9. The gulf of Ambracia, now the gulf of Arta, communicates with the Ionian Sea by a channel 545 yards wide in the narrowest place, but not five in depth, and full of dangerous shoals and rocks. The inside of the bay, on the other hand, affords excellent anchorage. Large vessels can anchor alongside the quay beneath the walls of Prevesa. With the expenditure of a little labour this little inland sea might be made a splendid closed roadstead where armoured ships might anchor. It was behind this town, on the isthmus connecting the point of Prevesa with the mainland of Epirus, that Nicopolis was built. As fresh water was scarce there, Octavius built an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

all their forces and there decide to whom the heritage of Caesar should fall. All his generals, and especially Canidius, were in favour of this latter plan.

But Cleopatra wished them to fight on sea, that her Egyptian vessels might have a share in the victory, and in case of a reverse might secure her retreat. On land it would have been necessary to abandon Antony or run into dangers which she dared not face. No doubt she had represented to him that the partial checks he had received, the defections which he saw increasing in number, and the difficulties which daily became greater of supporting a numerous army in Greece, ought to decide him upon seeking another battlefield; that whichever of the two adversaries obtained the command of the sea could starve the other,¹ and that the number and strength of his vessels promised him the victory; and finally, that a naval victory was necessary in order to open a way to Italy or to close the road against his enemies to the East, and especially to Egypt, which in the hands of a victor would be an impregnable fortress, whence Africa and Asia could be ruled without any trouble. These considerations must have been put forward, for without them it is impossible to understand the conduct of a man whose vices could not have deprived him of all his military ability.

Antony yielded; he put 20,000 legionaries and 2,000 archers on board his galleys, which, through desertions and the sickness prevalent during the winter, were short of men. But the legionaries were very unwilling to serve on the ships; one commander of a cohort, whose body was covered with wounds, seeing Antony passing by, cried out in a sorrowful voice: "Oh, my general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword and found your hopes upon rotten wood? Let the men of Egypt and Phœnicia fight on the sea, and give us the dry land, whereon we know how to conquer or die." Antony answered not a word; he only made him a sign to encourage him and give him a hope which he himself did not share; for when his pilots wished to leave the sails on land, as was customary, he ordered them to take them with them.

¹ Τῶ γε λιμῶ χειρωσόμεθα. (Dion., l. 19.) Virgil has described the battle of Actium. (*Æn.*, viii. 675-713; Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, l. xxxvii.; Proper., *IV.* vi. 55.)

² Plut., *Anton.*, 67.

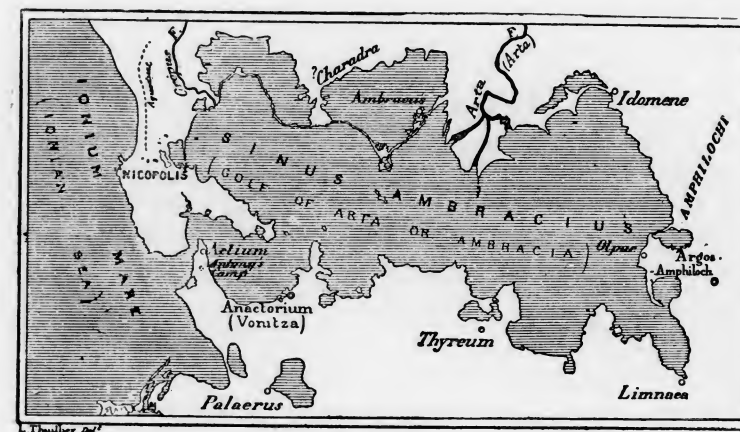
In order to reinforce the rowing-strength of his remaining galleys, he had burnt 140 vessels. The sailors were still too few, however, to manœuvre these cumbrous craft with ease. For four days the roughness of the sea would not allow of the two fleets meeting. At length, on the 2nd of September, 31, the wind fell; Antony's ships lay till mid-day immovable at the entrance of the straits; about that time a light breeze sprang up and they advanced to meet the enemy, who for some time refused to engage on his right wing in order to draw them out into the open sea. Octavius had stationed himself on that side; when he thought the Antonians were far enough from the coast, he ceased to retire, and hastened with his active vessels against their heavy citadels, round which three or four galleys rowed at once, overwhelming them with pikes, javelins, and flaming arrows. Meanwhile Agrippa was manœuvring to surround the right wing. Publicola, who commanded it, tried to stop him by extending his line; but this movement separated him from the centre which was already threatened by the Caesarians.

The day was not yet lost, however; but Cleopatra, who was to show the truly feminine courage in making slow and careful preparations for the last sacrifice, in order to remain beautiful in death, had not the manly courage of the soldier, who braves violence and wounds in the fray. She gave orders to the sixty Egyptian vessels to rig their masts and run towards the Peloponnesus. At the sight of the vessels with purple sails bearing away the queen, Antony, forgetting those who were at that very moment dying for him, went on board a swift galley and followed in her track. He boarded her vessel; but without speaking to her or looking at her, he seated himself at the prow and leaned his head upon his hands. For three days he remained in the same posture and the same silence till they reached Cape Tænaron, when Cleopatra's women arranged an interview. Thence they set sail for Africa.

His fleet defended itself for a long time; towards the tenth hour the report spread on the vessels that Antony was fleeing. At that time they had lost only five thousand men. But their line was broken, many of the ships had their oars shattered, and the roughness of the sea, as it dashed against their bows, made it no longer possible to steer them; 300 surrendered. The

land army was intact; the soldiers refused to believe in the baseness of their leader, and for seven days they still held out against the solicitations of Caesar's envoys; but Canidius, who was in command, having in his turn abandoned them, they gave in their submission to the victor.

On the shore, opposite the scene of the action, stood a modest temple of Apollo; Octavius there consecrated as trophies eight vessels of all classes, and the bronze image of a peasant and his ass that he had found on his road before the battle. The man was called Eutyches, the *Fortunate*, and the beast, Nicon, the

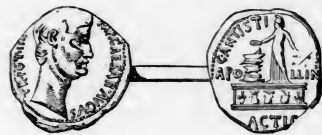


Map of the Gulf of Ambracia for the battle of Actium.

Victorious. In this meeting Octavius had seen a presage of victory, and the greatest sceptic among the Romans would have done the same. He founded Actian games which were to be celebrated every fifth year; competitions in music and poetry, naval tournaments, horse-races, and contests of athletes. Greece adopted them, and the Actian games became the fifth of her great national festivals.¹ On the other side of the straits, at the spot where he had camped, he laid the foundations of *Nicopolis*, the city of victory, upon an isthmus washed by the waters of the

¹ The four others were the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemæan games. [In after days the Actian ranked next to the Olympian.—Ed.]

Gulf of Ambracia and of the Ionian sea. A double memory of clemency and triumph was connected with the origin of the new city. The victor of Philippi had been pitiless. Now that



Apollo Actius.²

war had decimated the generation which had seen and loved the Republic of Cicero, the victor of Actium thought he might be indulgent.¹ Among the important prisoners none of those who asked for his life was refused. Formerly the party leader had avenged himself, now the master pardoned. A son of Curio was put to death, however; the memory of his father, the tribune who had been so useful to Caesar, should have been a protection to him in the eyes of the dictator's heir.

Among those who persist in not understanding that the Roman oligarchy which bore the fine name of Republic was unworthy to retain power, Brutus and Cato still find partisans; but Antony has none. It is because he represents no idea, no principle; his victory would have settled nothing and led to nothing.

If the leader of the Antonians was no longer to be feared, the soldiers both of victor and vanquished became so. Octavius hastened to grant discharges to the veterans and disperse them through Italy and the provinces whence they had come. He had left Mecænas at Rome, he now sent Agrippa thither also, that these two able men who might, with their combined qualities of prudence and courage, stifle any movement of revolt in its birth. He himself undertook the duty of pursuing his rival. In passing through Greece he was witness of the sad state of that province, ruined by Antony. "I have heard my great grandfather relate," says Plutarch, "that the inhabitants of Cheronæa had been forced to carry corn upon their shoulders as far as the sea of Antieyra,

¹ Head of Augustus; TR. POT. IIX.; eighth tribunitian power (22 B.C.). On the reverse, Apollo making a libation upon a rustic altar and holding the lyre in his left hand. The stage on which he stands is decorated with anchors and beaks of ships. Coin of Antistius Vetus, (Cohen, *Antis.*, 12.)

² *Victoria fuit clementissima.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 86.) Yet he obliged a father and son to draw lots which should be put to death. (Dion, li. 2.) This fact allows us to infer others, but there were not the great massacres which usually took place.

urged on with lashes by the triumvir's soldiers. They had already made one journey, and were under orders to bear a second load, when word came of Antony's defeat; this news saved the town. Octavius took compassion on the misery of Greece, and what remained of the provisions collected for the war was distributed by his orders among those cities which had neither money, nor slaves, nor beasts of burden left. Thence he set sail for Asia, entering into terms with the cities and princes in alliance with his foe, some of which escaped with the loss of their privileges, others with the payment of a war-contribution or by giving up what they had intended for Antony. As he did not know whither the latter had fled, he halted at Samos, and passed the winter there.

The news of the disturbances which he had foreseen, and which had just broken out among the disbanded legionaries, recalled him to Italy. At the beginning of the year 30, he landed at Brundisium, whither senators, knights, magistrates, and even some of the people hastened to meet him; the veterans, carried away by the general enthusiasm, swelled the procession; Octavius had reason to be satisfied with this test of his power, and with this proof of the adulation and servility of the Romans. As he lacked funds to fulfil his promises to the soldiers, he put up for sale his own estates and those of his friends. None, it is true, dared bid for them, but the desired result was attained; the veterans contented themselves with a little money till the treasures of Egypt should be open to them; we may add that those who had served longest were settled in certain towns which had shown a disposition favourable to Antony. The inhabitants were dragged from the homes of the fathers and transported to Dyrrachium, Philippi, and some other cities in the provinces. This measure was cruel to the Italians, but the Empire gained thereby; deserted cities were re-peopled, and the fusion of races progressed. These measures quickly calmed the agitation; Octavius did not even require to go to Rome, which was already growing accustomed to see things done without its co-operation; twenty-seven days after his arrival at Brundisium, he was able to set out again.¹

¹ Dion, li. 4-5; Suet., *Octav.*, 17; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 42.
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Not daring, on account of the winter, to make straight for Egypt, he had his vessels dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth, and with the celerity of Cæsar, landed in Asia, so that Antony heard of his departure for Italy and his return at the same time.

At Parætonium, on the coast of Africa, Antony and Cleopatra had separated. The queen, in order to prevent a revolt, appeared before Alexandria with her ships wreathed with laurels, as though they were returning from a triumph. But on re-entering her palace she ordered the death of all whom she suspected, swelled her treasuries with the property of the victims, plundered the temples of their wealth, and in the hopes of obtaining some assistance from the Medes, sent them the head of the king of Armenia, her captive. As for Antony, at first he had wandered about in the solitudes near Parætonium like a man bereft of his senses; and on the news of the defection of Pinarius Sarpus, who commanded an army for him in those regions, he had tried to kill himself. His friends led him back to Alexandria, whither Canidius came to tell him of the fate of his legions at the Actian Promontory. All the princes of Asia abandoned him; at the very gates of Egypt, Herod, the king of the Jews, betrayed his cause. Some gladiators whom he maintained at Cyzicus remained faithful to him; they passed through the whole length of Asia, and only yielded on a false report of their master's death.¹

As everything failed her, Cleopatra began to transport her vessels and treasures across the Isthmus of Suez, in order to take refuge in far-off lands. But the Arabs plundered the first vessels in the Red Sea, and she abandoned her design. They then thought of getting to Spain, hoping that with their wealth they would easily excite that province to revolt. This scheme too was abandoned. Tired of making impracticable plans, Antony would no longer see anyone, and shut himself up in a tower which he built on the end of a pier. "I wish now," said he, "to live like Timon." It was rather late to philosophize. He could not even keep up this character, and to end as he had lived, amid orgies, he returned to Cleopatra. They founded a new society, that of the *inseparable in death*. Those who belonged to it were

¹ A suburb of Antioch was granted to them; later on they were dispersed with the pretext of enrolling them in the legions and were killed. (Dion, li. 7.)

to pass the days amid good cheer and die together. Cleopatra collected all the poisons known and studied their effects upon living persons; she also tried venomous beasts, and decided on the asp, which she had seen produce a quiet death whereby the features were not disturbed.

They still, however, retained some glimmering of hope, and demanded of the victor—Antony, leave to retire to Athens, and live there as a private individual, Cleopatra, the succession to the crown of Egypt for her children. The same deputies bore both messages. But the queen secretly offered Octavius a sceptre, a crown and a royal throne. He replied to this proposed treason by two letters, the one public, ordering her to lay down arms and her authority; the other secret, guaranteeing her pardon and the retention of her kingdom if she drove out or killed Antony. At the same time he sent her a freedman who, by false promises, was to keep up her hopes and preserve for the triumph of the victor of Actium its principal ornament. Cleopatra called to mind that as a child she had conquered Cæsar, then Antony, and she began to think that Octavius, who was younger than either of them, might probably not be more obdurate. She was then thirty-nine, however, but her beauty had always been less formidable than her wit and grace. The hero had foibles, the soldier vices; both succumbed; the politician remained cold and unmoved.

Antony was not ashamed to ask for his life twice more; he sent his son Antyllus to entreat Octavius,¹ and gave up the senator Turullius, one of Cæsar's murderers. Octavius made no reply, but kept advancing; soon he arrived before Pelusium, which Cleopatra opened to him. As the din of arms drew near, Antony seemed to rouse himself; he made preparations for defence, hastened into Libya to try and seduce the soldiers whom Octavius had sent thither, and then returned to Alexandria, which his rival was already threatening. In a cavalry skirmish, in which he displayed his brilliant valour, he put the enemy to flight. But Cleopatra betrayed him; shut up with all her wealth in a high tower which she had built to serve as her tomb, she awaited



Antyllus.

¹ This Antyllus was slain after his father's death.

the issue of the quarrel. Her ministers and troops appeared to co-operate in the defence of the place; but in reality Antony could only rely upon the few legionaries he had collected. He challenged Octavius to single combat. The latter smiled and merely replied that Antony had more than one road to death open to him.

Encouraged, however, by the success of the cavalry fight, Antony decided upon an attack by land and sea. As soon as the Egyptian galleys found themselves near those of Caesar, they saluted with their oars and went over to his side. On land, his cavalry abandoned him, and his infantry was easily repulsed. He re-entered the town exclaiming that he was betrayed by Cleopatra. The queen, who had taken refuge in her tower, lowered the portcullis and strengthened the doors with great beams, whilst she sent to Antony false tidings of her death. They had made a mutual promise that neither should survive the death of the other. Antony ordered his slave Eros to strike the mortal blow. Without replying, the slave drew his sword, struck himself, and fell dead at his feet. "Brave Eros," exclaimed Antony, "thou teachest me what I should do." And taking off his cuirass, he stabbed himself in turn.



Cleopatra
with Diadem.

As soon as Cleopatra heard of it she wished to have the body in order to give it up to the victor herself as her ransom, and Antony was carried, all covered with blood, to the foot of her tower; she did not open the door, but from a window she let down cords, and with the two women who had followed her, raised him up to her. Scarcely had she laid him down upon a couch, when he asked for wine and expired; a worthy end of the man who had nought but a soldier's soul.

Meanwhile Octavius had entered Alexandria unopposed. He ordered Proculeius, one of his officers, to try to take the queen alive, and not to allow her time to light the fire she had prepared to consume her riches, if she should be broken in upon in her retreat. Whilst she was holding a parley through the door with Gallus, Proculeius, passing noiselessly through the window which had served to admit Antony, seized hold of her and snatched from her hand a dagger with which she feebly tried to stab herself.

At first she wished to starve herself to death, but Octavius compelled her to renounce that design by making her fear for her children; then he reassured her, and to reconcile her to life, promised her still a brilliant lot. She allowed herself to be led back to the palace, resumed the insignia of royalty and received all the consideration due to her rank, but all the while she remained under strict surveillance. Octavius himself came to see her. On that day she surrounded herself with souvenirs of Caesar, as though to shelter herself by his love against the hatred of his son. The room was decorated with busts and statues of the dictator. The letters he had written lay near her, and she showed them to Octavius. She talked much of the glory of his father, and the power which he had won and she had lost; and with tears in her eyes she said: "At present, O Caesar, what do these letters of thine avail me? But thou livest again in thy son." Every word, every gesture, every attitude, was calculated to excite pity or a warmer feeling; and there was still a great seduction in her speech, a wonderful grace in her features and in her bearing as she stood in her long mourning garments. Octavius listened in silence with his eyes fixed on the ground. At length he rose: "Be of good courage, lady," said he; then he asked her for the list of her treasures and went out. Cleopatra remained overwhelmed at this cold reply; the woman was vanquished as well as the queen. Soon she learnt from Corn. Dolabella, a young noble whom she had won over, that in three days she was to set forth for Rome. This news decided her. "No! no!" she secretly repeated, "I will not be dragged along at a triumph: *Non triumphabor!*" The next day she was found lying dead on a golden bed, clad in her royal robes, and her two women lifeless at her feet² (15th of August, 30 B.C.). No one



Coin
of Proculeius.¹

¹ C. PROCVLEI L. F. and a *bipennis* (two-edged axe).

² Plut., *Anton.*, 84-95; Dion, li. 10-14; Livy, *Frag.*, cxxxiii. Octavius put to death Caesarion, who was then eighteen, and who was given up to him by his tutor, to whom Cleopatra had given great treasures, charging him to take him into Ethiopia or India. [The character of this son of the great Caesar, whose fate reminds us of that of Alexander the Great's sons, Alexander and Heracles, is unknown to us. From his birth no doubt, his fate was decided. What Roman would tolerate this rival, the real blood of the great Caesar? Octavius of course, assumed him to be an impostor, ascribed to the great dictator by an abandoned and ambitious

knew how she had killed herself; Octavius, by displaying at his triumph a statue of Cleopatra with a serpent on her arm, confirmed the report that she had caused herself to be stung by an asp which a peasant had brought her hidden beneath some figs or flowers. Egypt was reduced to a province.

For twenty years the Republic had been dead, and the Empire was not yet born. These periods, when the bases which bore the old state of society have crumbled away, and the foundations of the new have not yet emerged, are the most painful epochs in the history of humanity. Antony's death put an end to this era of transformation and freed men's minds from the terrible burden of uncertainty. Prolonged and sincere acclamations greeted the victory of Octavius; Virgil and Horace echoed in their beautiful verses the universal hope. They were right. It was peace coming at last, to scatter round her, riches for some, and well-being for many; wiser laws were to be made, purer faiths spread, the world was at length about to change.¹

But would these beliefs and these laws bring back again the manly character of former days?

In the place of despoiled citizens, who had well deserved their fate, would there be produced men capable of regaining by voluntary discipline and political intelligence the rights which they had lost? Or, if liberty was to return no more, would it at least be possible to organize these multitudes, who should henceforth obey but one will, that of the prince, into a vigorous body capable of a long existence?

And since we are about to have an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation replacing the two evil things through which the Republic had perished; the oligarchy, which had just

woman. Nevertheless his fate, like that of the other princes mentioned, is deeply pathetic.—*Ed.*]

In 1830 there were found in the foundations of an old Buddhist tower on the left bank of the Indus some medals of Marc Antony and Kanichka, king of Bactriana and of a part of India, who Virgil mentions as an ally of the triumvir; . . . *et ultima secum Bactra vehit*. Antony had established relations with this powerful prince, who was the natural enemy of the Parthians on the east, as the Romans were on the west, and it was no doubt to him that Cleopatra wished to send her son. (Cf. Reinaud, *Relations de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale*.)

¹ *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

(Virgil, *Ecl.*, iv. 5.)

been overthrown, and the populace, which regarded the victory of Cæsar and Octavius as its triumph?

The history of Augustus and his successors will give us the answer.

¹ Small bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2978. The cuirass and the greaves are ornamented with chiselling in relief; the helmet is surmounted by a mutilated sphinx. The arms which this wingless genius held are gone.



Genius of Mars.¹

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ROMAN PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

I.—WHAT WAS THE PROPER WORK OF THE EMPIRE?

IN nature nothing is lost, nothing is created, and everything changes according to immutable laws. In the world of history, which is that of life and liberty, everything is transformed slowly when wisdom guides the people; with violence when passion carries them away. But lasting transformations are never the work of caprice; their sequence is always the relation between cause and effect. The charm and use of history lie in studying the causes which incessantly modify the life of nations. We have seen, in the preceding volume and in this, the forces of destruction in action for a century; now that republican Rome had just expired in fearful agony, we shall see the forces of renovation at work. Hitherto we have remained amid conquerors at Rome and in the camps of the legions; now we must go to the vanquished; the Empire is come; let us visit the domain bequeathed by the Republic to the emperor.

The senate, with its excellent views on the government of the provinces, had shown itself incapable of providing what masters owe to their subjects, *security*. This task fell to the emperors, to those at least who were worthy of the title. Before we follow them into this immense work, we must take a closer view of those populations which were very shortly to give Rome grammarians, rhetors, lawyers, or poets, and to the State its most glorious leaders. On reading the tragic history of this tottering Republic, assailed from all quarters, ruined, overthrown, we forget those submissive multitudes to whom the Romans, in

their turn, had just displayed the spectacle of innumerable and illustrious gladiators slaying one another in the vast arena of the world. Now that the ancient edifice which at first had sheltered so many virtues and afterwards so many vices, was fallen, men stumbled upon its ruins at every step; under Vespasian and Trajan, and even later, men spoke of the Republic, of the senate, and the Roman people, and in all the history of the Empire many have tried to see only the protests of liberty and the vengeance of despotism. But when we remember that words last longer than the things they signify, we shall not consider these apparent regrets as serious, but turn away from the bloody or hideous scenes of the palace and Curia, and see a fresh world by degrees arising and spreading over these ruins and recollections.

The men and the things of the future were the provincials who were to tear from Italy her ancient privileges and spread throughout the barbarous West Græco-Latin civilization, and the laws obtained for 100,000,000 men from emperors born at Seville, Lyons or Leptis—laws which could be called recorded reason. The new religion, too, was to be formed for this new state of society; the Mosaic Jehovah, the jealous and implacable ruler of a privileged race, was to be revealed as the universal god of the poor and afflicted; so that at the very time when the emperors were inserting into the civil law the isolating



Security.¹

¹ Bronze figure of the time of the emperors. (Cabinet de France, No. 3050.)

principle of individual right, Christianity was endeavouring to put into men's hearts the uniting sentiment of fraternity; two great ideas of the imperial epoch which modern Europe has rediscovered beneath the ruins of the Middle Ages, with the obligation to unite them and make them at length prevail.

In order to measure this advance of the provinces towards equality of rights, civilization, wealth, and afterwards religion, it is well to mark clearly the point from whence each started.

The Empire of Rome, or, as its historians and legists said, the *Roman Universe*, was sufficiently vast, when Augustus became its master, to embrace almost every race of men in the old continent.

The Iberians, free from any admixture, were settled in the Pyrenees between the Garonne and the Upper Ebro; they had blended with Phœnicians in Bætica, and with Gauls towards the mouth of the Tagus and in Celtiberia.

The Celts also occupied Great Britain, Gaul, except Aquitania and part of Gallia Narbonensis, Upper Italy, the Alps, several countries on the right bank of the Danube, and some settlements in Asia Minor (Galatia).

The Germans and Sclavs, or Sarmatæ, shared the vast plain which stretches from the Northern Ocean to the Caspian Sea.

The Greek and Latin nations occupied the centre of the Empire; the former looked towards the east, as though still obeying the impulse given by Alexander; the latter towards the west, where they spread the manners and speech of Rome.

On the south Semite tribes covered all the African shore of the Mediterranean under the name of Moors, Numidians and Phœnicians. In Egypt, they had mingled with the Ethiopian race, as in Armenia with the Aryans. All the Arabian peninsula with Palestine belonged to them. In Syria they were [partly] Hellenised.

Beyond them ruled the tribes of the Zend, still further those of the Sanskrit or Hindoos, and in the extreme east the Seres.

All these nations, except the two last, were or were about to become the subjects, the enemies or the allies of the Empire. The Germans had already commenced that war which was to last for four centuries; the Parthians still kept the standards of Crassus; very shortly India was going to send deputies to Augustus; under

the Antonines the Seres would see Roman merchants arrive among them, and their historians would then know of only two Empires in the world, that of the Centre and that of the West.¹

We have nothing to tell of the Seres or the Hindoos; with the former the Empire had only a few very slight communications, which left no trace behind; with the latter their commercial relations were certainly very active, but the ancient writers, who did not trouble themselves about social economy, have preserved no records of them. The same reasons could not apply to the Parthians and Germans, who will occupy so important a place in this history. But it is the state of the Roman provinces which we particularly desire to study; for in order to appreciate the results of the foundation of the Empire, it is important to show that from the fierce free Cantabrian in his mountains, to servile and effeminate Greece or Ephesus, there existed among those people all the degrees through which men pass from the wildest barbarism to the most refined civilization, together with a very great diversity of language, customs, and character.

It was necessary, however, to draw these nations closer together, in order to give them, by union, the strength to resist



Ethiopian Child.²

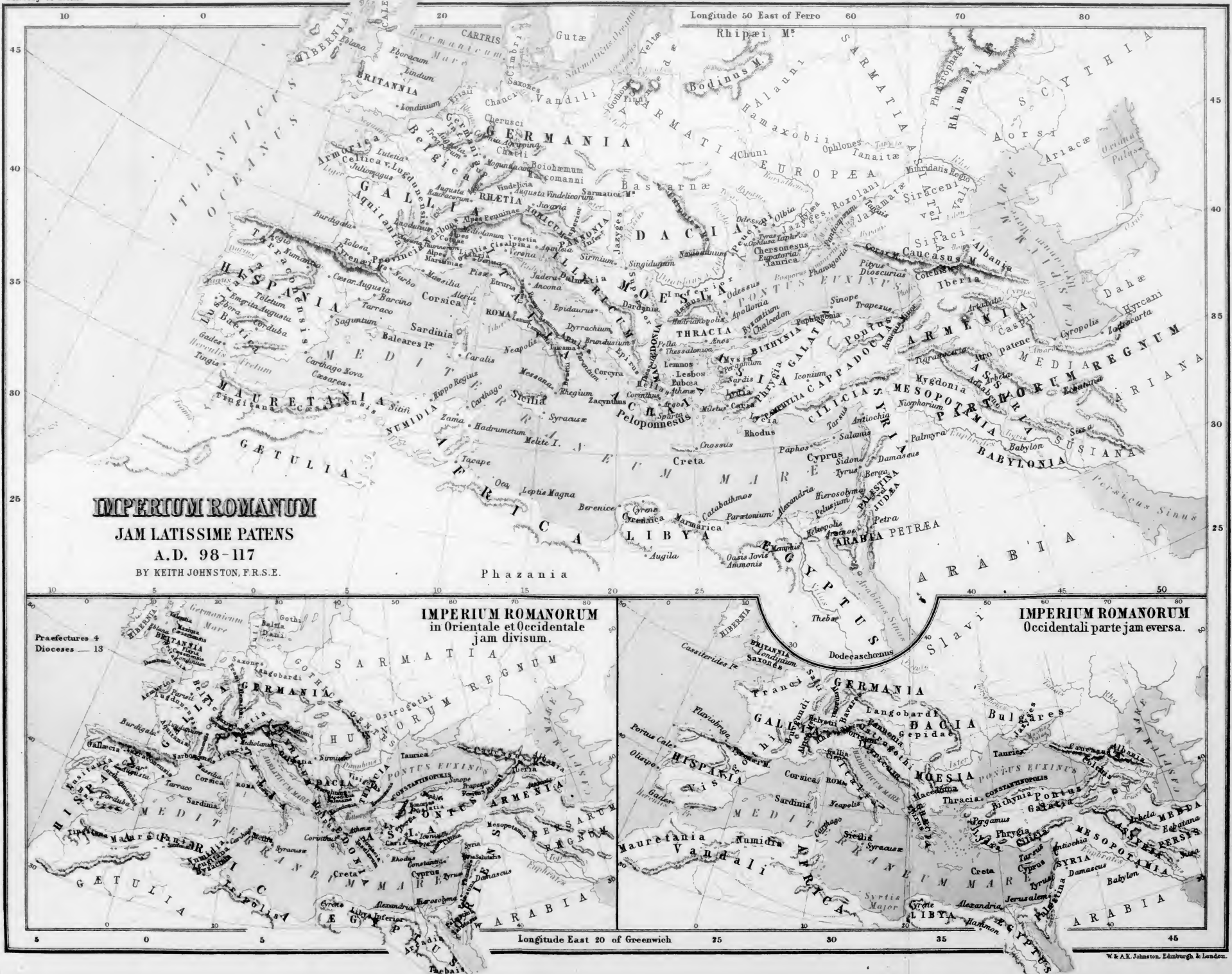
¹ It is worthy of remark that in the half century preceding the Christian era almost the whole of the old continent was divided among four or five great political systems. To the south Vikramaditya had united the greater part of the Indian peninsula; on the east the Chinese empire, under the Han dynasty, had compelled the chiefs of the tribes of inner Asia to recognize their supremacy, and even the princes of Transoxiana often did them homage. The whole West was occupied by the Roman empire; in the centre, between the Caspian and the Indian Ocean, the Parthian monarchy held sway; and finally, beyond that, in Bactriana and the valley of the Indus, there reigned powerful princes, whom we shall see entering into relations with the Romans. In order to avoid unduly extending this work I abridge these chapters about the provinces and suppress a quantity of notes, which may be found, if required, in the volume which I published in 1863 under the title, *Etat du monde romain au temps de la fondation de l'empire*, or in the preceding editions of my *History of the Romans*.

² Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii., pl. 35.

the tribes of the North till the Empire should have finished its work. Beyond the Rhine and the Danube were threatening hordes whom the Cimbri and Suevi had taught the road to the lands of sunshine, wine, and gold. With one hand the Empire held them back, with the other it covered the provinces with roads, aqueducts and flourishing cities, while for two centuries and a half it kept away war; it impressed upon the provinces its language and spirit, its laws and worship; and when the rampart was forced the invading flood encountered so many obstacles that it could not sweep all away. Ancient civilization, that is our own, after having reigned over 100,000,000 men, after having rooted itself by its beliefs into the heart of the nations, as it did by its monuments in the soil which bore them, yet required ten centuries to issue from beneath the ruins. What would it have been had the invasion found nought before it but barbarism, save at Athens, Rome, and Alexandria? When these three hearths had been extinguished, what dark ages indeed there would have been throughout the world!

II.—PROVINCES IN THE WEST AND NORTH.

Spain.—Two great races had peopled Spain, the Iberi and the Celts. The latter, who came last, had occupied all the North and West, except the Basque country; the former the South and East. In the centre the two races were blended, and this crossing had been of advantage to the tribes which sprang from it; the Celtiberi are the heroes of ancient Spain. Settled on the lofty plateau whence descend the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, they commanded the communications between the two slopes of the peninsula, and as they held their independence against Rome for three-quarters of a century, Spain preserved her independence for those seventy years; Numantia was one of their cities. At the foot of their mountains there was a long halt in the advance of the civilization which the Greeks brought to the shores of Catalonia and Valentia, and the Carthaginians into Murcia and Andalusia. The southern Iberi had given way to the influence of the foreign colonies, which by degrees softened their manners and disarmed their ferocity. The Turduli and Turdetani proudly displayed books



of history, poems and laws written in verse, they said, 6,000 years before.¹ But the Romans, disdainful of this literature which did not possess the merit of having arisen on the banks of the Ilissus or the Mæander, declared that these pacific tastes had weakened their courage: *Turdetani . . . maxime imbelles*. Empires fall, religions change, nations are transformed, but certain customs last throughout the centuries. Strabo saw on the heads of the women of Bætica the light tissue which still adds such grace to the daughters of Andalusia.

Bætica, on the south of the Sierra Morena (*Castulonensis saltus*), contained many towns and accepted the manners of Rome as easily as it adopted those of the Phœnician colonists. Under the peace of the Empire it was about to make a profitable use of the wealth of a land to which Nature had refused nothing—beauty of climate, fertility of soil, and mines apparently inexhaustible; those of *Ilipa* and *Sisapo* (Almaden) then ranked first.



Coin of *Ilipa*.²

The Roman influence even gained the warlike Celtiberians, but slowly, for they had no large towns through which the new customs could be propagated in the country; and the ancient manners easily held their own in their numerous villages hidden among the mountains. They were skilled in forging arms, and still more so in the use of them; and as they could no longer bear them in their own cause, they went and fought beneath the standards of Rome. Beyond these the Celtic tribes unwillingly followed the new way. The Lusitanians (Portugal), always so eager for war, had been condemned to repose; Augustus was to bring them under Roman civilization.

To the north of Lusitania the Gallaïci had early been somewhat civilized by their commercial relations with the Carthaginians, who came among them in search of the produce of their fisheries and of the gold which they gathered almost on the surface of the

¹ Strabo testifies to the immense commerce which Spain carried on, in his times, with Italy. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv. 34; iii. 4) extols its breed of horses, and it was said that on the banks of the Tagus the wind fertilized the mares. (*Ibid.*, viii. 42.) Strabo adds that these horses were as swift as those of the Parthians. Being improved, in the seventh century of our era, by an admixture of Arab blood, this breed gave rise, in the fourteenth century, to the English breed.

² ILIPENSE; a fish and beneath it a crescent.

ground. Yet on seeing the peasant of the Minho's banks guiding the plough with one hand and with the other grasping his javelin, it was easy to recognize the war-like race from which he sprang. The Vascones, too, settled on one of the high roads from Spain into Gaul, mixed commerce and warfare. Phœnician coins found in their territory testify that the indefatigable sailors of Tyre and Gades had discovered and worked their mines. But on the narrow and dangerous coast of the Gulf of Gascony, in the rugged mountains of Biscay, two nations had hitherto refused the yoke beneath which the whole of Spain had bowed its neck; these were the Cantabri, who slew their old men as soon as their hands could no longer hold a sword, and who delighted in drinking horse's blood; and the Astures, who painted their faces, like Indians, to make themselves more terrible, and who had no clothes but the skins of the wild-beasts which had fallen before them. If they were captured they never resigned themselves to servitude. When they were crucified they sang in their agony, and the women killed their children to save them from slavery.

Spain had long been a mine for Roman magistrates to work. These greedy prætors maintained a state of order, however, by which commerce greatly profited; and some of them had made themselves honoured by useful works. We have spoken of the places founded by Scipio (*Italica*), Marcellus (*Corduba*), Sempronius Gracchus (*Gracchuris*), Brutus (*Valentia*), and Pompey, who had freely distributed the right of citizenship in Spain. At the mouth of the Bætis, one, Cæpio, had built an admirable tower on the model of the Pharos of Alexandria, to indicate the entrance to the river, which ships could ascend for 1,200 stadia between two banks lined with populous cities. Cæsar, whose glory Spain had espoused, after having twice contested his fortune, had assembled round him all the deputies of the peninsula, established a regular administration and rewarded towns and individuals for their devotion to his cause, that is to say, for the former he increased the number of municipia and colonies, and to the latter he gave the right of citizenship, the gold ring of the equestrian order, and the senatorial laticlave. Many towns had taken his name, and Gades, which claimed to preserve in its temple the bones of Hercules, Gades, the wealthiest of provincial cities, since it reckoned no less than

500 knights, had obtained for all its inhabitants the envied privilege of Roman citizenship. One of them, named C. Balbus, had shortly afterwards become consul. He was the first provincial who had attained that honour, and the first, too, who had ascended to the Capitol in a triumphal robe. Others dared to write in the language of their masters, and Corduba had already given birth to a whole family of poets, whose verses had even reached Rome, where Cicero grew angry at this provincial invasion.



Coin of Gades.

Thus through its southern and eastern populations Spain was rapidly entering into Roman civilization and the imperial unity; Octavius was to regulate this movement and extend it to the centre and north of the peninsula, which still resisted the influence. After the battle of Munda, Sextus Pompey, hidden in the mountains, had lived there some time by brigandage; then as his band increased, he had proudly resumed his name and beaten two of Cæsar's lieutenants. His recall, instigated by Antony, had restored to Spain a peace which was soon broken by the Moorish kings Bogud and Bocchus, who under the names of the two triumvirs fought out their private quarrels. Bogud was driven out; but the Ceretani, his allies, held out for a long time, and their subjection won a triumph for Domitius Calvinus. The two successors of that general obtained the same honour; we know not for what services.

A province whence so many triumph-winners returned was not a quiet country; accordingly it was among the first to receive the attention of Octavius. There at least there were not, as in Gaul, a powerful clergy and strong-rooted doctrines to combat. In strange contrast with that exalted devotion which we are inclined to consider as the fundamental trait of the Spanish character, the religious sentiment was so little developed among the greater part of these tribes that Strabo went so far as to doubt whether they had any gods. But it is true if we look carefully into the history of Spain, we see that religion has there always been a form of patriotism.

Gaul.—On the north of the Pyrenees the Iberi peopled Aquitania, which, being surrounded by Gallia Narbonensis and Toulouse, two centres of Roman civilization, and by Bordeaux,

which was soon to become so, was about to change its thatched huts for brilliant villas. On the east it touched upon Gallia Narbonensis, where Rome and Marseilles had worked in concert to obliterate among the indigenous population the traces of its double origin, Iberian and Celtic, the one by its great settlements of Aquæ Sextiæ and Narbo, the other by the factories with which it had lined the coast, and by its schools, which led young Romans to neglect the voyage to Athens. At Marseilles, says Tacitus, "the elegance of the Greeks is happily blended with the

austerity of provincial manners." A grandson of Augustus, Lucius Caesar, and Agricola were educated in its public schools. As for Narbo, which Strabo calls the port of all Gaul, it had already given birth to an epic poet, Varro Atacinus, and the Vocontian Trogus Pompey was writing or preparing his great *Universal History*.

Being the outpost of Italy and the guardian of communications with Spain, Gallia Narbonensis was considered, even before Cæsar's time, one of the most important possessions of the Republic. Since the conquest of Celtica, the security enjoyed on the banks of the Rhone, and the vicinity of the new province to prey upon, had attracted a crowd of speculators into "toga-wearing Gaul."

Thus it soon became the garden, as it were, of Italy; every wealthy Roman was anxious

to have a domain there.

The docility of the Gauls in accepting the yoke has been too much exaggerated by contrasting the Spanish constancy with their ready resignation. Eight years, it is said, had sufficed to lay Gaul at Cæsar's feet. This was because the Iberi had prolonged the war by breaking it up into small divisions; they had not fought a single battle, but they had engaged in many skirmishes.

¹ Small mutilated statue, preserved in the Museum of Toulouse, and representing an old African fisherman. It was found at Maîtres (Haute-Garonne). (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 880, No. 2248.)



Fragment of a Statue found in Gallia Narbonensis.¹

Gaul, which had risen as a whole, had also been overthrown as a whole. The two nations already displayed the two characteristics, the one of isolation, the other of ready association, which they drew from their native soil, and have always retained. Let us also throw into the balance the sword of the conqueror. Spain had not to defend itself against Cæsar.

By passing under the Roman sway the Gauls had lost little and gained much. The existence continually disturbed by the ambition of the chiefs of clans, the religion of terror maintained by the Druids, the ceaselessly renewed wars among the tribes, and the perpetual threat of Germanic invasions were succeeded by the calm life of a regular form of society, a tolerant religion, security on the frontiers, and everywhere the Roman peace, which soon stifled regret for lost independence. Cæsar had employed against them a weapon which proconsul's very rarely used. After victory he showed himself merciful and kind; and accordingly long-haired Gaul gave him the bravest children, her Ruthenian archers, her light foot-soldiers of Aquitania and Arvernia, her heavy infantry of Belgica, and her bold horsemen, of whom thirty were enough to put to flight 2,000 Numidians, and 400 appeared to Cleopatra and Herod to be worth an army. And while they were fighting for the dictator in Greece, Africa or Spain, their fathers and brothers tilled the ground and traded with that ardour for peaceful labours which always bursts forth at the close of long wars. "That Gaul," says Marc Antony, "which sent us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, is now subdued and as well cultivated in every part as Italy itself. Its rivers are covered with vessels, not only the Rhone and the Saône, but the Meuse, the Loire, the very Rhine itself and the ocean." Antony, or rather Dion, who composed this speech, no doubt says too much; but it is certain that the transformation which was about to make Gaul the wealthiest province of the Empire had already begun.

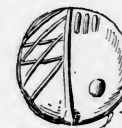
This fruitful activity and the prosperity consequent upon it were the result of Rome's obliviousness of her conquest. Too grave interests were in question elsewhere for Gaul to be called upon for anything save to furnish her contingent and her tribute. First assigned to Antony's share, she scarcely noticed the treachery of Calenus, which delivered her to the other triumvir.

But when the treaty of Misenum had given Octavius a short respite, the new master of the Gauls was desirous of making them feel Rome's influence more nearly, for he was already renouncing the triumviral acts of violence to commence that which was the great business of his life, the reorganization of the Empire. Forthwith war broke out in all directions; the whole of Aquitania rose in arms, and the Germans, secretly summoned by the Belgæ, crossed the Rhine. Fortunately Agrippa was there. He beat the rebels, and making a resource of what seemed a peril, he settled two Germanic tribes, the Ubii and the Tongri, who were implacable enemies of the Suevi and Catti, on the left bank of the Rhine, near Cologne, to guard the passage of the river, repopulate the country left desert by the destruction of the Eburones, separate the Belgæ from the Germans, and form between the two nations, who too frequently summoned each other, a colony on which Rome could rely (37 B.C.). But the war had already begun again in Italy, and Octavius recalled his able general to help him to conquer Sextus, and afterwards Antony. Meanwhile the Gauls, like other provincials of the West, preserved, under cover of Rome's troubles, a kind of half-liberty, and with it the Druidic beliefs, and the national language and manners, which nothing had as yet seriously shaken.

Mountaineers of the Alps.—To the west the Roman possessions were, then, clearly defined; the Atlantic was their boundary. On the north the line would be less easy to trace. The Alps did not only enclose Italy; the mountains of Illyria and the Hæmus, which bound Greece and Thrace on the north, are an eastern extension of them. In the last century several Roman armies had crossed this lofty barrier and penetrated into Noricum, Pannonia and Mœsia, but without success, for it was evident that there would be no lasting conquest in the valley of the Danube as long as the mountaineers could suddenly close the passes. Now the senate had never occupied with its legions this great chain.

If in the Western Alps the roads were almost free, in the Pennine Alps they were only to be opened by paying heavy tolls and undergoing serious dangers. After the rough lesson which he had given the Helvetii, Cæsar had sent the remnant of that nation back to its cantons, that the approaches of the great Alps

might be guarded against the Germans by tribes henceforward faithful. In order to complete the investment of these mountains, he had been desirous of also subduing the upper portion of the Rhone valley, which would have carried the bounds of his province to the very summit of the Alps and the passes by which Cisalpine Gaul might be reached. But his lieutenant, Galba, had been obliged to retreat before a rising of all the tribes of Valais. Even on the Italian slope, in the basin of the Duria, the Salassi would allow no approach to their gold mines; they had quite recently made the soldiers of Decimus Brutus pay a drachme a head for a passage through their mountains. Cottius and his fourteen tribes were independent in the valleys of Mont Cenis, the long-haired Ligures in those of the Maritime Alps, and the mountaineers of Apennine Liguria still inspired fear enough to prevent their venturing to include them in Cisalpine Gaul. "Every year," says Strabo, "a governor of the equestrian order is sent to them, as is done with respect to other nations absolutely barbarous."



Gold Coin of the Salassi.¹

The tribes of the Rætian Alps were still less tractable and more hardy. Their bands, and especially those of the Ræti and Vindelici, suddenly arriving by the upper valleys of the Adige and Adda, laid waste the lowlands; they even attacked the towns, slew the men and even the women whom their diviners supposed to be great with male children. These savage incursions, which make one think of the devastations of the Indians in the New World, were a disgrace to Italy. But antiquity did not esteem very highly the security which we so much prize. The governors troubled themselves little about anything that was not serious warfare, and to act as police of the Empire was their least care. Against such dangers, towns, like individuals, should know how to defend themselves. Rome left both just sufficient liberty of action to make her think herself free from any necessity of watching and acting in their place. Even under Augustus the Corsicans and Sardinians ceaselessly plundered the coasts of Tuscany and Liguria; Strabo says of Ortonium, a town of the Frentani: "It is a rock inhabited by robbers, who live like wild beasts, and only

¹ This coin represents the instruments used for washing gold, the source of wealth of the Salassi.

build their houses with the remains of ships' wrecks." The island of Lade, opposite Miletus, was the usual resort of the pirates who swept the Ægean Sea; Dalmatia was long renowned for its banditti, and the Taurus was so always.

To the east, where the chain of the Alps were less lofty, the roads became less difficult. They led directly into the valley of the Danube. The Republic had a great interest in watching over these regions through which the Cimbri had come, and where there surged a confused mass of warlike tribes, whose vicinity kept up the spirit of resistance among the Illyrians and Dalmatians. But the senate had long forgotten the foreseeing policy which had formerly led them to watch that direction. They allowed the Norici and Taurisci to join the Rhaeti in their brigandage, and the Carni to ravage the valley of the Tagliamento. Two Roman colonies, Aquileia and Tergeste, had been established, however, in those latitudes. But the territory of the one was continually devastated, and the other had just been pillaged by the Iapodes, a brave and fierce nation settled in the Julian Alps, whence they kept all their neighbours in terror; twice in twenty years had they repulsed the Roman troops; a little further on the Pannonians had given a general who ventured amongst them such a reception that all Italy had been terrified at the disaster. From that day no consul had been found who dared cross their frontier.

In Illyria the situation was no better.¹ The Illyrians had been the first people attacked by the Republic outside Italy, and they had not yet resigned themselves to remain docile subjects of Rome; they could therefore dispute with the Spaniards the glory of a prolonged resistance. In spite of the nearness of Greece and Italy, civilization had obtained little hold upon these barbarians, who tattooed themselves like the Picts and Thracians, were ignorant of the use of money, and made a fresh division of the land every eight years. To free the Adriatic of their piracies, the most turbulent among them had been sent away from the coast, and, driven back into the mountains, had there kept their love of independence. Gabinius, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, tried to pass

¹ Illyria seems to have formed a province distinct from Macedonia from the year 118; it was separated from Cisalpine Gaul by the little river Formio (the Risano, to the south of Trieste).

round the Adriatic with fifteen cohorts and 3,000 horse. The Illyrians attacked him, and of all that army the leader was almost the only one who escaped. Pharsalia, Thapsus and Munda intimidated them, however; their deputies appeared at Rome before



Disc of Aquileia¹ (p. 560).

Cæsar, loudly vaunted their race and their exploits, and demanded the friendship of the Roman people. The dictator exacted a tribute and hostages; they promised them; but when Cæsar was dead they refused everything, and when Vatinius threatened them with

¹ Museum of Vienna (published by the *Annali dell' Inst. arch.*, 1839, vol. xi. p. 78). This silver disc with gold added, which has almost disappeared, shows Proserpine restored to her heavenly family; above, Jupiter; between the sky and earth, Ceres holding a lighted torch, a symbol of the life she rekindles in nature; Proserpine, crowned with ears of corn, looking at her mother, whom she has just found again; Hecate(?), who has helped her to escape from Hades, leans upon her shoulder; in the centre, Triptolemus, who is about to bear forth through all the earth the gifts of Ceres; behind him the chariot of the goddess drawn by two serpents which are fed by two virgins, daughters of Celeus, the father of Triptolemus, and the olive tree beneath the shade of which Ceres rested near Eleusis; and finally, in the lower part, Mother Earth with an ox, the great means of agriculture.

three legions and a number of cavalry, they slew five of his cohorts and drove him back in disorder upon Epidamnus.

Such was, about the time when the Republic drew to an end, the state of the northern frontier. All the Alpine chain was held by plundering tribes, not very dangerous, certainly, but harassing, which stopped civilization at the foot of their mountains. Though they bordered upon the sacred soil of Italy, no regular expedition had been directed against them; no man was desirous of undertaking these obscure wars, in which there was neither glory nor spoil to be won.

Octavius thought of doing it; some time before Actium he had undertaken the task of reducing these mountaineers to subjection. It had cost him nearly two years of personal fatigues and dangers; twice he had run the risk of his life, and had received honourable wounds; for he had been desirous of searching out all the resorts of these heroic bandits one by one, razing their strongholds, taking their hostages, and finally condemning them to rest and fear. The Dalmatians had given up the standards of Gabinus, and the Liburni, the vessels which served them for cruising. If the Salassi had obliged him to treat with them, the Iapodes had been subdued, the Carni and Taurisci punished, and even Pannonia invaded, notwithstanding its 100,000 warriors. The strong city of Segesta, on the Save, being carried by assault, was occupied by twenty-five cohorts as an outpost against German and Dacian barbarism. As all eyes were at that time fixed upon Rome and Alexandria, these expeditions had passed unnoticed. Yet in these wars, Octavius began what Augustus was to complete; he took possession of the Alpine chain, and in order to guard it better he advanced as far as the Danube.

III.—HELLENISTIC COUNTRIES.

Macedonia and Greece.—If the eastern peninsula has its Alps in Mount Hæmus (the Balkans), it has also its Apennines in Pindus, a broad wall running straight to the south, which allows but a few footpaths across its summit, and at one point only, Klissoura, in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, a road easily

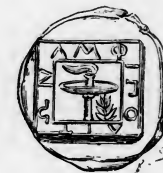
practicable. Dalmatia and Epirus were to the west upon the slope leading down to the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thessaly to the east, towards the Ægean Sea. At its southern extremity this chain breaks up into many branches, shooting forth their countless headlands into three seas, and forming the chaos of mountains and valleys which is called Greece.

Enclosed in its quadrilateral of mountains, Macedonia was the fortress whence Rome watched over and restrained, not Greece, where there were no peoples left to restrain, but the reckless tribes on the Danube, which were ever ready to resume the route of the Gallic brenn towards Delphi. Many generals had returned from that province to receive a triumph for obscure victories over these unpleasant neighbours. As soon as the hand of Rome ceased to press upon them, they flocked back again, plundering and slaying. On the eve of the foundation of the Empire, the Thracians had descended upon Macedonia, cut the great military road which traversed the province, and spread such terror as far as Thessalonica that the inhabitants had begun to raise their walls again as though the sword of Rome no longer protected them. Yet these barbarians had a poetic custom which we have kept up; they scattered roses on the ground which covered their dead.

The strict order which Octavius had begun to keep in Illyria was of advantage to Macedonia. To the north, the Dardanians, formerly very much dreaded in the valley of the *Axios* (Vardar), were reduced to such a state of misery that their only dwellings were huts dug out beneath dung heaps. On the east the Thracians were really only formidable so long as they were feared. Macedonia could thus, as soon as a firm hand should maintain order, develop its riches. After Cæsar's death, its warlike population had given Brutus two legions which



Coin of Thessalonica.¹



Coin of Amphipolis.²

¹ KABIPOC; Cabirus standing. Reverse of a bronze coin of Thessalonica.

² Head of Apollo with laurels. On the reverse, ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, a torch and a branch in a hollow square. Silver coin of Amphipolis.

he trained in the Roman tactics. Before the battle of Philippi, which was fought on its frontier, it had to maintain the armies of Octavius and Antony. It does not seem, however, to have been hardly treated by the victors; Thessalonica was already its chief town, and Amphipolis the second, and they both bore the title of free cities, which privilege was also granted to the Dyrrachium, to Abdera, to several tribes in the interior and to the islands of



Gateway of the Vardar at Thessalonica.¹

Thasos and Samothrace. But Pella, its former capital, sank into a mere village.

"Formerly," says Strabo, "Epirus was occupied by a great number of valiant nations; at present the greater part of its cantons are deserted and its towns destroyed. There remain only villages and hovels, and this desolation, which was begun long ago, still continues." Varro finds something to praise in it,

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 22 bis.

however. "The slaves of Epirus," says he, "are the best and the dearest;" a sad reputation, indeed, for the descendants of the soldiers of Pyrrhus! This country, covered as it is with mountains, which run to the very shore, has none of those rich plains surrounding a harbour which the Greek colonists loved; accordingly but few had come to this coast. Having little wheat, the Epirotes lived in scattered villages upon the produce of their flocks. To this very day Janina still sends to Thessaly for its flour, whence it is brought on the backs of asses or mules, whilst fruits and vegetables are obtained from Arta, the ancient Ambracia. There was but little life except along the *Via Egnatia* which had passed through the province, and at Dyrrachium, which was Pompey's head-quarters, and on that account compromised in the eyes of Caesar's friends. Apollonia, further to the south, had profited by this, and its schools had received the young Octavius.

This depopulation of Epirus extended to Greece itself. The tribes of Mount Ceta were almost annihilated; the Athamanes, their neighbours, had quite disappeared. The country of the Acarnanians and Ætolia, which are separated by the Acheloiis, were changed into deserts. Instead of cultivated fields, there were only found there, as in Arcadia, pasture lands over which cattle and horses roamed at will. In spite of the fertility of its fields and the liberty for which it was indebted to Caesar, Thessaly, which had so often served as a battlefield, saw its towns fall into ruins. In Hellas, Thebes was only a large village, and with the exception of Tanagra and Thespiae, there remained of the towns of Bœotia nought but their ruins and their names. One town of Phocis however was to enjoy an envied privilege; the oil of Tithorea was to be reserved for the table of the emperors. Megara still existed, but that was all. The Piræus, whose harbour formerly sheltered 300 war-vessels, was a poor little village; Munychia had been dismantled, the Long Walls thrown down, and Athens still suffered from the blows which Sylla had dealt it.

During the civil wars Athens had been on the side of the vanquished, as she always had been since Chaeronea, but she escaped with slight sacrifices. Like Alexander, Romans of all



Coin of Samothrace.

parties respected the city of the Muses;¹ they even allowed her to boast of having succoured Rome in her perils, and of erecting a



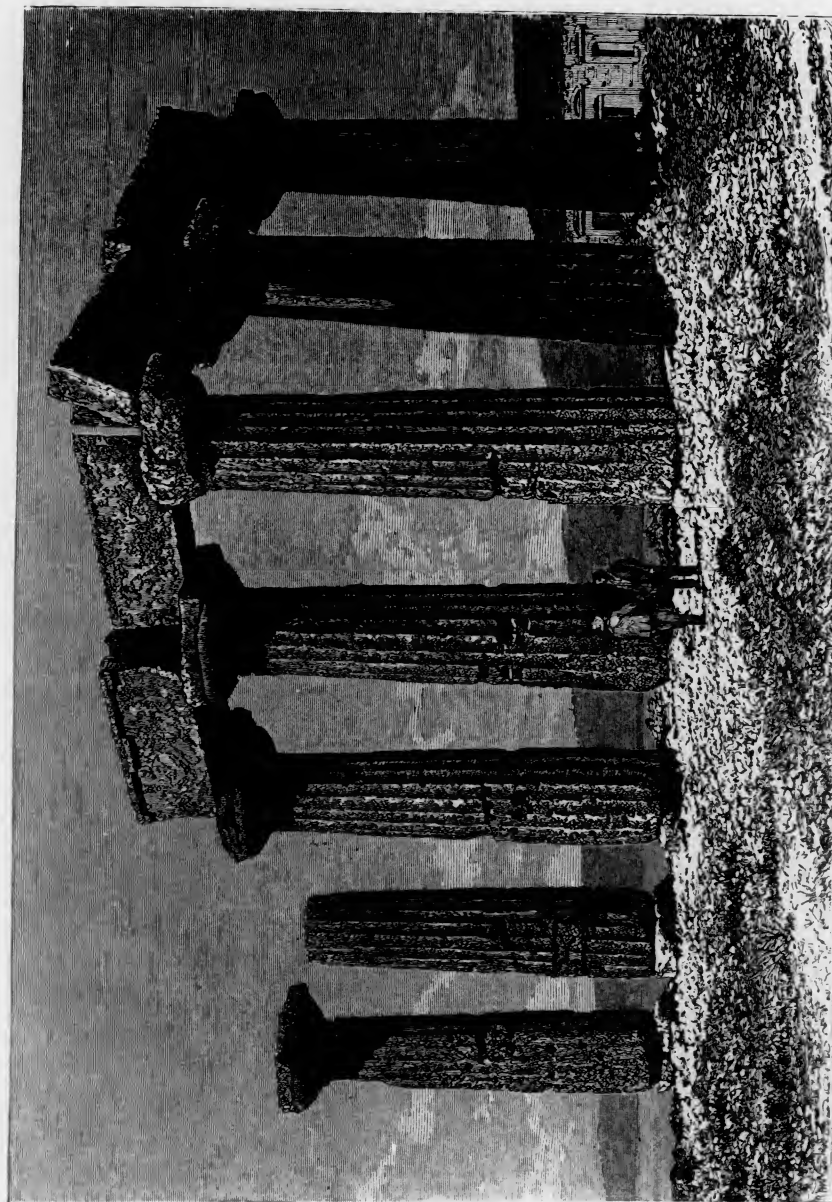
Terra-Cotta of Tanagra; Hero with Helmet.²

tomb to the soldiers who had fallen in these imaginary expeditions, just as they allowed the Achæans to carve beneath the statue of Polybius that if the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia had been the arm which struck, the son of Lycortas was the head that guided the blow. But every now and then some dissatisfied consul reminded the people of Athene, with insulting frankness, that there were no longer any Athenians at Athens, that it only contained a mob of adventurers from all nations. Others again, and this was a graver matter, said that it was no longer any use going to the Pnyx to hear the beautiful language of

Demosthenes and Æschylus; the pure idiom was changed in the mouths of these foreigners. Accordingly, the schools of Rhodes, Marseilles and Ephesus seriously injured the rhetors of Athens by their rival attractions.

¹ Antony (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 66) and Germanicus (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 53) retained only one licitor on entering Athens, a free and federated city. Before Pharsalia, Cæsar and Pompey had caused a herald to proclaim αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν θεομοφώρων. (App., *ibid.*, ii. 70.) Antony gave them Ægina, Teos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Péparethos. (App., *ibid.*, v. 7.) They also possessed Salamis, Haliartus in Beotia (Strabo, ix. p. 411), Eretria in Eubœa, Delos (*id.*, x. p. 486), where the traders had settled who were forced to quit Corinth, and where a fair was held which attracted many Romans.

² *Gazette archéol.*, 1878, pl. 21. Mr. S. Trivier justly remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 117 *sq.*) that representations of men are very rare among the numerous and beautiful figures of Bœotia.



Doric Temple—the only Remains of Ancient Corinth.

It still remained, however, the refuge of the old pagan spirit, the chief centre of Hellenism and philosophy.¹ In vain would St. Paul tell the degenerate disciples of Socrates and Plato who the unknown god was, to whom their fathers raised altars; his voice would find no echo at the foot of the Parthenon. But it would be more readily listened to in the new Corinth, rebuilt by Cæsar and Augustus; there the Apostle was to win many recruits, yet fewer in number than the band who by their proverbial effeminaey gained for this city of commerce and pleasure the name of "Perfumed Corinth."

Polybius said he would not give 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. How much had not its wretchedness increased since then? Many a town there was too poor even to support the expenses of official adulation. Did it become necessary to do honour to a powerful Roman, some old statue was scraped over, some hero of past times was polished up, and Orestes became Octavius. Nor was any greater expenditure incurred for the gods. At Argos the roof of the temple of Demeter fell in; to rebuild it would have been costly; so in the interior of the sumptuous edifice erected by their fathers the children built a temple of brick. The goddess might very well dwell in a humble chapel when her people had nothing but ruins to live in.

Coin of Argos.²

Of the twelve towns of the Achæa, five were either destroyed or deserted. "As Arcadia is wholly devastated," says Strabo, "it would be useless to give a long description of it." Tegea alone retained a little life; Octavius had just robbed it of an ivory statue of

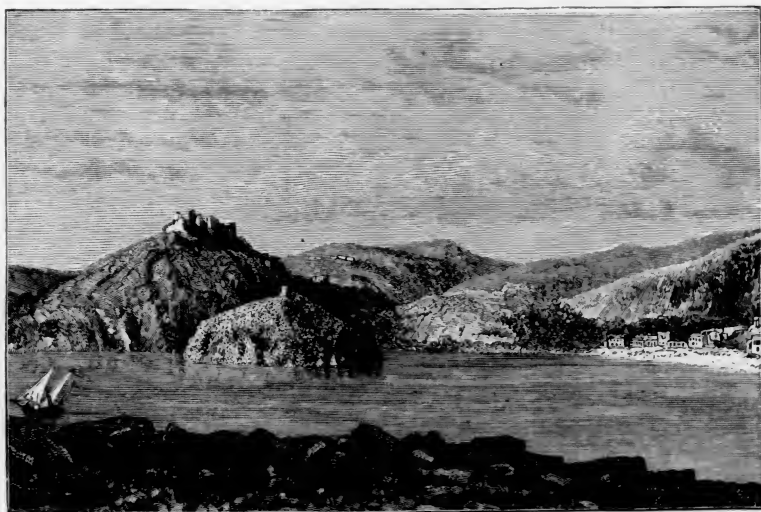
Coin of Messina.³

¹ Pausan., I. xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 6. Josephus somewhere calls it the most religious of pagan cities, and Athenæus *Ἑλλάδος μουσικόν, ἱερὰ καὶ πνευματικόν*. (v. 12; vi. 65.)

² Fore part of a wolf. On the reverse, AP (Argos), a large A, and the *triquetra* in a hollow square. Drachme of Argos.

³ Head of Ceres crowned with wheat and ΣΩ. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ (the name of the Messenians) and ΝΕΩΝ ΑΡΙ (the names of magistrates); Jupiter standing, brandishing his thunderbolt in his right hand and in the left bearing an eagle; in front of the god, a tripod. Tetradrachm of the Messenians.

Athene and a relic of mythologic times, the tusks of the Calydonian boar. Messenia had only a very few inhabitants left, and Lacedæmon was no longer spoken of save for its manufacture of purple, the best in Europe. What a renown for the descendants of Leonidas! Yet I should prefer it to their fierce virtue of former days, did I not see that Cythera, a former dependency of Lacedæmon, then belonged to a certain Euryeles, and that this possessor of a barren rock was the tyrant, as it were, of the whole

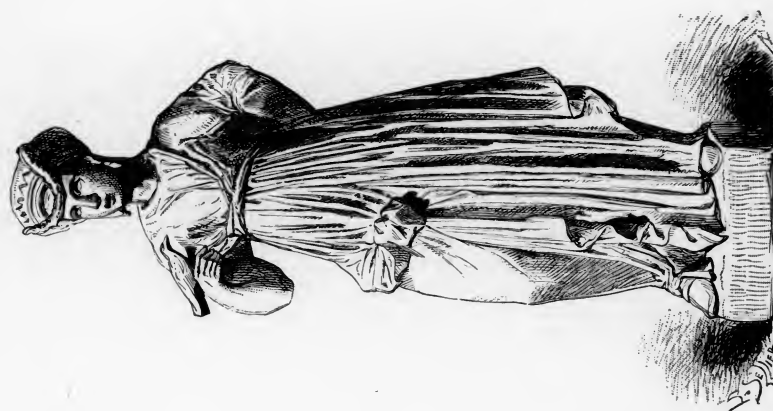


Cythera.

of Laconia. It is true that in the land of the hundred cities there could not now have been counted, besides Sparta, thirty villages. A few years more and Plutarch said: "There are not in all Greece 3,000 soldiers."¹ The town of Megara alone had sent more than that to Platea.² "On my return from Asia," wrote a Roman with melancholy sadness, "I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, and examined the shores stretched around me. Ægina was behind us, Megara in front, on the right the Piræus, on the left Corinth, cities formerly renowned, now dead beneath their ruins."

¹ [He means of course, *hoplites*, a heavy-armed infantry, whose armour was expensive. There must have been a far greater number of light-armed men.—*Ed.*]

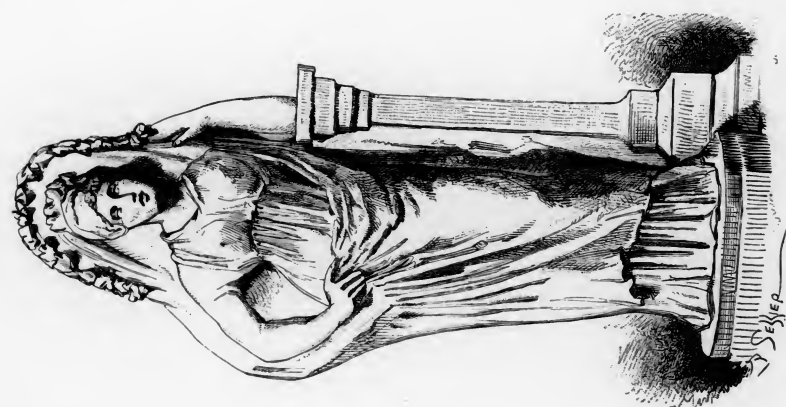
² The two figurines found at Megara and given on p. 571 are taken from the *Gazette archéol.* 1876, pl. 15.



Terra-Cotta Figure found at Megara (Aphrodite).



Nemesis in the Vatican.



Terra-Cotta Figure found at Megara (Hebe).

"Greece," says another, "is no longer aught but the great tomb of a great past."¹

The ruin of the cities was the ruin of the temples too; the Pythoness was dumb; the Amphictyonies² no longer met. For the providing of games and crowns for the Olympic stadium Greece was indebted to the charity of a king of the Jews.

With the national festivals fell the last bonds which held the Greek cities together in a national body. Octavius invited them, it is true, to his Actian games, the management of which he gave to the Lacedæmonians. But what had they to do with that almost barbarous Acarnania, which they scarcely knew of in the times of their independence, and where foreign hands would distribute the crowns? Yet Greece—this poor forlorn queen, proudly drapes herself in her rags; through the rents in her mantle her pride is seen; she deems herself nobler than her masters, and it is a condescension that she ceases to call them barbarians.

Montesquieu has laid this decadence to the charge of Rome; but the Romans could not restore to aged Greece the fair days of her youth or the creative spirit which had given birth to so many masterpieces; their historic duty was to summon new nations to share in the harvest sown by the artists, the poets, and the philosophers of Hellas. We have seen that the ruin of Greece had begun before the arrival of the legions,⁴ and that she was dying because she had carried abroad, without retaining aught for herself, that political and literary life which had made her greatness. Like the hierophant of Eleusis, she had handed the holy torch to neophytes. They passed it from hand to hand, and the sacred road was lighted afar by its blaze, but darkness

¹ *Magnarum rerum magna sepulera vides.* (Petron., *Poet. Fragments*; Cf. Huistin, *op. laud.*, p. 203.)

² The temple of Delphi is very poor, says Strabo (ix. p. 420), and there is no longer any Amphictyonic Council. This writer was in Greece at the very period of which we are speaking, in the year 29 B.C.

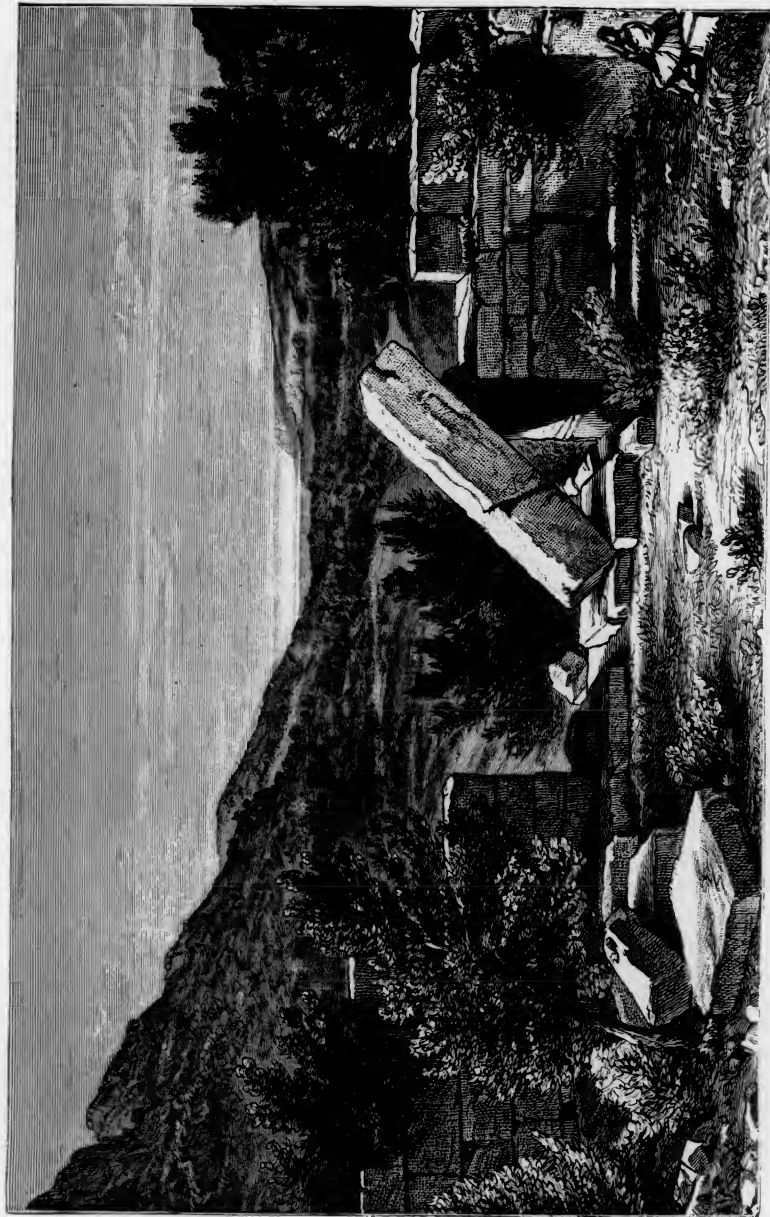
³ AA (Lacedæmon) ΕΠΙ ΕΡΥΚΑΕΟΣ; club; the whole enclosed in a wreath. Bronze coin of Lacedæmon.

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 8 sq.

⁵ [This splendid gate belongs to the great circuit of walls built by Epaminondas for the new Messene, and looks north towards Arcadia. It is one of the finest extant specimens of Hellenic masonry. Mount Ithome rises to the left of the view.—*Ed.*]



Coin
of Lacedæmon.³



The Arcadian Gate at Messene (see p. 569).⁵

fell upon the temple; silence and solitude possessed it. In order to have something to describe in this glorious land, Strabo is obliged to people its loneliness with recollections. It is not the Greece of Augustus but of Homer that he sees and questions. The former no longer existed; the latter still lived in the immortal poem.

Sicily and the Greek Islands.—All the Greeks of Europe seemed at this time to be given up to the jealous deity, that Nemesis, whom the ancients believed to be angered at fortunes that rose too high, but whose wrath is but the inevitable expiation of faults committed in prosperity."¹ "Magna-Grecia," exclaims Cicero, "formerly so flourishing and wealthy, and now so desolate!" "Whosoever wishes to see deserts," says Seneca, "let him go into Lucania and Bruttium." So much for Italian Greece.

When Theocritus sang at Syracuse of the wise king Hiero and the calm happiness of Sicilian country scenes, the great island had been freed from the Carthaginians, and had not yet been ravaged by the Roman proconsuls. But that was nearly 200 years ago; and since then it had grown poorer with every generation. The northern coast, facing Italy, was, as it still is, the most thickly peopled; Panormus, Segesta, which claimed relationship with Rome, and further west Lilybæum, held the highest rank there. Save for Agrigentum, which had once more risen to life, the coast on the African side was covered with old ruins dating from the Punic wars; the struggle with Sextus Pompey had made fresh ones on the east coast, the insurrection of the slaves in the interior, and the pirates everywhere. A mere farm of the Roman people, possessed by masters who spent far away the gold with which its fruitful soil supplied them, it no longer possessed a court, or princes, or rich citizens to offer to genius the sumptuous hospitality which Hiero had extended to Pindar, Simonides, Æschylus and Epicharmus; and the Muses were silent with terror amid this population of fierce herdsmen who preserved the



Coin of Panormus.²

¹ We give on p. 571 the Nemesis of the Vatican, a statue in Grecian marble found at Tivoli on the site of the Villa Hadriana. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii., pl. 13.) For the explanation of the attitude of the figures of Nemesis, see above, p. 322.

² PANOPMIT; head of Apollo with laurels, facing right. Silver coin of Panormus.

threatening memory of Eunus and Athenion. "Lately," says Strabo, "while I was at Rome, a certain Silurus was brought thither, who called himself the son of Ætna. At the head of a numerous band he had long laid waste all the country round the mountains. He was exposed in the amphitheatre, during a combat of gladiators, on a high platform representing Ætna. When the

combat was ended the mountain gave way, and the son of Ætna found himself precipitated among wild beasts, which tore him to pieces."

Then as now the traveller going from Italy to Greece stopped at Corfu and Zante, the one a magnificent commercial and military station, the other fully deserving of the name which sailors give it, *Fiore di Levante*. I have found it covered with flowers in the gloomiest of our winter months.

From Corfu three routes led to Asia and Eastern Africa.

One could go northwards as far as Dyrrachium, the head of the great *Egnatian Way*, which ran to Lysimachia and Byzantium; or by the gulf of Corinth and Attica one could reach the Cyclades, scattered over the Ægean like a necklace of sea pearls round Delos, the smallest but most famous among them. On these resounding waves which echoed the heroic names of ancient Greece, the sailor sailed, without losing sight of land, from Delos, where Apollo and Diana were born, to Naxos and Andros, the sacred isles of Bacchus; from Paros, whose marble

¹ This fragment, executed in good style, was discovered in the excavations made at Delos by M. Homolle. It represents the abduction of a woman. (*Bulletin de corresp. Hellén.*, VIII., third year, December, 1879, pl. xi.)

² [This famous statue, which is among the few *originals* preserved to us, was apparently the statue set up in the temple at Melos, and was executed not in the great Phidian days, but by Alexandros of Antioch, in the third century B.C., when there was a splendid renaissance in Greek sculpture, and men went back to the great models of the best epoch. Cf. Perry's *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 600.—Ed.]



Fragment discovered in the Recent Excavations in Delos.¹



Venus of Milo (see p. 579).²

rivalled that of Pentelicius, to Melos (Milo), which has preserved for us the masterpiece of Greek sculpture; but he avoided the gloomy Gyaros, whose naked rocks replaced for the exiles of the Empire these delightful abodes at Tibur and Præneste, where men had lived who were banished during the Republic.

Coin of Andros.¹

Further on, the great islands of the Asiatic coast, Lesbos, Chios, wealthy enough to pay the king of Pontus a ransom of 2,000 talents; Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, where the fortunes of Mithridates had ended, had promptly repaired their losses, and the Roman magistrates on their way to the eastern provinces willingly stopped in these fertile islands, where, beneath a delightful climate, Greek life expanded amid every kind of seduction.³

Coin of Paros.²

The governors of Crete, Cyrenaica, and Egypt went further south. From Cape Malea, at the extremity of the Peloponnesus, they could see the snowy summits of Crete; from that large island they reached Cyrene in two days' sail, and Alexandria in four.

Coin of Samos.⁴

By its fertility Crete won the surname of the *Isle of the Blest*, and Aristotle said of it that no position was ever more favourable for the establishment of a great [naval] empire, a fortune which it never realized save in mythologic times, when Jupiter was born and Minos reigned there, and it was called the Land of the Hundred Cities. Here then men have given the lie to nature. Since the heroic age Crete had lived in the shade; we hear of nothing [but constant wars and feuds, which gave the Greeks of Philopœmen's time a ready school for the art of war]. Even from the time of the Peloponnesian war it had been the haunt of pirates, and all

¹ Bust of Bacchus or of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy; behind him, a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, ANAP... and a panther. Silver coin of Andros.

² Head of a woman bound with fillet. On the reverse, ANAZIK ΠΑΡΙ; goat standing. Silver coin of Paros.

³ Piso, going to Syria, went from Athens to Rhodes by the islands; Germanicus from Eubœa to Lesbos, and thence to Troas in order to reach the Propontis. (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 53-4.)

⁴ Lion's face. Silver coin of Samos.

parties found courage for hire there. The Cretans retained these habits as long as their independence lasted; their archers served in all armies, and their corsairs drew upon them the anger of Rome. Metellus compelled them (66) to give up their vessels, though they had bravely maintained the struggle, killed a prætor, and held out for three years. But it cost them dear. Several towns which had fallen under the heavy hand of Rome rose no more, and the richest tracts of the island were taken into the domain of the Roman people. One day, soon after the defeat of Sextus, when Octavius was in a generous mood, he gave Capua lands in Crete, near Cnossus, bringing in a revenue of 1,200,000 sesterces, and the Capuans still held them three centuries later.

Crete, with Cyrenaica, formed one province. "They whose maritime skill was proverbial," says Strabo, "have not a single ship."

Greek Cities of Thrace and the Euxine.—On the north of the Ægean Sea, in Thrace, the Greek colonies had lined the whole coast, from the mouth of the Strymon to that of the Danube. Of so many cities what was left? "The Thracians," says Appian, "had retreated from the coasts for fear of pirates; the Greeks took possession of them and made them prosperous in agriculture and commerce. Philip of Macedon drove them away, so that nothing was to be seen save the ruins of the temples they had built." Some Greeks however, were still found on that coast; at Abdera, a town

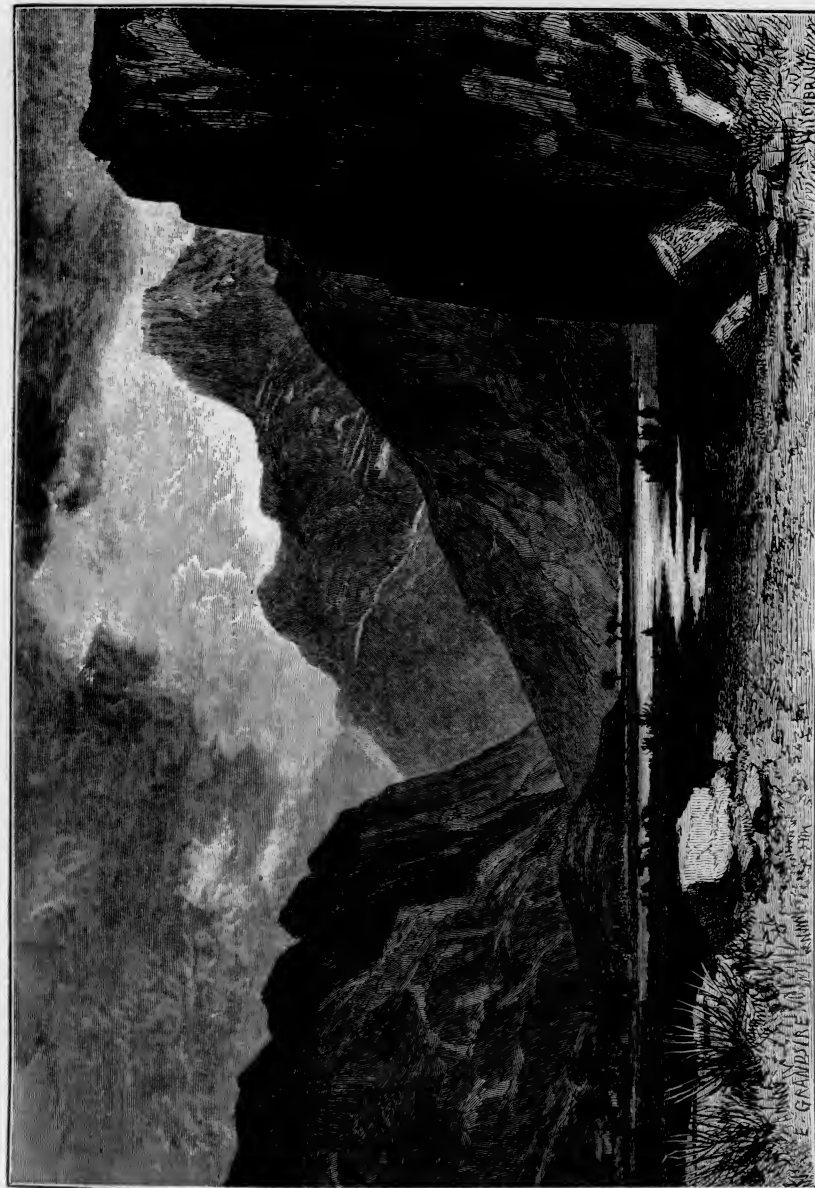


Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.¹

proud of its great men in spite of its poor reputation for wit; at Maroneia, at Ænos, on the ancient road leading to Asia; and finally, at Cardia and Lysimacheia, which guarded the entrance to the Thracian Chersonesus, now Agrippa's property; but all these towns were in a wretched state. When Macedonia once more became a flourishing province, when the new capital of the Empire arose at the other extremity of the country, then Thrace, situated in its centre, in its turn came to possess rich and populous cities; for the present, commerce and travellers avoided it.

The shores of the Propontis and its straits were more full of

¹ XEP.; head of Minerva with helmet; the whole in a hollow square. Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.



Defile of Hagia-Roumeli, in Crete.

life. Byzantium, occupying one of the most admirable sites in the world, commanded the commerce of the Black Sea, which stopped in her harbour even when it did not pass entirely into her hands. She gathered still further wealth from the productive fisheries of the Euxine, the profits of which the Romans obliged her to share with them, though they left her free. This liberty, of which they had the good sense not to show themselves jealous, freed them from the troubles of an occupation without allowing the Byzantines a risky independence. The governors of Bithynia were charged to keep a watch over them, and another check upon them was the property which they possessed in Mysia, under the immediate power of Rome.

Coin of Byzantium.¹

The commerce of the East then followed two routes; the southern one by the Persian Gulf or Red Sea, and the northern one by the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Caucasian isthmus. The Arabs and Alexandrian Greeks pursued the former; the Greeks of Asia Minor had adopted the latter; all the shores of the Black Sea were lined with their colonies; Miletus alone was said to have founded 300 factories there, some of which had become wealthy cities, and in the Tauric Chersonesus was the flourishing kingdom of the Bosphorus. The civilized world seemed however, to end at Byzantium; beyond that appeared barbarism, wild inhabitants, tribes living by wrecking and the plunder of ships washed ashore. Thus sailors arriving from the Palus Mæotis, whom the fear of the storms of the Euxine compelled to range along these inhospitable coasts, addressed thanksgivings to Jupiter Urso when they discovered his temple on the Asiatic coast, at the entrance of the Bosphorus.²

IV.—PROVINCES IN ASIA.

Asia Minor.—Asia Minor advances like a huge promontory between the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus, driving back before it

¹ ΠΥ ΕΠΙ ΣΦΟΔΡΙ (name of magistrate); Neptune seated on a rock holding the trident and the *acrostolium* or ornament which ended off the prows of vessels, in this case a statuette. Silver coin of Byzantium.

² [This was more on account of perils by sea than from barbarians. Dio Chrys. about this

the waves of the Ægean. If we limit Asia Minor to a line drawn from Trapezus to the Gulf of Issus, it will form a peninsula almost equal in extent to France, and divided into two wholly distinct regions, the centre occupied by plateaux, all around it the

City Gate at Patara.¹

mountain region, the latter covering a space double that of the former.²

The most beautiful parts of the peninsula are in the

period draws a pleasant picture of the Hellenic life still surviving round these remote coasts. —Ed.]

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii., pl. 225.

² The region of plateaux consists of a series of slight undulating or perfectly level plains, covered with volcanic tufa and innumerable fragments of lava. Between these plains run mountains, forming as it were, so many natural barriers, yet leaving them a common conformation: there is an almost complete absence of arborescent vegetation, and the climate is rather severe, like that of the north-east of France or Germany, with colder winters and warmer summers. Accordingly there are few vines, no fig or olive trees, none of the trees of southern Europe, but many cereals and much cattle, among which are herds of those Angora goats whose fleece almost equals in beauty that of the goats of Cashmere. At Kaisaria the thermometer often goes down to fifteen degrees below zero, at Angora to ten. (Cf. Tchihatchef, *Voyage dans l'Asie min.*; Fellows, *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, vol. lxxxii. p. 185.)

mountainous regions of the north and south. The mountains are crowned with vast forests, and at their feet stretch rich plains, where the most varied crops flourish. Here and there their sides are hollowed out into broad and deep valleys, or open for the flow of rivers which fall into the Euxine or Ægean Sea. The

Tomb Cut in the Rock at Myra.¹

fertility of the soil is such that no manure is ever needed, and that this part of the Turkish empire is able to export 100,000 tons of grain to Europe annually. What must the case have been then, when Asia Minor was in the hands of the active and industrious race which in ancient times had taken possession of all the coasts, placed a town on the banks of every river, near every harbour,

Coin of Patara.²Coin of Selge.³

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii., pl. 190.

² ΑΥΚΙΩΝΙΑ; lyre; the whole in a hollow square. Bronze coin of Patara.

³ ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ; B; slinger adjusting his sling; in the field, a triquetra, club, and cornucopia. Silver coin of Selge.

and in every one of those islands forming the broken arches of the bridge which had once united Greece and Asia? By it came from the East many beliefs, many doctrines, and arts which attained their full development on the two shores of the Ægean Sea; and the Greeks in their turn carried their influence to the very heart of the Taurus valleys, as the vast ruins of Patara, Sagalassos, and Selge bear witness. The monuments left standing speak a history which is mute, and by studying them we recognize the two opposing currents which met and mingled in these provinces. The rock tombs of Myra and in Galatia suggest the royal sepulchres of Persepolis, whereas in Lydia, even among

the intractable Pisidians, the temples and theatres are of Hellenic architecture.

Times and manners had caused many and great points of difference between the peoples in whose blood the Aryan and Semitic elements mingled in various proportions. The Phrygian, "more timid than a hare," driven by misery from the dried-up soil on which he dwelt, yearly descended to the coast to hire out his services at the time of olive-gathering, and if matters went ill he sold his children to set himself up again. The Lydian did likewise, and even sold himself for light domestic service. Any service might

be demanded of him, even the most disgraceful, provided the work was not too tiring. Since the time of Herodotus this people had been considered the most effeminate in Asia, and that quaint storyteller, being at a loss how to explain this unexampled effeminacy,



Phrygian, apparently in flight.¹

¹ Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 779 in the Clarac Catalogue.

set it down as a sort of political institution. At the two extremities of the country, in Caria and at the foot of Mount Olympus, the inhabitants were more manly. The Carians had formerly held sway over the whole of the Ægean Sea, and, even under Mausolus, had subdued Rhodes and Lycia. But this people had a sad end. The dealers in men found it so easy to obtain supplies in their country that the name of Carian became synonymous with slave. The men of Mysia, wild mountaineers, difficult to keep in subjection, had given the Persian satraps much trouble; they were to give the Roman garrisons still more. We have nothing to say of Isauria, where the inhabitants offered a desperate resistance to the Romans, or of Pisidia, which had never submitted to a foreign yoke, and which wore but lightly that of Rome. Lycaonia, a land of hilly plains, cold, waterless, yet rich in cattle, had a city, Iconium, which afterwards played an important part. In the neighbourhood of this town was a lake which would bear comparison with the most beautiful in Italy.² The Pamphilians and Cilicians have no history; Paphlagonia has a painful one, for it was a prey incessantly disputed by the kings of Pontus and Bithynia. We shall speak of Cappadocia and the Armenians later on.

Thus we see that there were still many diversities in the great Asiatic peninsula. But among all these nations broken by long slavery, there remained no trace of public life, unless rivalries between cities and internal troubles be looked upon as life. The



Coin of Mausolus.¹



Lycian Soldier.³

¹ ΜΑΥΣΟΛΑΙΟ; Jupiter of Labranda, a town of Caria, containing a celebrated sanctuary of the god. Silver coin. [Inscriptions generally write the name *Mausollos*.—Ed.]

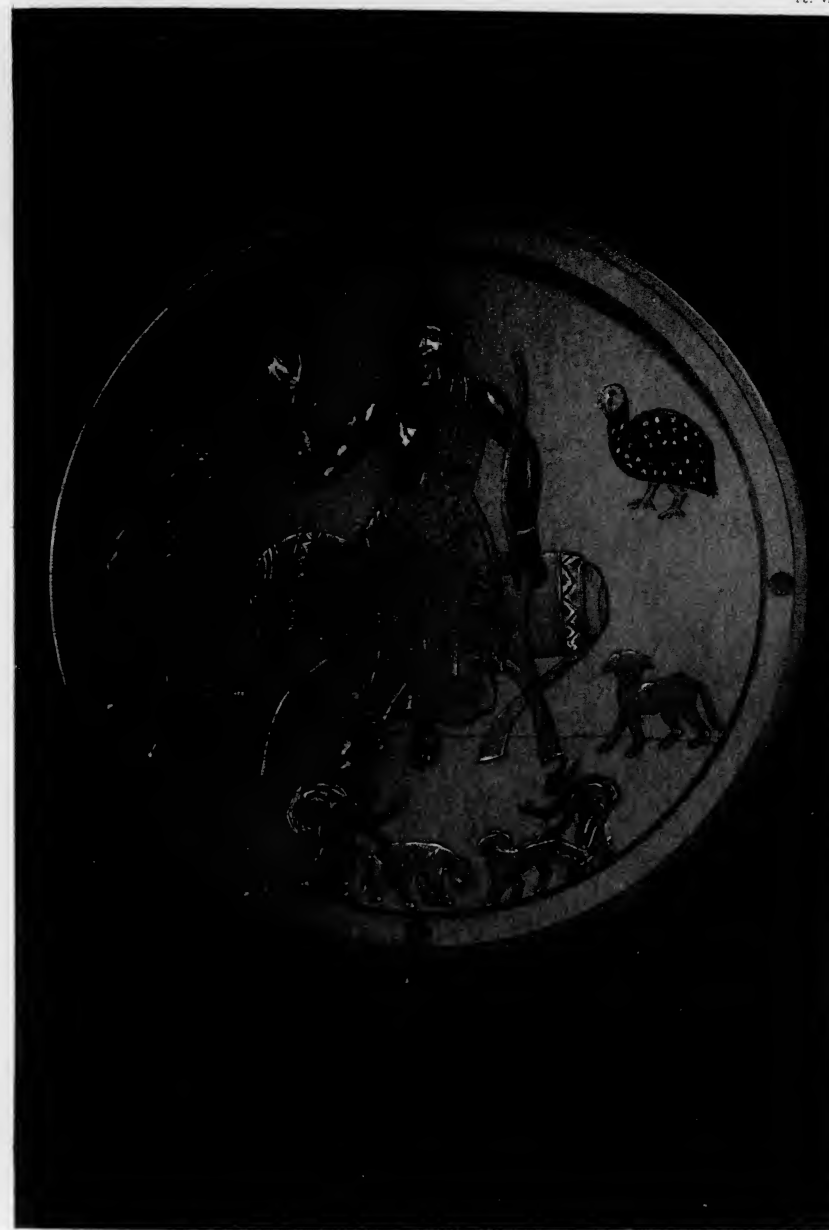
² See the engraving on p. 650 of vol. ii.

³ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii., pl. 103.

Romans therefore, overcame Asia Minor as easily as the Lydians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and Mithridates had done; it was done in one battle; and it cost still less trouble to keep it. They had at first allowed the native kings to govern for them, and then quickly taken their place; now they occupied it wholly. They had placed under their direct administration however, only the ancient kingdoms of Pergamus and Bithynia, with part of the coasts looking towards Rhodes and Cyprus, that is, populations almost Greek in origin or language, forming a mass of little States which were always at war with one another when no superior authority imposed peace upon them.¹ Leaving the centre and east to the natives then, the Romans had occupied the western region, and thrown their arms as it were, round the peninsula in order to reach Thermodon, beyond Sinope, and the Syrian Gates, beyond Tarsus. Thus they held all the outlets of the peninsula, commanded all communications with the outer world, and controlled the Greek cities situated along its shores. In order the better to efface all memories of independence, they had, in their new distribution of Asia, mixed up the nations and territories. "It is very difficult," says Strabo, "to determine exactly what belongs to Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, or Mysia, for the Romans in their administrative divisions have paid no heed to the difference of nations. They have divided them into jurisdictions, having each a principal town where justice is dispensed."

As for the interior, since they have found among the nations habits of submission to national dynasties, and in these dynasties an interested eagerness to rule only in accordance with the views of Rome, they had been careful not to supplant men who acted so much to the advantage of the Republic. The result of this apparent disinterestedness was that here the Roman frontiers presented a singular conformation, for whereas on the Euxine and Sea of Cyprus the boundary of the provinces almost reached the

¹ Antony had given the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndos; he was soon obliged to take them away from them again *ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες*. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 7.) *Illud Asia cogitet*, says Cicero, *nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem affuturum fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur . . . æquo animo, parte aliqua suorum fructuum, pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium*. (ad Quint., I. i. 11.) In the whole of Asia Minor the Roman conquest had nowhere suppressed a really independent political life, strong and powerful, because it had nowhere encountered it." (Perrot, *Inscr. de la Mer Noire*, ad fin.)

SELLIER pini¹

PATERA OF LAMPSAQUE

Imp. Fraillery.

meridian of Antioch; in the interior it receded to almost that of Byzantium.

Roman Asia formed three provinces, Bithynia, Asia properly so called, and Cilicia. There were not many colonies there, for it had not offered any resistance necessitating great precautions; neither, as the armies had scarcely made any stay there, had there been any opportunity for settling veterans in it.

On the northern coasts however, Sinope, a beautiful and strongly fortified place, whose navy had formerly ruled the whole Euxine, Heraclea, Apamea in Bithynia, and Lampsacus² had received colonists; Cyzicus, which had rendered such great services during the war against Mithridates; Ilion and its venerable ruins, the cradle of the Roman people, as they would fain believe; Chios, which Mithridates had destroyed and Sylla had rebuilt; Lycia, where the rich valley of the Xanthos recovered its prosperity; Tarsus, whose schools rivalled those of Athens and Alexandria, and where St. Paul studied; these and many more were free, that is, they retained their laws and magistrates generally on condition of paying tribute, and all of deferring to the occasional orders of the Roman governors. Rhodes, which possessed a part of the opposite coast, considered itself still independent.

Even in the centre of the provinces there existed little sacerdotal or lay principalities. The interior of Paphlagonia belonged to native chiefs. To the temple of Olba in Cilicia, said to have been founded by Ajax, were attached large domains constituting a kind of sovereignty called the priesthood of Teucer.



Coin of Sinope.¹



Coin of Ajax, Prince of Olba.³

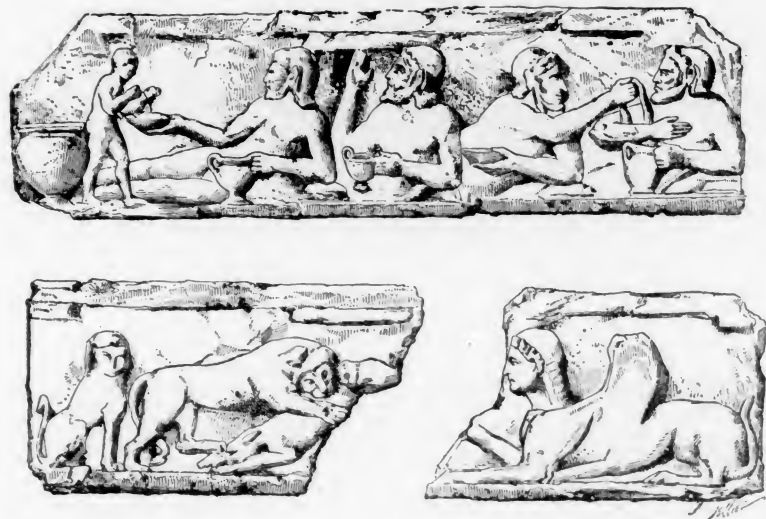
¹ ΣΙΝΟΠΕΩΝ; Apollo seated on the ὀμφάκιον of Delphi, which marked the centre of the world, and holding in his hand a lyre; in the field, AM, and head of Hercules.

² There has been found at Lampsacus a silver patera (cf. coloured plate), now in the Museum of St. Irene at Constantinople, which is one of the most curious representations known of the Asiatic Artemis. The goddess is seated on a golden throne; her flesh and hair are of black enamel, the hair very symmetrically arranged; from her turban protrude two little stag-horns; her dress consists of a golden tunic with stars scattered over it; the golden bow is in her left hand, the guinea-hen and sparrow-hawk at her side; dogs with drooping ears, negresses dressed in golden tunics, and lions complete the ornamentation of this singular monument, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 19.

³ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ (KENNATON) ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΞΕΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΔΩ
VOL. III. QQ

At the other extremity of Asia Minor a robber-chief named Cleon, quartered in Olympus, had by degrees got together an army and a territory. Some successful raids upon the agents of Labienus at the time when he was crossing Mount Amanus at the head of the Parthians had excused in Antony's eyes his earlier enterprises, and from a robber he had become a prince. Nevertheless he had lately deserted his benefactor at Actium, and Augustus was going to reward him by giving him two cantons of Mysia, with the office of high priest.

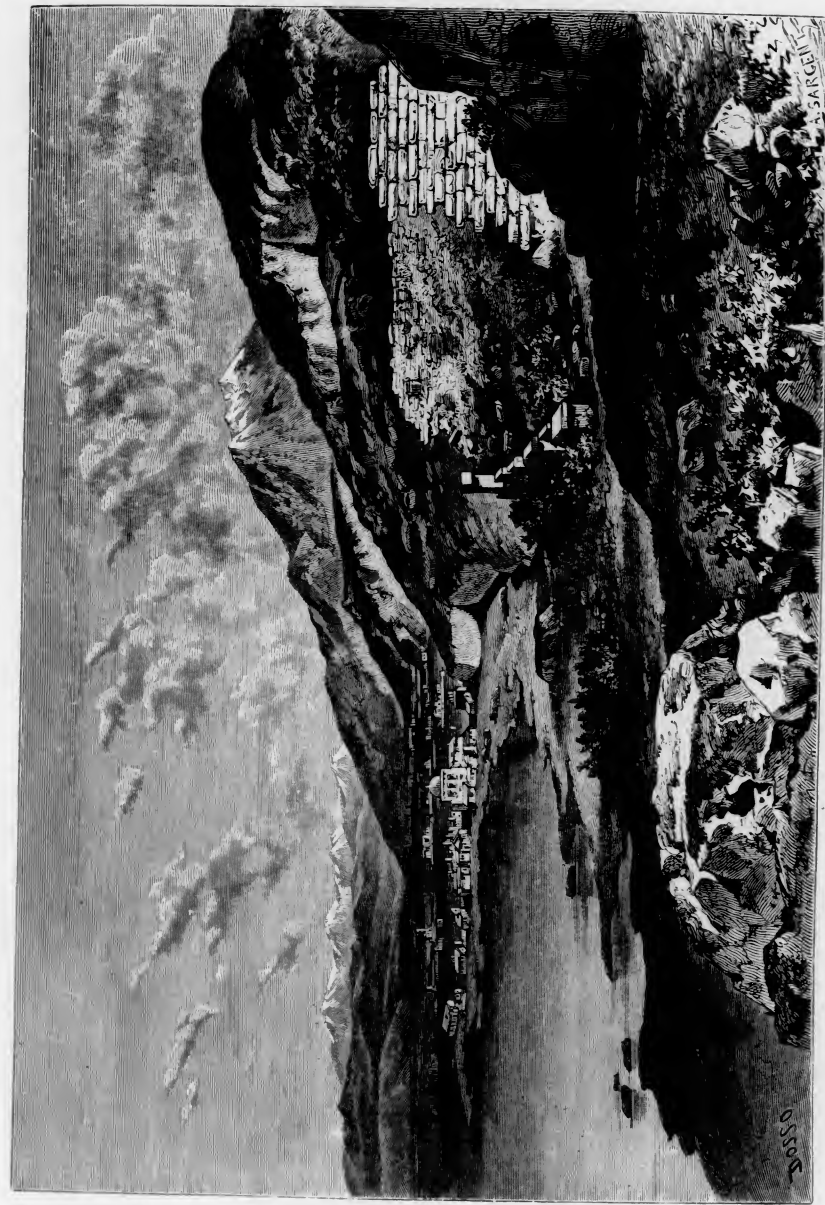
Antony had not been fortunate in his friendships; another



Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Iassos (Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, pl. 112).

man, Amyntas, whom he had made a dynast, also betrayed him; a Galatian remained more faithful to him. The eastward part of Bithynia, or the country of the Mariandyni, belonged wholly to the town of Heraclea, which had reduced the natives to the condition of the penestae of Thessaly, leaving them no right save that of not being sold out of the province. After the war against Mithridates the Greeks of Heraclea had ceded a part of their town and territory to Roman colonists. Antony, who was very lavish of

ET E: Ajax, son of Teucer, high priest, prefect (of the Cennati) of the Lalasses under Diodotos in the year 5 (of the reign of Ajax): thunderbolt. Bronze coin.

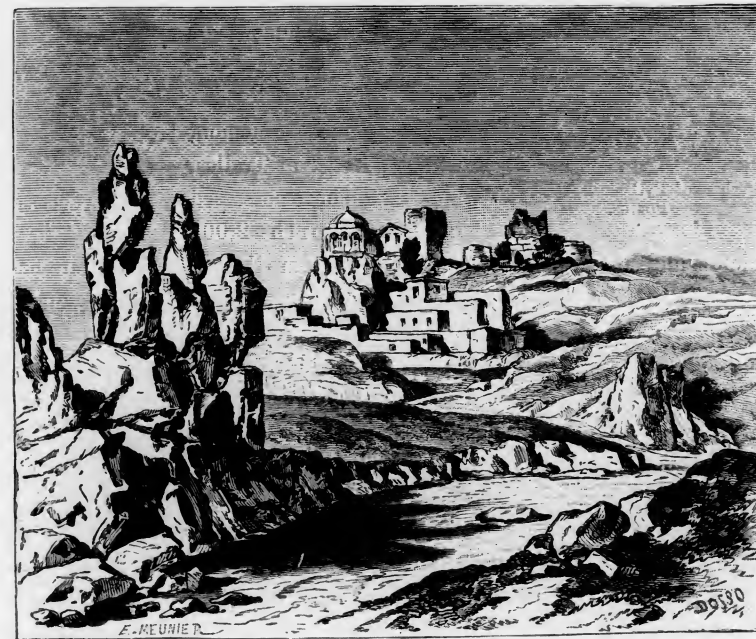


Telmessus, one of the chief towns in Lycia.

other men's property, gave a Galatian named Adiatorix the portion which remained to the Heracleotes. It was but one half; in order to obtain the other, the Galatian one night fell suddenly upon the Roman colonists and massacred them. This deed, which occurred a short time after Actium, led to a touching story. Adiatorix, being taken prisoner while fighting for the *imperator* of Alexandria, was condemned to death with the eldest of his children. As he was being led to execution the second son of the culprit attempted to pass himself off as the elder, and claimed the right to die with his father. A



Coin of Smyrna,
with the Figure of
Homer.



Acropolis of Iassos (Assous).¹

lively dispute between the two brothers kept the soldiers in suspense. At length the younger gained his point, and said to his friends; "My brother is more capable of maintaining our house than I." Augustus learned too late these circumstances, and

¹ From Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*

regretted the execution, but rewarded the son of Adiatrix for the devotion of his brother by appointing him high priest of Pontic Comana.

The province of Asia was said to contain 500 cities, among which the most beautifully situated were Cyzicus, the queen of the Propontis; Smyrna, which stamped its coins with the effigy of Homer; Iassos, with its Cyclopean Acropolis, upon a plateau rising 1,000 feet above the shore and commanded by a temple from which the view extended over part of the Archipelago. The greatest fortunes were found at Ephesus,¹ celebrated for its temple of Diana, and in spite of its bad harbour, the chief emporium of merchandize from Greece and the East; at Laodicea, which



Drachme of Pythodoris, Queen of Pontus.

inherited from one of its citizens named Hiero 2,000 talents, and of which another, named Polemon, was made king; at Tralles, where Pythodoris possessed lands also worth 2,000



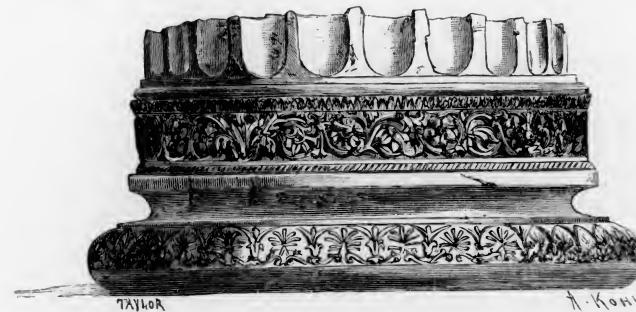
Pythian Apollo on a Coin of Tralles.

talents and enough ready money to redeem them when Caesar had confiscated them as a punishment for her relations with Pompey; at Apamea of Phrygia, the second commercial station in Asia, and on that account called *Kibotos*, or the chest.

Miletus, with its four harbours, one of which could contain a whole fleet, was, after Ephesus, the largest city of Ionia. Built at the mouth of the Maeander, a river with a capricious and shifting course, it had to suffer accordingly. "Every time it disturbed the boundaries of properties by washing away the angles of its banks, a suit was instituted against it, and if it were convicted it was condemned to pay fines, which were levied upon the tolls." Thus the river paid for its damages. But at length it prevailed over the town, and amid its alluvial deposits must now be sought the remains of the temples which were the pride

¹ The descendants of Codrus still bore at Ephesus the title of king, the purple robe, and the sceptre, and had the right of presiding at the games and sacrifices of Ceres Eleusinia. But Ephesus possessed a fatal privilege, the right of asylum in its temple. Alexander had extended this privilege to one stadium, Mithridates to within arrow-shot of the four corners of the temple. Antony doubled this measurement, so that part of the town was included within the privileged limits, which caused malefactors to swarm thither. (Strabo, x. 4, 23.)

of Ionia.¹ The Cymæans contested with the Abderitans the privilege of supplying jesters with material for the exercise of their sarcasm, nor did Ephorus or Hesiod, their compatriots, undo for them their unlucky reputation. Synnada possessed precious marbles; Cibyra, manufactories of chiselled iron-work; Colophon,



Base of the Columns of the Temple of Apollo at Miletus (eight feet, eight inches in diameter (Louvre Museum).

a famous oracle, which Germanicus consulted; Pergamus had lately lost its fine library, which had been given to the Alexandrians by Antony; but one of its citizens, Apollodorus, was the friend of



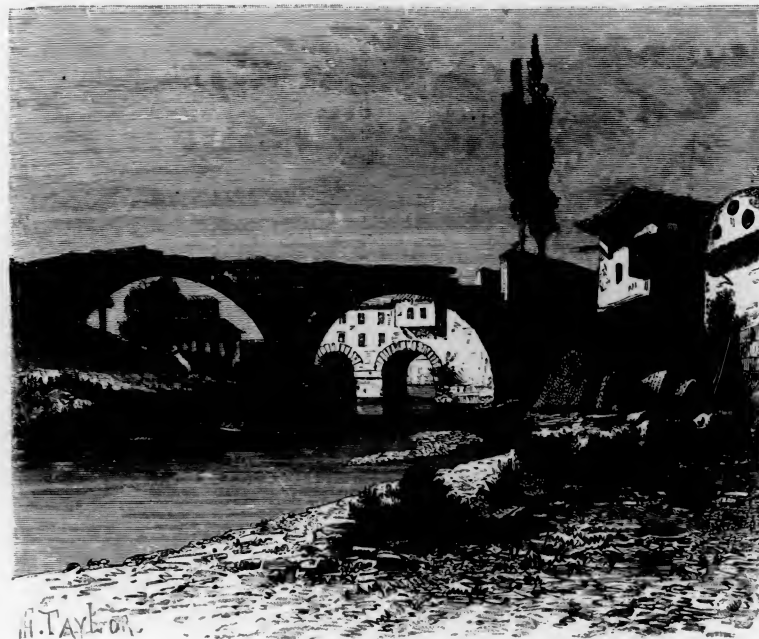
Base of the Columns of the Temple of Apollo at Miletus (eight feet, eight inches, in diameter (Louvre Museum).

Augustus, who deigned to receive from him lessons in polite literature. A brilliant circle of flourishing towns bordered the Propontis; Abydus, the great passage from Europe into Asia; Lampsacus, Prusa, at the foot of Olympus; Nicæa, the most important town of Bithynia; Nicomedia, the capital of the

¹ These excavations, directed by M. Rayet, were carried out at the expense of M. de Rothschild, who gave to the Louvre these magnificent remains.

province, and Chalcedon, called "the city of the blind," because its founders had fixed upon a bad site [as Polybius explains, iv. 43] when they might have occupied the position of Byzantium.

Asia had suffered much in the last convulsions of the Republic without having had, like Gaul and Africa, the consolation of sharing in the glory of the struggle. Circumstances had compelled



The Bridge at Mouslouk (Pergamus).¹

it to side first with Pompey and afterwards with the Republicans; Cassius on one occasion levied ten years' taxes there all at once.² Then came Antony, who exacted far more still. While he was expending this money in the follies of the *inimitable life*, Labienus had led the Parthians right up to the coast opposite Rhodes and Samos, once more visited all the temples, and had taken what the

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii., pl. 123.

² The annual tax of Asia was, under Sylla, 4,000 talents. (App., *Bell. Mithrid.*, 62; Plut., *Sylla*, 25.) Cæsar had diminished it by a third, so that the ten years would only produce 27,000 talents. But Cassius and Antony raised the tribute to the original amount again. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.)

triumvir had overlooked.¹ Yet it was necessary to find fresh resources for the formidable armament intended to dispute the empire with Octavius. "The kings, princes, tetrarchs, nations and cities, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, received orders to send the provisions and money necessary." They obeyed. Asia had to all appearance gone forth gaily to this war, but in secret she sighed for the end of this ruinous magnificence, for order and repose, that she might rebuild her temples, redeem from usurers her porticoes and walls,² and return to the lessons of her rhetors, to manufacture and commerce. Accordingly she hailed more gladly than any other province the last victory to which most of her chiefs had contributed by sowing discouragement and mistrust among the Antonian troops. Involved against their will in this great quarrel, the Greeks of Asia had retired from it as quickly as possible. They were not fierce patriots dreaming of freedom; equality was more important to them than independence, and provided they still had public debates, municipal and provincial elections for their presiding towns, arts, all the elegancies of the life of Smyrna and Ephesus, which Cicero calls the consolations of slavery,³ and at long intervals some little internal revolution, they were content. Having been accustomed to this state of things for 600 years they never asked for any other.

Syria and Phœnicia.—Syria had passed through the same vicissitudes, with more disorder and misery, because it was nearer to the Parthians and Arabs. Its misfortunes date far back from the last convulsions amid which the kingdom of Syria had perished.⁴ After the sanguinary ambitions of native princes had come the rivalries of foreign masters. It had been necessary to supply both with money and soldiers, and at each vicissitude of the civil wars to endure fresh exactions in expiation of those already endured.

Cæsar, after Pharsalia, had left there as governor his relative Sextus Julius. A former lieutenant of Pompey, Bassus, long concealed at Tyre, took advantage of the withdrawal of the dictator,

¹ Χρήματα . . . ἐπράσσειτο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἰσύλα. (Dion, xlviii. 26.)

² It was a common custom among the cities of Asia to pledge municipal property to creditors. The Cymæans, having thus given their porticoes as security for the loan, dared no longer walk in them, says Strabo.

³ *Oblectamenta et solatia servitutis.* (II in *Verr.*, iv. 60.)

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 639 sq.

and of the false news which from time to time arrived from Spain or Africa, to form a party, stirred up to insurrection the servants of Sextus, and had him murdered. He then took the title of praetor and pretended to govern the province. But the example he had given appeared easy to follow; what he had done against his predecessor, a certain Antistius, tried against him, and he was in his turn besieged in Apamea. This town, almost entirely surrounded by the Orontes and a large lake, was impregnable. The two adversaries, not finding themselves strong enough to decide the contest, called in an Arab chief of the neighbourhood who was in the habit of selling his services to the highest bidder, and who usually assisted the Parthians in invading the province, and profited by the disorder. He repaired to a conference between the town and the legions, proposed his conditions and named his price, which only Bassus was rich enough to pay. Sure of the Arab, he next summoned the Parthians. It was high time for Rome to recover her strength!

While the quarrel between the Republic and the Empire was being settled at Philippi, Syria was completely conquered by the Parthians; only Tyre escaped them, and tyrants arose in every town. The lieutenants of Antony restored a certain degree of order there without introducing much unity into the government of that province, where a number of petty chiefs long existed.

Nevertheless, as soon as peace was concluded, prosperity revived in that favoured region between the Euphrates and the sea, where the ranges of Taurus and Libanus form delicious valleys, and which, if it touched the desert, had also the fertile plains always to be found at the foot of great mountains. It was the gate of the East; everything passed by the rich city of Antioch, which Pompey had left free, and through its port of Seleucia. A few years afterwards Strabo said it was almost as large as Alexandria. But the interior of the country, even the valley of the Orontes, was not freed from the depredations of mountaineers and Arabs. Chalcis, the phylarch of Emesa, and the inhabitants of Damascus, were sometimes able to stop them, but not to destroy them, for the porous limestone of the rocks of Anti-Libanus, everywhere pierced by deep caverns, afforded them impregnable retreats. Near Damascus was one in which 4,000

men could hide themselves with ease.¹ The enemy always most to be feared by the Syrians were the Parthians. Caesar had promised to deliver the province from this anxiety; Augustus fulfilled the promise in a manner less heroic, but perhaps more secure.

The coast of Phœnicia, which Strabo prolongs to Pelusium, suffered less from the rivalry of Alexandria than is supposed. Aradus and Tyre had always a superabundant population, who were obliged to build houses of six or eight stories; and the Tyrian purple, celebrated all over the Empire, supported industry which grew richer every day. Sidon, free like Tyre, and equally populous, was the centre of the glass manufacture. What the Greeks had secretly undermined was not the commerce or the industries of their former rivals, but their language and their civilization. Phœnicians were no longer to be found at Tyre and Sidon; on the contrary, many astronomers and mathematicians, rhetoricians and philosophers, schools in short, where all the branches of human knowledge were taught. Even from Ascalon and from Gadara came Philodemus the epicurean, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician. The Categories of Aristotle and the Ideas of Plato obliterated the remembrance of Biblical legends in these towns of the patriarchs.

Coin of Tyre.²

V.—PROVINCES OF AFRICA.

Egypt.—Palestine, again once more become a kingdom, will occupy us later. We come now to Egypt, "the ancestress of nations."

On the 15th of August of the year 30 before our era, the race of the Lagidæ had become extinct, after having reigned for nearly three centuries, first with glory, then with weakness and

¹ Strabo, xvi. 756; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 10, 1; "There are fewer robberies now that the band of Zenodorus has been annihilated, thanks to the good administration of the Romans and the garrisons established in Syria." (Strabo, *ibid.*)

² ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, that is, Tyre, holy city and place of refuge; eagle and palm in the field; a club, ΑΚ and ΔΚ. Silver coin.

opprobrium. Fallen, like all the States of the East, into that semi-slavery in which the senate delighted to hold the most powerful monarchies, Egypt was no longer her own mistress since the day when a Roman officer, stretching out his stick between her and the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, had sufficed to save her. Nearly a century and a half had passed since then, but the Romans liked to see a slow death; in the amphitheatre they would howl at a gladiator who struck too soon. Egypt lived on amidst civil wars and incests, exactions and massacres,

Antiochus Epiphanes.¹King and Queen of Egypt of the race of the Lagidae.²

seeing its kings, by turns persecutors and victims, pursue one thing only, the heaping up of gold wherewith to bribe at Rome some tribune or consul.

The history of this great empire had become more and more the history of revolutions of the palace, and in its last days it had

¹ Head of Antiochus Epiphanes, crowned with a diadem. From a silver coin.

² Bronze busts found at Herculaneum. Archaeologists not being agreed as to the identity of the characters, we have given them only a generic name. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., pl. 18.)

none save the adventures of that ambitious and passionate woman, who, by her grace and her wit, by her mad surrender to pleasure and her courageous death, relieved for a moment the dark tragedy of the second triumvirate. The love of Cæsar absolves Cleopatra from her passion for Antony which was only a necessary policy. If the woman was weak in other respects, the queen was great, great at least after the fashion of the East, that is to say, cruel and fond of display, but clever and proud even to the death. With her, old Egypt descended to the tomb. It had adopted its Macedonian kings and inscribed their names by the side of those of its ancient dynasties. But the word of Ezekiel was now to

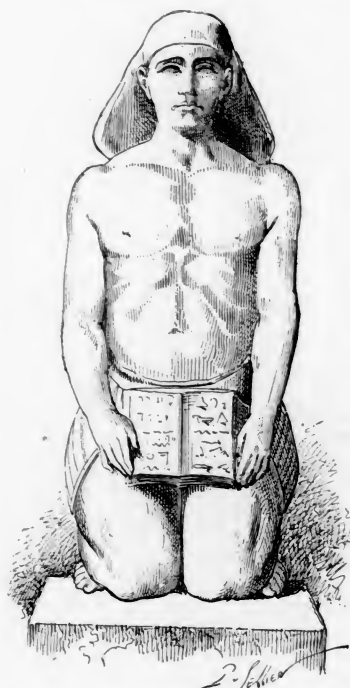
Egyptian Landscape (painting from Pompeii).¹

be fulfilled; Egypt was no longer to have any but foreign masters, and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt (xxx. 13).

A society which has in some sort moulded itself upon the ground which it occupies is little influenced by time and men. It would be difficult to find a government worse than that of the later Ptolemies; yet, notwithstanding the continual riots and periodical massacres of Alexandria, Egypt prospered; it was still the land praised by Theocritus, for its soil was always fruitful, its towns innumerable, and its river bountiful. It was also the grand route for Indian commerce, and was a fortress, as it were, whence Africa and Arabia could be held in check. So many advantages struck the discerning eye of Octavius, and he took every measure prudence could suggest to prevent a revolt in a country so well constituted for a life apart, so well defended from aggressions from without by the desert which surrounded it, and by the inhospitable coast which bordered it. Cambyses had

¹ Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., 5th series, pl. 26. There is nothing Egyptian in this Pompeian painting but the crocodile seizing a child and the sphinx placed on one side of the temple.

slaughtered its priests and profaned its monuments. This policy had its deserved consequences. Egypt, under the Persians, was in almost constant revolt. Octavius respected everything, the religion, the language, the customs of this nation. If he refused



Egyptian Priest.²

to turn out of his way to see the bull Apis, he at least performed, like Caesar, the customary rites in the temples, where he allowed the priests, who were anxious to exhibit the conqueror as a devotee of their gods, to represent him as making an offering to Horus. When he had visited the tomb of Alexander, they wished to show him those of the Ptolemies: "I have come," he said, "to see a king, not dead men." This was his only vengeance on the memory of those whose place he was taking. We shall see that he governed like them, but without riots, and with more order and foresight. From the first, the soldiers who had conquered Antony were employed in cleaning the canals choked up by the Nile. This was good policy for Egypt, where these labours regulated the inundations of the river, and for Rome, which the Egyptian grain was to feed.¹

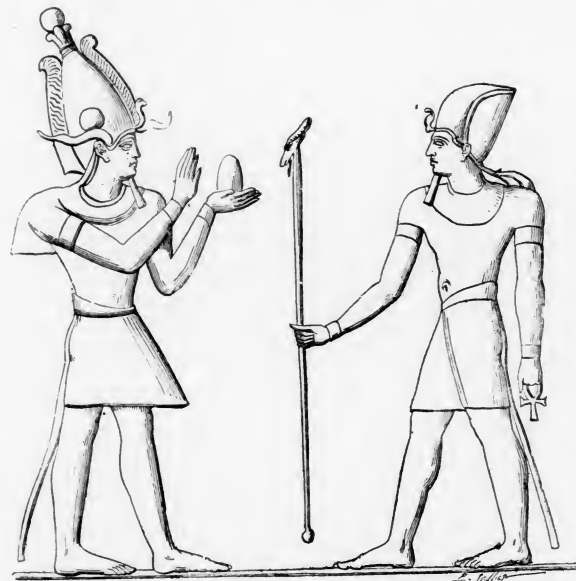
Egypt had 7,000,000 men and great riches; Octavius was anxious to entrust so much power only to obscure persons, to simple knights, who being nothing save through him, could do nothing against him. He did not give them even the insignia of ordinary governors.³ They were agents whom he sent to

¹ *Aegyptum . . . ut feraciorem habilioremque annonæ urbi redderet, fossas omnes . . . oblitæ longa vetustate, militari opere deterat.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 18.) The Egyptian tribute of corn was reckoned so as to supply Rome for four months.

² Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Notice*, etc., No. 360.)

³ Trebonius Pollio, *Trig. tyr.*, 21. The prefect of Egypt held, however, *imperium ad similitudinem proconsulis*. (Dig., i. 17, 11, and Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60.)

manage one of his farms,¹ and whose accounts he himself examined. Egypt, being considered the domain of the emperors, was not reckoned amongst the provinces, and its revenues, instead of being deposited in the public treasuries, went to increase their *fiscus*. One legion in Alexandria, two in the neighbourhood, nine cohorts and three squadrons commanded an obedience which outside of the capital these docile peoples did not dispute. That there might be no fear of this army being tampered with by



Augustus presenting Offerings to Horus (Rosellini, *op. cit.*).

any ambitious character, he forbade any senator, any knight of illustrious birth, to visit the banks of the Nile without special permission. No one, except an obscure merchant or nameless traveller, could visit this land of marvels. And whereas the whole of Gaul quickly entered into the Roman citizenship, and the chiefs of its noble families came and sat in the Capitol, Egypt was to wait 230 years before one of her race was decorated with the senatorial *laticlave*. Till the time of Septimius Severus, Alexandria had not even the senate which the humblest cities possessed.

¹ *Τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κτημάτων.* (Philo, *ad Flac.*, p. 987.)

These precautions were justified by the wealth, the position, and the social organization of Egypt. The towns of Greece and Asia, the tribes of Gaul and of Spain were isolated; a native conspirator or a political adventurer would have found it difficult to unite them for one common purpose. These divisions were unknown in Egypt; it was a great State, all the parts of which had the same kind of life, because for them there was only one history, as there was only one material existence. From Syene to Pelusium everything was common, good and evil, scarcity and abundance, for the Nile was the same for all. From Pelusium to Syene,¹ also, the political organization was identical, for kings and priests had extended their absolute authority over all, as the river covered everything year by year with its slimy waters. But there was nothing to fear from a people made docile by twenty centuries of obedience to a theocratic government or to foreign masters.

Polybius bears this testimony to the Egyptians, and Strabo, who knew them well, accepts it, that they were intelligent and submissive to the laws. The name of their master concerned them little, provided that the Nile overflowed its banks on the appointed day, that their sacred animals did not die too frequently, that Serapis continued his marvellous cures at Canopus, and that they could celebrate the festivals of their thousand divinities. At that of Serapis boats covered the river and the canals by day and night, and the banks resounded with dissolute songs and dances. The distance from Alexandria to Canopus was 120 stadia; then it was one long street, noisy and gay.

This was their great business. Pleasure was their true god, their only religion; but Rome did not intend to deprive them of it. Why then, should they allow themselves to be seized with a new fit of pride, rather Greek than Egyptian indeed, and why should they recommence the Alexandrian war? If the rising of the river was not great enough and famine threatened, if the taxes were too heavy, they could certainly murmur and make a disturbance, but the sight of a few armed soldiers would quell

¹ M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 3: "All the structures still existing at Philæ date from the epoch of the Ptolemies or from that of the Roman emperors." (De Rougé, *ibid.*; *Explic. des Planches*.)

the most formidable revolt. The whole of the Thebaid in revolt would tremble before two or three cohorts, and Petronius would need only his prætorian guard to brave the threatening anger of the immense population of Alexandria. As long as their life was easy and pleasant, they would pass in front of the majestic monuments erected by their fathers without remembering that they had once been a great nation. The most learned among them



Louqsor, in Thebais.¹

hardly knew how to read the inscriptions which recounted the ancient glory of their Pharaohs² and those priests of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, whose profound science Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato reverently consulted, were no longer aught but pious jugglers who had lost the deep meaning of things. If

¹ M. de Rougé's *Album*, pl. 47.

² The third governor, Gallus, when he visited Egypt, could not obtain an explanation of their mysteries. (Strabo, xvii. 29.) It is possible that Gallus was not satisfied with his Egyptian cicerone, for Rosellini (*Mon. stor.*, ii. p. 455) maintains that hieroglyphics were used until Caracalla at least, and M. Letronne perhaps until the sixth century. (*Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 464.) [But in late buildings they are found used at random, as mere ornament.—*Ed.*]

a traveller, anxious to see this strange race near at hand, arrived at Memphis, they did not explain to him the course of the stars, the dimensions of the heavens and the earth, or the secrets of creation, but they led him to the temple of Apis. If the hour had come, there issued from the sanctuary a black bull spotted with white; he was let loose in the *pronaos*; he was made to take a few leaps then led back to his stall; this was their god and these were their doctrines. Another of their gods was the crocodile

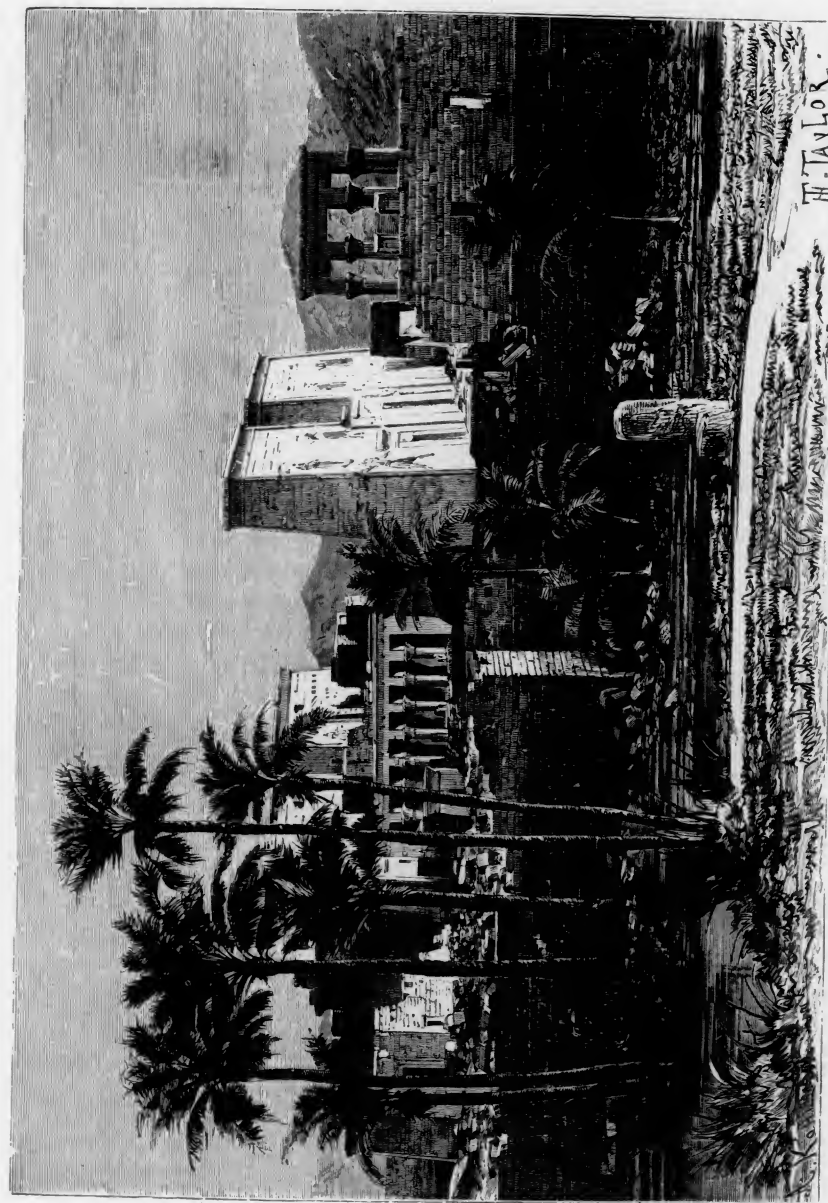
Osiris.¹

of Arsinoë, but let an eye-witness speak; "Our host, a person of importance in the country, accompanied us to the lake, bringing from the remnants of our meal a small cake, some baked meat, and a flagon of hydromel; we found the sacred animal on the edge of the lake. The priests seized him and some held his mouth open, whilst another threw the cake into it, then the meat, and lastly, poured down the wine. Then the crocodile leaped into the lake and crossed rapidly to the opposite bank. Another stranger having appeared with his offering, the priests took it, ran round the lake to the crocodile, and when they reached him made him take what had been brought in the same way."²

Thus the grand religion of Isis, the mysterious goddess, and of the good Osiris had become a clumsy fetishism, of which the ceremonial and liturgy were those orgies which the East loves to mingle with popular devotion.

¹ Bas-relief brought from Egypt by Comte de Forbin. (Museum of the Louvre.)

² Strabo, xvii. p. 811.



The Island of Philae (Upper Egypt).

The vast learning of the ancient priests, however, transpired through the covering which had buried the old society, and Strabo speaks of the Greeks causing Egyptian books to be translated in order to plagiarize these hidden treasures. Alexandria was the grand seat of translations and commentaries.¹ This union of two civilizations so different took place also at other points; at Memphis, the largest city in the kingdom after the capital, and like it inhabited by people of all nations, and which showed to the worshippers of the bull Apis the strange spectacle of bull-fights; at Ptolemais, a thoroughly Greek city, hardly second to Memphis, and whose proximity had completed the ruin of the great Thebes [in Homer's day], "the town of 100 gates, by each of which went out 200 men with their horses and their chariots of war."

To the Greeks and Jews, Egypt was an immense market, whither they flocked; to the nomads of the deserts of Africa and Arabia an oasis of verdure and water, where every day some amongst them halted. At Coptos, says Strabo, there were as many Arabs as Egyptians. There was to be seen, therefore, a renewal of that intercourse which had taken place in the beginning of Egyptian society, but there followed from it no such results. Then the land had been stronger than the men, and that early culture in a country which none other in the world resembles had assumed an unique character. But now the hand of Rome was too heavy, the inspiration of the Greek spirit too powerful, for old Egypt to resist their double action, under which fell the barriers that protect the independence of nations and originality of institutions, habits, and beliefs. Egypt, more than any other country, would lose thereby, but it was for the advantage of the world.

Cyrenaica and Roman Africa.—Alexandria lies at the western extremity of Egypt; there the delta ends and the desert begins. From the island of Pharos to the promontory of Carthage, on a coastline 750 leagues in extent, vessels met with hardly a single

¹ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος . . . ὅς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βίβλους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώττας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν, μυριάδας βιβλίων δέκα ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. (Synecellus, p. 271.) Let us add the great translation of the Hebrew books or Septuagint. Ptolemy quotes seven observations of the astronomers of Babylon.

port. Africa is as formidable to travellers on its shores as in its waterless solitudes. Not that the Sahara everywhere extends to the sea; around that ocean of sand occupying the centre of northern Africa lies an immense plateau, that of Atlas, which, by its vegetation, some of its animals, and its climate, partakes more of the character of southern Italy and Spain than of Africa. Though the summits which command this plateau are not high enough to bear glaciers, snow and rigorous cold are not rare. This plateau has two terraces, one sloping down to the Sahara, which is the beginning of the desert, the Bled-el-Djerid, the region of dates, in which flocks still find wells and pasture enough to multiply, the other reaching to the Mediterranean, called the Tell, a corn-bearing plain, a region of towns and ports. The Tell itself does not everywhere touch the sea; it is separated from it by a belt of mountains which form a bluff and steep coast, against which the waves break with fury, and which opens out at long intervals into a valley watered by rivers whose shallow and irregular course is unfortunately not favourable for navigation.

Three kinds of inhabitants corresponded to these three zones; the nomadic tribes of Bled-el-Djerid, difficult to attack, but kept in a state of dependence on the Tell for their supplies of grain; the Berbers or Kabyles of the plateau, a race apart, athletic in form, industrious, active, very brave, willingly remaining at peace as long as their independence was not threatened; and lastly, the husbandmen of the Tell and the sedentary inhabitants of the inland towns and of the coast. The latter, facing Europe, were always in communication with it by commerce or piracy, by conquest or invasion. These three regions, like the three populations, were quite distinct in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. In the regency of Tripoli the Sahara extends to the sea. Except a few tracts of verdure there was nothing from Lesser Syrtis to Egypt but the empire of Typhon, the ocean of sand. On that long shore, where sea and land are equally inhospitable, the one on account of its shallows, the other by reason of its shifting sands, the road is indicated only by heaps of stones made at long intervals; each pilgrim who passes adds his to the pile; they are the beacons of the desert.

A marvellous spectacle nevertheless, awaits the traveller as he

leaves the frightful solitudes of Paractonium or of the Greater Syrtis, one of the most desolate regions of the earth. The ground, which from afar seemed to join the level of the Mediterranean, rises to a mean height of 1,600 feet, and the plateau of Barea, formerly Cyrenaica, juts out into the sea as a lofty and broad promontory, covered with venerable forests and intersected by



Remains of an Ancient Bridge at Ptolemais, in Cyrenaica.¹

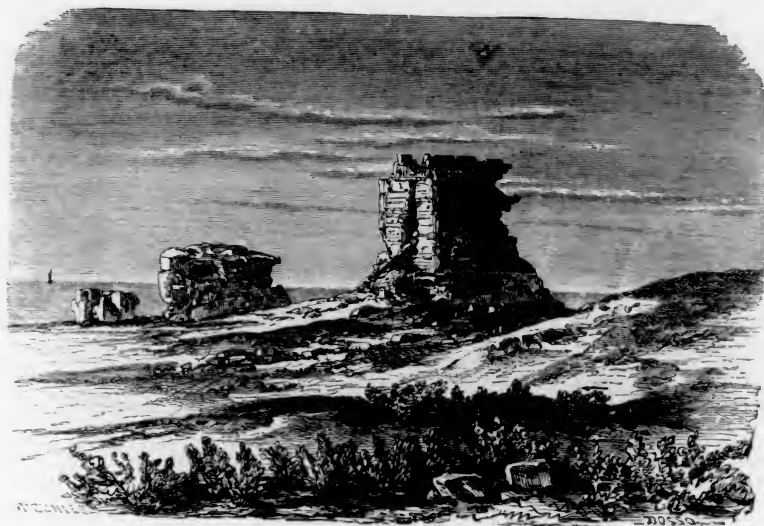
fertile valleys in which water flows everywhere.² Innumerable and imposing ruins, which bear the double impress of Egypt and of Greece, the remains of castles proudly situated on the heights³ and

¹ Captain Beechy, *Exped. to Explore the Northern Coast of Africa, from Tripoli Eastward*, p. 339 (1828).

² See the curious account of Della Cella. (*Viaggio da Tripoli da Barbaria alle frontiere occidentali dell'Egitto*, 1819.) Doctor Russell has collected some valuable information in his *History of the Barbary States*, Edinburgh, 1835.

³ Not a single peak, says Ritter (vol. iii. p. 238, of the French translation), but was covered with the ruins of an old castle or fort; not a fort but was surrounded by ditches dug in the rock and by remarkable constructions executed in the interior of the mountain. Cyrene is 1,770 feet above the sea, which it overlooks, and whence it can be seen situated on hills which descend on successive terraces to the harbour. Its territory shows a vigorous vegetation, thanks to the periodic rains which fall there, and which justify the saying of the Libyans (Herod., iv. 158) about a perforated sky; *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέρηται*. Cyrenaica, having great differences of climate, owing to the elevation of the mountains, possessed also a great diversity of productions; harvest was carried on there for eight months of the year. Oil, wine, and corn were the principal products, in addition to silphium, the leaves of which were excellent for

roads still furrowed with the deep ruts left by ancient chariots, bear witness to the prosperity of that fruitful land, the garden of the Hesperides. Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Cyrene, are still there,¹ covering immense tracts, but silent and deserted, for only the wandering Bedouin now comes to drink at the sacred fountain where Callimachus wrote his hymns to Apollo and to Pallas.²



Remains of a Mausoleum at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica.³

Like those petrified towns which the Arabs profess to have seen in the desert, life has entirely departed from them, and the traveller finds them lying dead on the ground enveloped in their ancient walls as in a winding-sheet of stone. It is a spectacle at once full of grandeur and of sadness, which only the East can show, for it is the first-born of the world, and has seen as many empires pass away as our young Europe can reckon centuries of

flocks and the stem for man; the root yielded assafoetida, which was much esteemed by the ancients, as it still is by the Orientals.

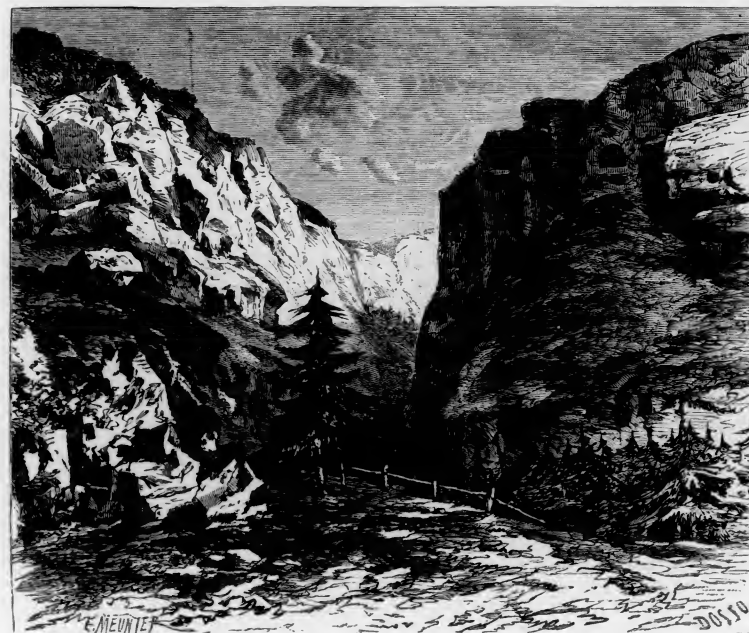
¹ Arsinoë covered a plain three quarters of a league in extent, which is still surrounded by a colossal rampart. The ruins of Ptolemais are more than a league in circuit. (Della Cella, *Viaggio*.) [It must be distinguished from Egyptian Ptolemais near Memphis.—*Ed.*]

² The Bedouins, driven out of the desert by the summer, came every year with their flocks to seek for water and pasturage in the mountains of Cyrene. (Captain Beechy, *Exped. to North Africa*, p. 351.)

³ Captain Beechy, *Exped. to Explore*, etc.

existence. These old ruins indeed, conceal others, and rest on a soil on which a civilized people had trodden before the arrival of the Greeks. The monuments here bear inscriptions in unknown characters, doubtless the last traces of an indigenous population which had sprung up in this great African oasis.

Cyrenaica, the land of mountains, springs, and forests, but without a large river, yet resembled Egypt in its fertility and



View in the Neighbourhood of Apollonia.¹

isolation. Like the valley of the Nile, it was surrounded by frightful deserts, and could only be approached from the Mediterranean by two or three points.² Here corn was not the chief article of commerce, but silphium, exported through the whole empire, essence of roses, oil (the best in the world), and above all, wines; accordingly Bacchus was held in great honour here.

¹ Captain Beechy, *Exped.*, etc., p. 466.

² These points are now—Tajouni, Bengazi—perhaps the ancient Berenice, and Marza-Sousa, the ancient Apollonia. This would be, says Ritter (ii. 239), an admirable colony for a European power.

At every step we find remains of his temples. To these we must add the products of the industry of the five large towns, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene, which in riches and luxury rivalled the Greek cities of Ionia. The effeminacy of the Cyrenians had become proverbial;¹ there, truly, philosophy might declare [through Aristippus] its decision: "Happiness lies in pleasure."

The will of its last king had delivered this beautiful country over to the Romans,² but they owned so many others that hitherto they had given little attention to this remote possession; the emperors afterwards did so; some beautiful Roman ruins testify to their care.

The Greater Syrtis, which bordered on Cyrenaica, was the field of battle between the sea and the Sahara. The waves of the one, driven during nine months of the year by the north winds, there struggled with the sands of the other, and the shore presented only an alternation of shifting sand-hills, salt-marshes, and plains covered with a layer of salt three or four inches thick. The gulf was no safer for vessels than the shore for caravans; the current which carried the waters eastward broke against the plateau of Barca and was thrown back in a thousand directions, causing a violent and dangerous agitation amongst the shallows. The Cyrenians and Carthaginians had nevertheless contended for this gloomy region, and towns were built there. The fall of Carthage and the cessation of the extensive trade which it carried on with the interior of Africa through this country led to their decay; the Empire afterwards soon restored to them a lasting prosperity.

Africa is always marvellously fertile or of distressing barrenness. Between Greater and Lesser Syrtis fertile soil is to be seen here and there; the neighbourhood of Leptis the Great and the valley of Cinyps produced, says Herodotus, three hundredfold. Accordingly Leptis itself had become an important city; its ruins cover a space three miles long by two broad. After this place Strabo names only a few towns which kept up the industry of purple dyeing, the last remnant of Phœnician civilization, another

¹ The comic poet Alexis, quoted by Athenæus, ridicules their long banquets: "Invite one guest, eighteen will come—in ten chariots with thirty horses." (Athen., *Deipnosoph.*, xii. 1.)

² Vol. ii. p. 481.

relic of which, the Punic dialect, was to last for a long time. The geographer speaks also of a large port at the foot of Lesser Syrtis. There the town of Cades now stands, numbering not less than 30,000 souls.

Isolated by reason of the sea and the sands, the region of the Syrtes had continued, till the late wars, separated from the Roman world by Numidia, which the senate had not wished to make into a province. An unaccountable caution had in truth arrested the progress of Roman colonization. It was for a descent upon that continent that the first legions which left Italy had embarked; two centuries had passed since then, and although they had returned thither three times more with the two Scipios and with Marius, only a small number of colonists and Italian merchants



Coin of Roman Carthage.¹



Coin of Micipsa.²

had settled there, instead of the crowd which hastened into Spain, Gaul, and Asia. But lately Rome in reality possessed only a corner of land there, the former Carthaginian Africa, and even that she had generously shared with the kings of Numidia.

This kingdom, which after Jugurtha's death, was divided, had been united afresh, and under Juba it extended through fertile districts, from Ampsagas to the sea of the Syrtes. In this way it protected the province against the incursions of the nomadic tribes, but it also surrounded it in a dangerous fashion. Juba showed this during Caesar's campaign in Africa. Nevertheless, the senate had not neglected their usual precautions. On the coast along the Syrtes, several free towns, Thapsus, Leptis Minor, Achulla,

¹ Head of Ceres.

² Horse on the left; in the background, a sceptre. Bronze coin of Micipsa.

Usilla, Teudalis, and perhaps Hadrumetum, were like so many gates opening upon Numidia. By them Cæsar had entered. His great-uncle, Marius, had prepared other auxiliaries for him. The Gætuli, whom Strabo calls the greatest of the Libyan nations, and who pitched their tents on the southern slope of Atlas, depended for their supply of grain on the Numidian kings; but this dependence they submitted to unwillingly, and Marius, when he allowed Numidia to continue, took care to establish an understanding with these nomads. A number of Gætuli had become his clients, or received the title of Roman citizens. Cæsar, by recalling these facts, gained over the whole nation, and the diversion made by this people aided greatly in the defeat of the Pompeians.

The battle of Thapsus led to the whole of Numidia and part of the country of the Gætuli being reduced to a province. Some years later, when Bogud, one of the two Moorish kings, took the side of Antony, Octavius adjudged his kingdom, Mauretania Tingitana, to the other prince, who was already master of Mauretania Cæsariensis; and at the death of the latter in the year 33, he incorporated both into the domain of the Republic. Northern Africa had thus entirely changed in the space of a few years, and the same influence, spreading over it from Alexandria to Tingis, was soon to restore life to its desolate shores. Already Carthage, rebuilt by Cæsar, and colonized by Augustus, was again becoming a flourishing city.

In the interior of Numidia one town surpassed all the others, and indeed could no longer be called a barbarian city. This was Cirta, to which Micipsa had summoned some Greek colonists, and which Cæsar had given to his Italian adventurers.



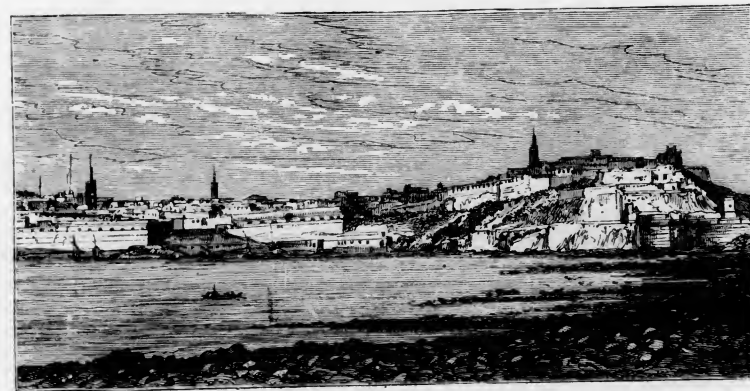
Coin of Tingis.¹

Tangiers, *Tingis*, had just received from Octavius the right of citizenship. But Mauretania, situated behind it, was little known, although they boasted of its beautiful rivers and its fertility, its vines, which produced bunches of grapes a cubit length, its trees, which supplied tables in one piece, veined with

¹ Bearded head of Baal and Punic inscription. Reverse of a bronze coin of Agrippa struck at Tingis.

the most beautiful colours,¹ and its horses, swifter than the wind. A somewhat extensive trade with the interior of Africa could not fail to draw thither the Roman population, in spite of nearness of the desert and its threatening hordes.

What were these tribes? After Greek civilization had reached the Numidians, the earliest scholars of that people found it easy to invent an illustrious origin for themselves. They could not be either Greeks or Romans; they availed themselves of vague tradition, and connected themselves with what was most illustrious in the world, after Rome and Greece, namely, Persia. Sallust, who obtained an explanation of their books, found from them that the Numidians had for their ancestors Persians, companions of



View of Tangiers (Present State).

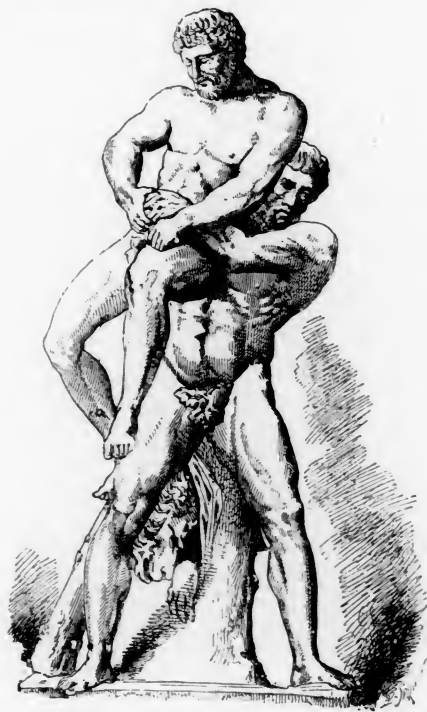
Heracles. When the Christian religion in its turn penetrated to these countries, the Moors became the Canaanites whom Joshua expelled from Palestine.

Herodotus is more simple, and doubtless nearer the truth; he acknowledges only two native races in Africa, the Libyans and the Ethiopians; and two foreign ones, the Greeks and the Phœnicians.² The persistent tradition of great migrations from Asia, and the existence from Egypt to the extremities of Atlas of one language

¹ It was in the Atlas the citrus (*thuya articulata*) was found, which furnished the tables sold in Rome at a fabulous price. Cicero paid for one £8,000; the Cethegi had another worth £11,600. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiii. 29.)

² Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 17-18; Procop., *Bel. Vand.*, ii. 10.

which is not without analogy to the Semitic dialects, have already shown us that a great people had spread over the African continent in this direction. Local separation over a great area led to diversities of customs.



Hercules strangling Antæus.¹

to abandon the government of the country to native princes, that they might establish towns which should render the occupation more easy, encourage commerce, literature and arts, which should create interests favourable to foreign rule, and, in a word, prepare those rude tribes to accept the direct action of Rome.

¹ Marble group from the gallery of Florence. This group, published by De Rossi (*Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne*, 1704), is considered by Maffei to be probably [a copy of] that of Polycleitus, mentioned by Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 8.) We gave, in vol. ii. p. 750, a representation of the same subject from a painted vase.

The two foreign races, the Greeks and Phœnicians, were now subject to Rome. The black race had escaped her, and would continue to do so, but she found herself face to face with the Libyans, who, in Zeugitania and Byzacium, had been accustomed to the Roman yoke, and, in Numidia had begun to feel it through their kings, who for a century had been converts to Roman civilization. If the Republic did not among the nations come into collision with that religious opposition which leads to desperate resistance, she encountered such an opposition to her customs, that Augustus deemed it prudent

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE ALLIED OR TRIBUTARY COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLES BORDERING UPON THE FRONTIERS.

I.—NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

THE provinces were not the only possessions of the Republic. Under different titles Rome held sway over vast regions which were named the allied countries, because with the semblance of independence a doubtful liberty had been left them, *regiones dubie libertatis*.

Tacitus, in speaking of kings who had retained their thrones by consenting to an alliance with Rome, calls them, in studied phrase, *vetus servitutis instrumentum*. But Strabo says more simply: "Of these countries which form the Roman Empire, some are governed by kings; the rest, under the name of provinces, are directly administered by the Romans. There are also some free towns; and lastly, a few countries are governed by dynasties, phylarchs, and priests, who acknowledge the sovereignty of the Republic, though they live conformably to their own laws."

The senate was not inclined to multiply armies and functionaries. Having to restrain and defend 60,000,000 of men, with a few thousand soldiers, and some hundreds of agents, they had governed as much as possible by natives. And they were right, for the Roman people were amongst the subject nations but an imperceptible minority.

This manner of acting was not odious cunning, as Tacitus gives us to understand, but prudence. For Rome, as undisputed mistress of the world, was no longer reduced to the Machiavellian combinations she had employed in the days of her weakness. The kings whom she maintained ruled only over submissive and

scanty populations; at a word from her they would fall without exciting a murmur, for everyone knew they were but Roman pro-consuls.¹ As she had left the republics of Greece their own laws, so she permitted the peoples accustomed to the authority of king or priest to retain the leader they preferred, especially the nomadic tribes, who had no towns by which Rome could hold them in check; but kings, peoples, cities, all knew that they had a master on the banks of the Tiber. In the year 29, Antiochus, king of Commagene, assassinated a deputy whom his brother was sending to Rome; he was summoned before the senate, condemned, and executed by order of Augustus.²

The whole Empire of Rome, therefore, was thus divided. Those directly governed were the countries, such as Gaul and Spain, where the conquerors had found among thousands of barbarous States no local government strong enough to be responsible for the submission of the country. There they were obliged to transact their own business, organize an administration, open roads, and establish towns. In European and Asiatic Greece, they continued to speak of Hellenic liberty, a fiction which had been so convenient, and, to spare themselves the tedium of constant intervention, they still maintained autonomy in a great number of cities.

In more distant places, towards Armenia and the Euphrates, they had to keep order on the frontiers; who were more fitted to take this upon themselves, so far from Italy, than the native governments? By the rude lessons of Sylla and Lucullus, of Pompey and Cæsar, these princes had learned Rome's strength and their own weakness. They therefore accepted their part with resignation; their hereditary right being maintained for them,³

¹ Some of these kings called themselves *procurators* of the Roman people. (Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 14.) King Cottius in his inscription termed himself *præfectus civitatum*.

² Dion, lili. 43.

³ With consent of the senate, afterwards of the emperor. (Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, xvi. 9, 4.) They often paid tribute and furnished auxiliaries in case of war. (Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 31; App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 75; Cic., *ad Att.*, ii. 16.) The history of Herod, related in detail by Josephus, shows us the condition of these kings. They did not possess the right of making war, of disposing of their succession, and Jewish kings coined copper money only. (Cavedoni, *Numismat. biblica*, Modena, 1850, p. 52.) The kings of Thrace and the Bosphorus coined silver. None of these kings had the right to coin gold. These independent kingdoms were thus considered as forming an integral part of the empire, just like the free towns, and when the emperor ordered an enumeration their inhabitants were also counted. (St. Luke, ii. 1.)

they looked upon their kingdom as a patrimony where it was their interest to maintain order and security.

Kings and dynasties of Thrace and Asia Minor.—It was in Thrace that the nearest allied kings were to be found. In the Civil wars of Rome, they prudently divided themselves between the two factions, in order that the partisan of the conqueror might save the friend of the conquered. Rhœsueporis had helped Brutus; his brother Rhœseus the triumvirs, and they pardoned the former for the sake of the latter. These connections introduced some Roman habits into the country, but the Thracians still remained barbarians, in spite of the Latin verses of Cotys;² and in the Hæmus there dwelt wretched and ferocious tribes of banditti. The colours in which Herodotus and Thucydides painted these tribes 400 years previously were still true, for Tacitus does not vary them. They tattooed their children. They considered husbandry unworthy of a warrior, and knew no sources of gain but war and theft. They immolated human victims to their gods. Such habits do not make nations great or strong. Thrace, sparsely peopled, though still troublesome, was not dangerous; when barbarous peoples degenerate, when they lose their savage energy, they fall more rapidly, more hopelessly than civilized nations. The Thracians of Thucydides were formidable, those of Tacitus are contemptible.

In Asia, more than half the domains of the Republic had retained their native chiefs. Cappadocia, a large plain frozen in winter, scorched in summer, here and there marshy, and in many places impregnated with salt, which arrested vegetation, was nevertheless rich in grain, but without woods or fruit-trees. It lacked towns and consequently manufactures, and it had instead many strong castles, whence the kings, their friends and the nobles kept in check a dull and listless population, as evil in repute at Rome as it had been at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, and who had recently scandalized the Romans greatly by refusing the liberty which the senate had offered them. And yet their kings, who



Rhœsueporis.¹



Ariobarzanes III., King of Cappadocia.

¹ From a coin of the *Cabinet de France*. Bare and beardless head of Rhœsueporis I.; behind it, a monogram; underneath, the date, H K T.

² Ovid, *Epp. Pont.*, ii. 9.

on their coins styled themselves friends of the Romans, did not treat them with very fatherly authority. When their revenues diminished they sold their subjects to cover the deficiency. One



Ariarathes V.

of the last, the brother of that Ariobarzanes III. whom the usurious demands of Pompéy and Caesar had beggared, amused himself with stopping up one of the outlets of the Melas, and changed the whole of an immense plain into a lake. He wished to form an Ægean sea in the middle of the land, with islands arranged in a circle like the Cyclades. But the river burst its bounds and inundated the lands of the Galatæ. The latter complained to the senate, who caused Ariarathes to pay 300 talents for this royal whim.

The most important person in the State, after the king, was the chief priest of Mâ; being appointed for life, and always chosen from the royal family, he possessed all the privileges of sovereignty. At Comana 6,000 slaves of both sexes were engaged in the service of the temple, the revenues of which were considerable. That of Jupiter, in Morimene, had 3,000, with a yearly revenue of fifteen talents for the pontiff, who held the first rank below the chief priest of Comana. This population, which was very superstitious, divided itself, as we see, between its kings, its nobles, and its priests, yielding submissively to all. Antony had driven out Ariarathes in the year 36, and given his place to Archelaus.

Coin of Archelaus (obverse).¹

Near the Cappadocians dwelt the Galatæ, formerly divided into three tribes, each of which formed four tetrarchies. The twelve tetrarchs and the judges managed the ordinary business; but when a murder was in question, a jury of 300 warriors met under the shadow of the oaks and gave their decision. This organization, a relic of the oldest time, had been gradually modified; first, each tribe had had only one chief, then all the people were divided between two princes; still later, Dejotarus received from the

¹ Head of Archelaus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ; a club and K in the centre. Silver coin of Archelaus.

Archelaus (reverse).¹

senate the title of king along with Lesser Armenia. Some time before Actium, Antony, who had little confidence in the old monarch, had given to his general, Amyntas, a part of Galatia with the mountainous regions infested by brigands, which extended south to the sea of Cyprus. Both were nevertheless guilty of defection on the eve of the battle, and by this treason saved their crown, which Augustus left them. Pessinus, famous for its temple of Cybele, no longer contained the image of the goddess, which had long been at Rome, and its chief priests had lost the authority and the large revenues which made them equal to kings. Only its commerce remained, thanks to its central position.



Polemon I. King of Pontus and of the Bosphorus.

During an expedition of the Parthians into Asia Minor, a rhetorician had saved the town of Laodicea. His courage and eloquence were magnificently rewarded. Antony, prodigal of the title of king, awarded it justly this time when he gave it to Polemon, the son of the rhetorician, together with the charge of the whole eastern frontier, from the Pontus Euxinus almost to Cilicia.¹ Polemon proved so able that Augustus never thought of punishing for his friendship with Antony a man whose task it was to keep watch for the Empire over the kings of Armenia. He also retained the prince of Samosata, who, in the angle included between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates, watched the Parthians; but in eastern Cilicia he displaced the sons of Tarecondimotos, who had been slain at Actium in the ranks of the Antonians.

In Syria, Damascus had received a Roman garrison, but the province contained a crowd of Arab or Jewish chiefs, some of them unsubdued plunderers, others wavering between the Romans and the Parthians, and even the best being always of doubtful fidelity. One of them has attained notoriety—King Herod.

¹ The Polemonian Pontus, which reached southwards as far as the sources of the Iris, formed a triangle, the extreme points of which were Zela, Polemonium, and Trapezus. (Strabo, *Geograph.*, xii. p. 577.)

Herod and the Jews.—In order to become master of a State thirty or forty leagues in length, this usurper had displayed more courage, address, and cruelty, more vices and talents than would have sufficed for the conquest of an empire. But Herod had to deal with an unmanageable and headstrong race, who would be conquered only by being crushed, and he had tamed them by punishments. He belonged to a country and an age in which death was given and received with a facility which, happily, we do not understand, and of all those who then possessed this gloomy right of blood, no one abused it as he. His friends, even his relatives, perished; his wife, the beautiful Mariamne, was beheaded; he caused two of his sons to be strangled, and, five days before his death, he ordered the execution of the third. Knowing well the hatred of the people, and yet anxious that his death should be mourned, he assembled the chief persons of the nation in the hippodrome of Jericho, and ordered that they should be massacred as soon as he had given up the ghost, in order that there might be a time of mourning, and of real mourning in the whole country. When he expired, his sister Salome concealed his death for a day and sealed with the royal signet an order of deliverance. The East holds life cheap; it loves power and magnificence; Herod, who knew how to terrify and to dazzle, reigned thirty-four years, and received the title of Great.

He was descended from a race hateful to the Jews; his father, Antipater the Idumæan, had been Cæsar's agent in Judæa, and he himself owed all his fortune to Antony. After the battle of Actium, he surrendered to the conqueror at Rhodes, and nobly confessed his friendship for his former benefactor. Octavius, tired of servilities, was pleased to meet with a real man; he allowed him to remain in his kingdom, which he increased by all the gifts made to Cleopatra at the expense of Palestine, but without lessening the enormous tax which Pompey had imposed, the fourth part of the crops and the capitation-tax.²



Coin of Rhodes.¹

¹ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΕΝ; on the left, a Victory holding a palm and a crown. Reverse of a coin of Rhodes.

² Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10, 6.

These Romans seem nevertheless to have had an involuntary respect for the pure doctrines of the Mosaic worship. Strabo admires them, and notwithstanding his haughty scorn for a people of whom he knew little, Tacitus does them homage.¹ When Pompey took Jerusalem, he respected the treasures of the temple; Agrippa sacrificed there, as Alexander had done before, and the governors whom Rome sent to the Jews, far from finding fault with the intolerant zeal of this race, increased the magnificence of their festivals by associating imperial authority therewith.³ A more certain sign is found in the privileges granted to the Jews, already scattered in great numbers throughout all the provinces; equality with the inhabitants of the towns in which they settled, without any obligation to contribute towards the expenses of the city, permission to observe their laws and feasts everywhere, and even exemption from military service. But are those edicts, which would have ensured to them such marvellous advantages, authentic? It is doubtful; some of their provisions at least are suspicious.



Conqueror in the Games.²

As chief of this people, Herod utilized these traditions of the Roman policy; he obtained the favour of Augustus, who ordered

¹ Strabo, xvi. p. 760. Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 5) speaks nobly of the manner in which they had conceived the divinity: *Mente sola, unumque numen intelligunt . . . summum illud et æternum, neque mutabile neque interiturum.*

² From an engraved stone (cornelian, .39 inch by .4724 inch) of the *Cabinet de France*. (Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, No. 1869.) The *auriga* carries the palm which he has just received as a prize in the games.

³ During the feast of the Passover the soldiers in garrison at Jerusalem were placed at the door of the temple. (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20.) Pontius Pilate had sent for a legion to come to Jerusalem with its standard; at the entreaties of the priests he consented to send the standards back to Cæsarea to avoid wounding the eyes of the Jews by images which their religion condemned. (Joseph., *ibid.*, ii. 14.) Tiberius also ordered him to remove from Jerusalem the golden shields which he had caused to be placed there, the inscriptions of which, containing the names of some pagan divinities, were a subject of scandal to the Jews. (Philo, *de Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1033.) Even under Nero, a lieutenant of the governor of Syria who had come to Jerusalem to collect information about an incipient revolt, "went up into the temple," says Josephus (*ibid.*, ii. 28), "and there worshipped God and the holy shrines without penetrating further than our religion permitted him." Lastly, the officers of the emperor offered sacrifices in his name every year. When the Jews in revolt (under Nero) desired that they should be refused, the priests cried out at the impiety and appealed to the example of all times and the gifts offered by strangers in the temple, which formed its principal ornament, etc. (Joseph., *ibid.*, 31.)

him to free the environs of Damascus from robbers. But one day, when the Jewish king pursued the banditti as far as the territories of the Nabathæan Arabs, the emperor deemed it a serious expedition, with plans of conquest, and sharply rebuked the ambition of his vassal. "Hitherto," he wrote to him, "I treated you as a friend; for the future I shall treat you as a subject." Herod humbled himself.

Nevertheless, to please his master he spared nothing; statues, temples, towns of marble were erected in the emperor's honour under the eyes of the indignant Jews; but Herod, imbued with Greek manners, was no longer an Israelitish prince. He pensioned poets at Rome; he distributed prizes at the Olympic games; he adored the divinity of the founders of the Empire, and at the same time he destroyed one after the other all the institutions dear to his nation; the high priesthood and the sanhedrim were degraded, the national laws scorned, and terror was held over every head faithful to the ancient worship.

But the Jews were not confined to Judæa only. This little nation had multiplied with incredible fruitfulness,¹ and their dispersion had already begun. "It would be difficult," says Strabo, "to find one spot in the habitable earth which has not received them and where they have not become firmly established. At Alexandria they occupy a large part of the town and form a kind of republic, living under its own laws."² At Cyrene, in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in the islands, at Corinth, they were found in great numbers, and even at Rome, where they showed such sorrow at the death of Cæsar. At Babylon, Hyrcanus found a whole tribe of them. At Seleucia more than 50,000 were killed at one time; an equal number were afterwards massacred at Alexandria under Nero. Since the time of

Coin of Cos.²

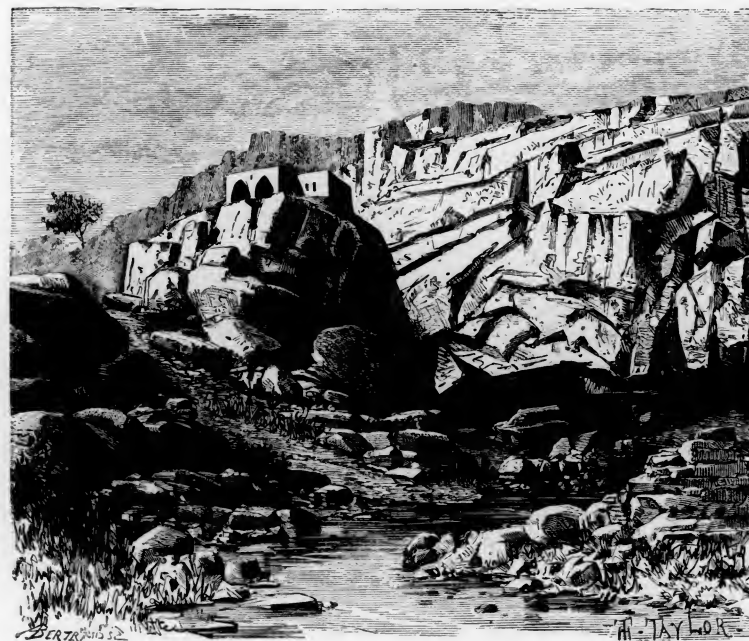
¹ Unlike the Roman matron who prided herself on the title of *univira*, the Jewish woman considered widowhood "as a state of desolation." A large family was held a blessing. This explains how the Jewish race has survived notwithstanding its sad history.

² ΝΙΚΙΑΣ; a bare head of Nicias, facing right. On the reverse, ΚΩΙΩΝ; serpent entwined around a staff. Bronze coin of Cos.

³ Philo (*adv. Flac.*, p. 971c) reckons that there were 1,000,000 Jews in Egypt. He says (*de Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1023d) that there was a great number of them in Babylon and the neighbouring satrapies. He enumerates (p. 1031-2) the places to which they had spread.

Mithridates those of Asia Minor were rich enough to deposit at Cos 800 talents. Every year the temple of Jerusalem received their offerings, a double drachm contributed by each emigrant,¹ for, with the indomitable tenacity of their race, their prayers were always directed towards the temple of Solomon. Josephus asserts that at a festival 2,700,000 of them were reckoned in the holy city.²

Strange to say, two little nations, born in a barren land,



Grotto and Source of the Jordan.

but both of inexhaustible fruitfulness, covered and contested the East. The history of St. Paul's apostolic travels shows, in every city, synagogues side by side with the Greek philosophy, and, as if the two civilizations were advancing to meet one another, the Jews in Greece penetrated even to the foot of the Parthenon, whence they menaced the daughter of Zeus, and Greek civilization

¹ Cic., *pro. Flac.*, 28.

² *Bell. Jud.*, vi., 9.

advanced triumphantly as far as Judæa, where they consecrated to Pan and to the Nymphs the grotto whence the Jordan issued.¹ It was in Greek that the apostles were to announce the new law of the Jews; into Greek also that the old was translated by the Septuagint, and in Greek their successors were to defend it. But with the language of Plato many Platonic ideas penetrated into this long-isolated Mosaic world; looking at it from the surface only, it would seem that polytheism and Judaism were already about to come to an agreement, since the eminent men of Greece



Pan and a Nymph.²

and Rome had ceased to believe in more than one god, and Josephus and Philo, like their descendants, were deist philosophers rather than doctors of the law. But the crowd did not accept without fierce struggles those compromises which were made above their heads by great intellects, and rivers of blood were shed before the compromise was established.

In their most distant colonies the Jews lived apart by many difficult and often equivocal crafts, and in spite of their apparent

¹ The Jordan flows from the heights which rise above Hashbeya in the Anti-Libanus and afterwards receives the waters of *Banias* (Panaes), which are wrongly regarded as its source, at the northern extremity of Galilee. (Lartet, *Géolog. de la Palestine*, p. 21.)

² Museum of Vienna. Marble group of small size. Goat-footed Pan, resting on a leathern bottle, offers to the nymph a bunch of grapes. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 735.)

humility, were full of pride for the purity of their race and their creed, full of scorn for those literary, artistic, frivolous, and gay populations whom they used to their profit by bending before them.

Even in Judæa the repulsion which the mass of the Jews felt towards foreign ideas was increased by a prince who had made himself the representative of an union considered sacrilegious, and who held this stubborn people under an unyielding despotism. Accordingly Judæa was in a strange moral condition. She was agitated by a singular fermentation, which the terrific shock caused by the fall of the great Republic increased yet more. Men took refuge from the present in the illusions of the future; the Mazdean prophecies concerning the *Liberator*, which had penetrated from Persia into Palestine, strengthened, by defining it, the ancient belief in the Messiah, and the apocalyptic books announced the near approach of the glorious and holy reign of a son of David.¹ At Jerusalem 6,000 Pharisees had refused the oath of fidelity to Herod and predicted the advent of a king who should perform miracles.²

The whole of the East awaited this master, and in Judæa many believed they were called to realize the prophecy themselves.³ It was at Jerusalem, therefore, in sight of the Hellenized king, seated on the throne of David, that the great battle of the creeds was imminent.

II.—NORTHERN FRONTIER.

In order to complete this study of the Roman world, there remain to be noticed some nations who lined the frontier of the Empire, some of them even included in its limits.

¹ The Messiah was not only expected by the Jews who had spread throughout the whole of western Asia, but by the worshippers of Ormuzd, whose triumph was announced by the *Vendidad* and the greater number of the religious writings of the *Mazdeans*. It is from the blending of the ideas contained in the songs of the Hebrew prophets with the Persian doctrines that Apocalypses sprang, the first of which is the Book of Daniel, the last, or at least, the most famous, that of St. John. (Cf. Michel Nicholas, *Doctrines religieuses des Juifs durant les deux siècles antérieures à l'ère chrétienne*, p. 266 sqq.)

² *Karà xēpa γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντα ἴσται*, etc. (Joseph, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii.)

³ See in Josephus (*ibid.*) the troubles which broke out in Judea on the death of Herod; a shepherd declared himself king; a former servant of Herod also took this title; Varus required no less than three legions with the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring kings to quell the disturbances. He caused 2,000 Jews to be crucified.

The Britons.—Britain was allied to Gaul by its population, which was of the same origin, by its Druids, who were affiliated with those of the continent, and by some commercial relations, but not yet by political dependence. Notwithstanding his double expedition Caesar had been satisfied with a small tribute, which the islanders soon forgot to pay. Octavius, after a few threats, renounced this as a bad debt, having recognized that the conquest of Britain was less necessary to the safety of Gaul than the proconsul had imagined.¹

But Caesar was right as regards the east of Gaul. Beyond the Rhine there was a danger ever to be feared, for the tribes who thronged the whole length of the river were the head of the column of barbarians marching for centuries towards the countries of the West.² The Gauls had never been able to defend the passage of the river;³ the Belgæ and the Cimbri had crossed it, and the Suevi had held a province in Gaul for some time. The 120,000 warriors of Ariovistus were the vanguard of that great nation whose tribes reached from the sources of the Danube to the Baltic Sea. We have seen the measures taken by Caesar and those of Agrippa to prevent a renewal of these attempts, but the ability of the chiefs, the courage of the legions, and all the defensive precautions served only to delay the danger. On coming into collision with Germany, Rome found there a war which began on the edge of the Rhine with Ariovistus and was to end on the banks of the Tiber with Alaric.

The Germans.—The legions had not yet disturbed the Germans so far as to make them form vast confederations as they did afterwards. In their limitless plains and under their venerable forests, a single one of which was sixty days' journey in length, there seethed a chaos of prolific tribes, *gens numerosa*, which were invincible, for a foreign conqueror would not have known where to attack them. They had no towns in which the national life

¹ Strabo, in this place echoing the policy of Augustus and Tiberius, says: "It is reckoned that the amount of taxes the islanders pay on our merchandise exceeds what an annual tribute would yield, deducting the pay of troops necessary to guard the island and collect the taxes there."

² *Quum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent.* (Caesar, *de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 16.)

³ *Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire.* (Caesar, *ibid.*, i. 33.)

could centre, nothing but poor villages scattered over the cantons, *pagi*. There were no temples; they were not capable of building them—no statues of the gods; they did not know how to make them. They worshipped nature, which they still love so much, the earth, springs, mountains, the forests full of mystery and religious terrors. They had no sacerdotal class, no primogeniture, and accordingly, no warlike aristocracy to hold them under a yoke, though they had acknowledged the right of their priests to punish certain faults; but they had soothsayers, male and female; sacrifices of horses, sometimes of men, and the seeking of the future in the entrails of victims.¹ Their chiefs were chosen from among the bravest.² Though the kings chosen out of the consecrated families owed this dignity to their birth as simple representatives of the tribe, they had no prerogative other than to maintain national unity; the council of chiefs, and afterwards the people, discussed the most important affairs, *de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*, and they gave decisions by vote of arms, striking their swords against their bucklers. They did not even entrust public authority with the repression of private crimes; the offended party himself avenged his injury, or he and his friends compelled the aggressor to pay a compensation in cattle.

Thus among the Germans neither religion nor social organization restrained the impetuosity of their fiery nature. And this freedom, this intensity of their spirits they spent in battles or in games almost as terrible, leaping amidst swords and threatening spears, or descending the steep slopes of mountains and over precipices on their shields. After victory came endless revelries; all the booty was spent in them. On awaking they began afresh their distant expeditions. For a free man, a son of that god Tuisto whom they

¹ The head of a family consulted fate just like the priest of the city and the king or chief took with the latter the auspices for public affairs. If religion had particular servants for certain ceremonies, it was still no monopoly. (Cf. Tac., *Germ.*, 10 and 11.) Caesar says that they had neither a sacerdotal body nor sacrifices, and Tacitus that they had neither temples nor images. In the time of the latter writer they had not yet received the worship of Wodin nor the mythology and the heroic traditions whence arose the *Edda* and the *Nibelungen*.

² *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.* (Tac., *ibid.*, 7.) There was, however, a kind of hereditary nobility gained by great services. (*Ibid.*, 13.) These peoples had no common name. The Romans gave them that of *German*, *Wehrman*, which signifies combatant, warrior; they adopted, at a comparatively modern epoch, that of *Deutsche*. (Waitz, *Verfassungsgesch.*, p. 9.) [The standard work on all questions of German antiquity is now Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*.—Ed.]

celebrated in their national songs,¹ did no work; he would have blushed to earn by the sweat of his brow what he could win by bloodshed. His slaves, taken in war or bought, and his wife had the care of his flock, which was his chief wealth, or tilled the field; as for him, he never, even at a feast, laid aside his arms. Like the Redskins, he considered the chase and fighting the only occupations fit for a warrior.² Their religion reflected the habits and inmost thoughts of its believers; in the Walhalla, the Olympus



German Priestess in a Chariot drawn by Oxen.³

of the Germans, there was nothing but continual battles and prolonged feasts.

The German women were fit companions for their husbands. On the day of the betrothal they received as a gift some oxen,

¹ *Tuistonem* must be a false reading from the *Germania* of Tacitus; it ought to be read *Teutonem*. (Holtzmann, *Erklärung von Tacitus Germania*.)

² The Suevi, says Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.*, iv. 1; vi. 22), are not acquainted with individual ownership of the soil. Every year the chiefs assigned to each his lot. The same social condition still existed in the time of Tacitus (*Germ.*, 26); it afterwards changed, thanks to the neighbourhood of the Gaulo-Romans, whose customs by degrees extended into Germany. Moreover, the house of the German and his enclosure, which doubtless formed the *salic land*, were naturally excluded, as was lately the case in Russia, from the annual distribution, which applied only to what we call the *communal property*.

³ From the column of Marcus-Aurelius, called also the Antonine column.

a war-horse, and a buckler with the sword and the framea;¹ these masculine gifts showed them that they would have to take their part in dangers: *sic vivendum, sic pereundum*. Blood did not terrify them. "They bring their wounds to their mothers and their wives, and the latter do not hesitate to count the hurts and to probe their depth. In the fray they cheer and encourage the combatants. It is said that armies have been seen wavering and half broken which women have rallied to the charge, showing captivity to be worse than death. . . . Accordingly they believe that there is in this sex something divine and prophetic. They do not despise their counsels or forget their predictions."

At Rome it was by assuming the toga, the dress of the city and of peace, that the young man became a citizen; among the Germans he could not sit among the warriors until he had received in the public assembly the buckler and the lance. From that day he engaged himself to some renowned leader. "There is," says Tacitus, "a great emulation amongst comrades for the highest place about the chief, and amongst the chiefs to possess the most numerous and the bravest comrades. In action it would be disgraceful for the chief to be outdone in courage, for his companions not to equal him in bravery. This association for peril and glory formed the adventurous bands which for four centuries were to harass the Roman Empire, dealing it a thousand blows for one that it was able to parry.

Germany was not entirely parcelled out into these isolated groups, redoubtable for pillage, for a bold raid, but incapable of maintaining a serious struggle against organized troops. She had large tribes who occasionally acted as a national body and then became formidable. The Cimbri, the Teutones, the Suevi, and the Tenctheri, whom we have seen in Gaul, the Bructeri, the Chauci, the Cherusci, and the Marcomanni, whom the legions were to fight in Germany, were powerful bodies of men; the former had already made the soldiers of Marius and Cæsar tremble; the others were to annihilate those of Varus.

¹ This was the germ of the dowry of our mediæval customs, the husband portioning the wife. The barbaric laws also called upon the wife to share *conquests*; this was the commencement of community. (De Valroger, *Les Celtes*, p. 170; see above, p. 102, a similar Gallic custom.)

Under the warriors were the *lites*, who without being slaves, were not free; they were the remnants or descendants of conquered tribes. They had wives and children; they could appear in a court of justice, but they were not admitted to the public assembly, and they laboured for the profit of those who had taken them under their patronage, *mundium*.

Tacitus affirms that this rude and brutal society treated the slave with kindness, respected women, opened every house to the



German Family.¹

stranger, and guaranteed to the accused the judgment of his peers; more than one custom of feudal Europe was there contained in germ. Those kings, for example, whom we find without power, but surrounded with religious respect, were afterwards to leave their forests and their obscurity to ascend the throne of Clovis, and some of those chiefs to whom their companions gave themselves for life and death became the ancestors of noble lords who owed their power to the devotion of their faithful friends.² When these

¹ From the Antonine column.

² I do not mean that our nobles of the Middle Ages were descended from the Germans. After the invasions, the principle of Roman, Gallic, and German vassalage, namely, the devotion of man to man, again appeared, owing to the circumstances in which the new society was placed.

violent men, of fierce aspect, their bodies half covered with the skin of the aurochs or the fallow deer, sang their savage songs with their mouths pressed against their bucklers, there was no heart so brave that it did not tremble, and yet their blue and wide eyes, their ruddy faces shaded by yellow hair showed that these wild children would grow calm and suffer themselves to be led by a friendly voice. The softened Sicambrian would droop his head to listen to the birds of the air, the thousand mysterious voices of the great forests; in time, to the hymns of priests straying among the arches of Gothic cathedrals; still later he would be a dreamy poet or inquiring scholar, but always retain somewhat of his native brutality and often his ignorance of good and evil.

Many of the features of this picture are borrowed from the poetic historian, who delighted in embellishing the manners of the barbarians in order to contrast them with the vices of the Romans. The book of Tacitus is the historic gospel of our neighbours, and they have extracted from it a number of admirable things for the honour of their race. With imprudent generosity our scholars have long supported them in their pretensions to see in modern civilization no factor but Germanism, *das Germanenthum*, as if the other nations had lived inert and silent until the new revelation had come down from the Germanic Sinai. By declining to ascribe to the Gauls all the virtues which have been attributed to them, we gain the right of refusing to the Germans the glory which they confer on themselves. The truth is, that for four centuries this race of plunderers was the scourge of the world, and Gregory of Tours answers Tacitus, when he points out the evil and coarse instincts of these men, who had no respect for oaths, no pity for the conquered, and no faith towards women, children, and the weak. "Search with care," says a very learned man, "what civilization owes to the conquerors of the empire of the West; it will be very difficult to find any good for which we can give them the credit."¹

That of the devotion of citizen to city, which had made the great Republics of Greece and Rome, remained obscurely preserved in old municipalities, where it reappeared gloriously at the time of the communal revolution.

¹ Guérard, *Prolégomènes du Polyptyque d'Irminon*, vol. i. p. 300. I find my words confirmed by the recent work of Sichel, *Gesch. der deutschen Staatsverfassung*, who says (p. 59) that this race had no sense of right beyond that which existed in the army of Clovis, and that the vaunted *deutsche Treue* is mere legend [like the virtues ascribed in F. Cooper's novels to the cruel and faithless Red Indians.—Ed.]

Why did not Rome subdue Germany as she did Gaul? At the banks of the Rhine the Græco-Roman world came to an end with its semi-barbarous Gauls; on the other side began an unknown world, where Rome found none to prepare the way for her. In Africa, Carthage; in Spain, the Phœnicians and the Greeks; in Gaul, Marseilles; in Asia, the successors of Alexander had struggled and conquered for her in advance; everywhere she had found a point of support, a work of assimilation begun. Here there was nothing; not a glimpse of antique civilization had crossed the Rhine and the Danube to guide her steps and illuminate her path over this soil deluged with the sluggish waters of rivers or hidden under impenetrable forests. And this world, where seethed an exuberant life, she reached at the moment when she herself lost her martial vigour, when her work was accomplished, and she sought only to fall asleep amid pleasure and peace! This was the great danger of the Empire.

The Dacians.—The danger is usually perceived only on the Rhine, because there the greatest blows were struck, but it existed also on the Danube, and barbarism endeavoured to emerge by both gates at once. Even before Actium the legions had to hasten to the two frontiers of Germany. Agrippa had pacified the Rhine, and Octavius had penetrated into the valley of the Danube through conquered Illyria, and terrified Pannonia. We have seen that he left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta, the strongest place in the latter province. But this expedition was an audacious act, and the garrison established in the Pannonian city was but an outpost boldly sent to a distance from the body of the army. All round Segesta and on the other side of the river dwelt warlike tribes, a mixture of Gauls, Illyrians, Thracians, and Germans, from whom a surprise was always to be expected. Had not the Bastarnæ, who were now taking refuge with the Getæ, on one occasion set out for Italy, and had not the Scordisci afterwards held sway from the banks of the Save to the heart of Thrace, and even to the shores of the Adriatic?

In the midst of their deserts these half-nomadic hordes resembled the waves which in a calm run wilfully along the coast, but which the winds raise into furious billows. At the voice of an able and resolute man these tribes often united for a time and established formidable empires. A Getan, Byrebistas, had recently

got all his people under his command, by the policy of Attila, by extolling religious and military fanaticism.¹ All had submitted to him, from the Euxine to Noricum.² The Boii, driven out of Italy, had found an asylum amongst these peoples; Byrebistas had forced them to flee once more towards the Vindelici, and had turned their country into a desert. The Taurisci met with the same fate, an unexpected retaliation for the incursions of these robber-tribes into upper Italy; Thrace, as far as the frontiers of Macedonia, had been laid waste, and the Romans were already imagining more serious alarms when this great chief perished in an insurrection, and with him his empire.

Broken up into five petty States, the Dacians had lost all ambition. They were, however, able to arm 40,000 fighting men, and it was less against the Pannonians than against them that Octavius had left twenty-five cohorts in Segesta. Events justified these alarms. The greatest military disgrace of the Empire was inflicted on it by this people. The Cherusci indeed, killed Varus and three legions, but the Dacians compelled Domitian to pension their chiefs.

Like so many great rivers, the Danube has but a shallow entrance into the sea; thus no important town had arisen near its mouth. The Bastarnæ, the Getæ, the Sarmatæ, wandered on its banks, armed with poisoned arrows and waiting till winter should throw a bridge of ice across the river to enable them to carry off a few captives and a meagre booty from the other side.³ Herodotus gives the Getæ a good reputation. He terms them the bravest and most honourable of the Thracians. "The Getæ," he adds, "believe themselves immortal, and think that he who dies departs to find their god Zalmoxis, and banquets without end."⁴ Every

¹ See p. 391. There has been much discussion about the Daci, the Getæ, and the Thracians, and there will be for a long time, because we know in the Getic language only 144 proper names, which are not enough to determine the character of this dialect. It seems however, that we may allow that all the tribes established on the two banks of the lower Danube, the Daci north of the river, the Getæ south, the Thracians in the Balkans and towards the Ægean Sea, have had a common origin. Again, Wietersheim connects the Getæ with the Goths, admitting that they must have been long separated.

² Strabo, vii. 3, 5.

³ Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, iii. 9.

⁴ This Zalmoxis was the Thracian Dionysos and the Phrygian Sabazios. Funeral inscriptions have been found in Thrace recalling the joys promised to those initiated into the Dionysian mysteries. (Fr. Lenormant, *Voie éleusinienne*, 410-412.)

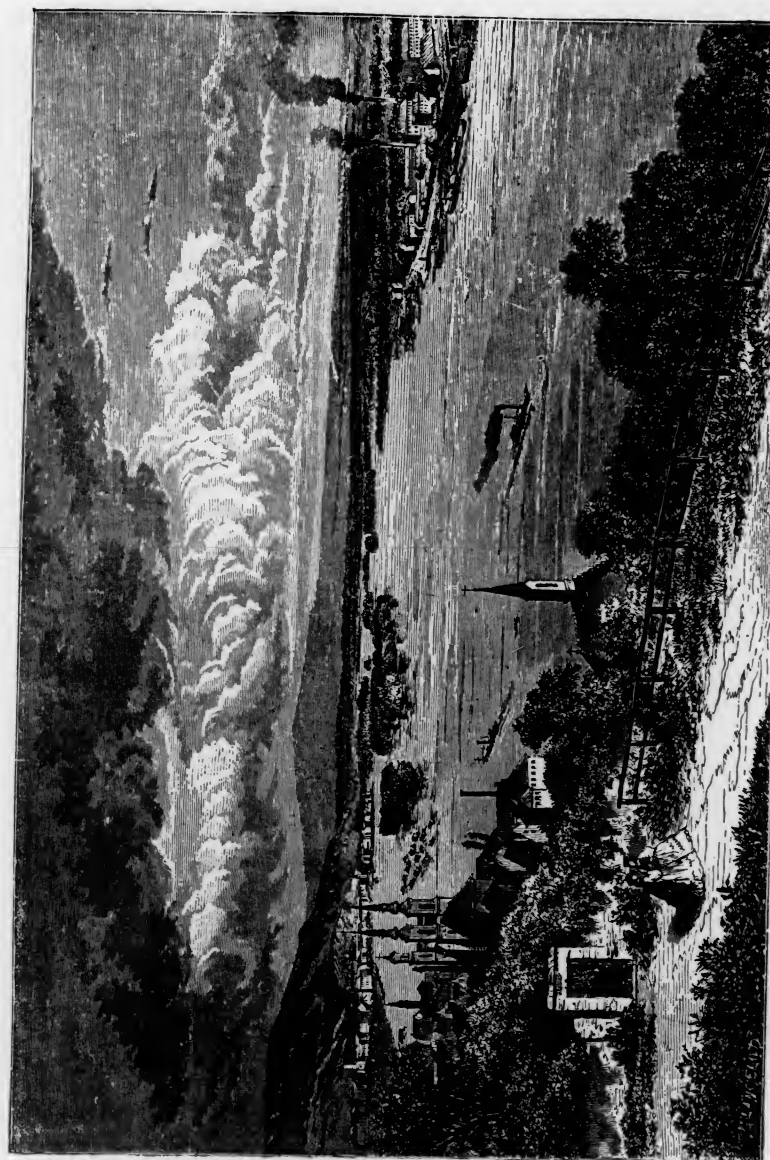
five years they choose by lot one of their nation and send him to carry news of them to Zalmoxis, with orders to lay their needs before him. These same Thracians also discharge arrows at the sky when it thunders, in order to threaten the god who hurls the thunderbolts, being persuaded that there is no god but the one they worship." These customs lead us to doubt the alleged justice of the Getæ.



Dacian Combatants (see p. 637).¹

Scythians and Sarmatians.—Beyond the Getæ, as far as the Palus Mæotis, the whole of the fertile coast of the Euxine was abandoned to barbarians. The Scythians of Herodotus still wandered there, living on the flesh of their horses and the milk of their mares. They dwelt in waggons which continually transported them from the banks of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) to those of the Tanaïs (Don). One of their tribes, the royal Scythians,

¹ Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre, No. 349 of the Clarac Catalogue. This fragment, executed in a beautiful style, may have belonged to a triumphal arch. The dress of the barbarian—two tunics, one with long, the other with short sleeves—is the same as that of the Daci sculptured on Trajan's column. The conical hut of reeds adorned with branches of oak recalls the habitations of the Germans.



The Danube (near Linz).

exercised a kind of supremacy over the rest of the nation and supplied the king. Nevertheless, each horde had its separate



Scythian Vase of Silver.¹

chief, its particular religion and customs. Some of them had

¹ This silver vase was found in 1862 at Nicopolis in southern Russia, in the sepulchre of a Scythian king. It is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg. It is a curious and beautiful specimen of ancient silver work. (Cf. Saglio, *Diet. des antiq.*, p. 303, s.v. *Calatura*.)

settled along the Borysthenes and the Hypanis (Bug), where they cultivated grain; others had come under the influence of the Greek colony of Olbia.

These tribes seemed to be unconquerable. "Of all the peoples whom we know," says Herodotus, "the Scythians are those who have found the surest means of preserving their liberty, namely, not to suffer themselves to be approached, when they do not wish to fight."¹

East of the Tanaïs dwelt the Sarmatæ, who were sometime to inherit the power of the Scythians, and who were in their turn replaced by the Slavs, tribes long in obscurity, but whom the half of Europe and a third of Asia does not now seem to satisfy.

Thucydides said of the Scythian nations that they would have been irresistible had they been united.² Distance deceived the grave historian. These little-known peoples, who had defied Darius in Europe, and Alexander in Asia, appeared indeed very strong; but like their descendants they were so for resistance rather than for conquest. Rome, protected against them by the Carpathians and the Danube, had nothing to fear from them, and the Greek colonies established on the banks of the Euxine lived without any great anxiety in the neighbourhood of these barbarians, paying tribute to some, waging war against others, and endeavouring to allure the nearest to Hellenic civilization. One of these kings had caused a vast house to be built in Olbia, adorned with sculptured sphinxes and griffins.³ At the mouth of the Don there was even a flourishing Greek kingdom, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which, while forming an independent State, was on that side a vanguard, as it were, of the civilized world, and consequently a sentinel of the Empire in the midst of the Scythian nations.

¹ The *Tristia* and *Pontic Epistles* of Ovid, the *Toxaris* of Lucian, the inscription of Olbia (No. 2058 of the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*), Strabo (vii. 3, 4), and Pausanias (viii. 43, 3) describe the Scythians in the same manner as Herodotus.

² Thucyd., ii. 97.

³ Karamsin, *Hist. de Russie*, vol. i. p. 5, of the French translation.

III.—EASTERN AND SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Kingdom of the Bosphorus and Peoples of the Caucasus.—This kingdom had been left by Pompey to the parricidal son of the great Mithridates. Pharnaces had dared to oppose Cæsar, and this audacity had cost him his crown and his life. Asander, whom he had left in his States, had killed him on his return from his unfortunate expedition (47 B.C.), and had assumed his place. At the time with which we are concerned, he possessed this kingdom, which, by its commerce, was the centre of the transactions of the Roman world with the East, and by its fertility, the granary of the oriental provinces.

Since the time when the Parthians had closed to merchants the routes of Central Asia, the products of upper Asia reached Europe by the Caspian Sea and the Bosphorus. Caravans from the Greek cities went to seek them beyond the Volga, whither the gold of the Ural was brought, and at this point of contact between the civilized and the barbarian world immense sales took place of the commodity then most common, but which was nevertheless the best investment, slaves. But the mountaineers of the Caucasus infested the eastern waters of the Euxine with their piracies. Large vessels were not necessary. A few planks joined by ropes, with neither iron nor copper, made a boat, and in one day a whole fleet left the dockyard and the port. If the sea became rough they added a few boards to the planking; the higher the billows mounted, the higher the frail wall rose; they closed it at last in the form of an arch, then boldly abandoned themselves to the waves and landed where the tempest threw them [at least so Tacitus says].¹ Some Greeks, however, still remained on that side; Dioscurias, on the boundary of Colchis, traded, it is said, with 300 tribes.

The isthmus which separated Europe from the Caspian sea was cut by two valleys: that of the Phasis or Colchis,² which reached to the Euxine, and that of the Cyrus or Iberia and

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 47.

² A maternal uncle of Strabo had been, under Mithridates, governor of Colchis. (xi. 499.)

Albania which opened on the Caspian. Both led to the *Caucasian Gates*, a narrow pass, cut by nature between inaccessible mountains and shut in by a gate of iron.¹

The Colchi, who are supposed to have been descendants of a



Cylinder of Chalcedony found in a Tomb of Cimmerian Bosphorus.²

colony left by Sesostris on the banks of the Phasis, had formerly been celebrated for their wealth and industry; their country no longer supplied anything but the materials necessary for naval constructions, but these it furnished in great abundance; for on the very shore of the sea rose mountains from 4,000 to 5,000 feet high, covered with thick forests. This wild soil produced a robust race, industrious and brave. Rome had probably already placed them under the government of Polemon, who had obtained part of Pontus from Antony, and who afterwards received from Augustus the kingdom of the Bosphorus with the charge of preserving order in those distant regions.



Polemon I.
Crowned with
a Diadem.

The [Eastern] Iberians were of two kinds, the more numerous, inhabiting the mountainous region, were very war-like; the others in the plain, tilled their fields and willingly lived in peace. Their customs were those of Armenians or the Medes, even to the

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 12; *Ubi fores obdita ferratis trabibus . . . terrarum orbe portis discluso*. It is now the defile of Dariel, on the road from Mosdok to Tiflis, on the banks of the Terek. The valley between Laars and Dariel is so shut in that in the longest days the sun only reaches it for a few hours.

² It represents a king of Persia dragging four prisoners and seizing the hostile chief.

oriental castes. The king, his family, and the nobles formed the first class; the priests, who were at the same time judges, the second; the soldiers and husbandmen the third, the common people, slaves of the king, who were subject to all kinds of drudgery, the fourth. Property in each family was held in common, but was managed by the eldest of the house, who alone ruled.¹ Many features of this picture suggest the Georgians of to-day.

The Albanians differed little from the Iberians, and Strabo bears witness that, like them, they had only a moderate delight in war. We thus understand how the Alani, who dwelt to the north of the Caucasus, were able easily to force those formidable defiles. Herdsmen devoted to the care of their flocks could not be a serious obstacle for a people who scalped and adorned themselves with the hair of their enemies.

Armenia.—Armenia was the table land whence the Tigris and Euphrates descend, whence the mountains which covered western Asia radiate. The Caucasus, an isolated wall, half Asiatic, half European, stretches northwards, and sends southwards only short branches which lose themselves in the isthmus, where flow the Phasis (Rhion) and the Cyrus (Kour). Ararat, on the contrary, is the geological centre with which may be connected all the chains of Asia Minor, Syria and Media. This great mountain, which rears its volcanic mass crowned with eternal snow 17,000 feet above the Euxine, was called by the Armenians "the mother of the world," by the Turks the mountain of Noah; and from afar they pointed out upon its summit the spot where rested the ark which saved the human race. "Spirits armed with a flaming sword guard the sacred vessel, green as the grass of the slopes."² These traditions show that Ararat early attracted the attention of the nations, but its historic is even greater than its legendary importance. It makes Armenia in western Asia what Switzerland is in Europe: a natural fortress, a commanding position in which lay the keys to the surrounding countries. Hence the strategical importance of Armenia in the wars of the Romans and the Parthians. Did the former obtain possession of this high table-land, the

¹ Herod., ii. 102-106; Strabo, xi. 408, etc.

² Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie*, vol. vi. p. 249.

Parthians were threatened on their flank; did the latter, they could overrun the Roman provinces with their innumerable cavalry.

Unluckily for itself, Armenia was incessantly mixed up in the history of the two empires; it became the battlefield of their intrigues and their arms. To the evils of war were added internal discords, dividing it amidst its two formidable neighbours, both of whom it hated, and receiving at their hands ten kings in less than fifty years. Quite recently Artavasdes, taken captive to Alexandria by Marc Antony, had there been put to death by Cleopatra. "But," says Tacitus, "the tragic end of the father made an irreconcilable enemy of his son Artaxias, who, helped by the Arsacidæ, managed to defend both his person and his States." Augustus reduced this dangerous independence to order.

The Parthians.—These Arsacidæ, who had already twice conquered the legions, divided with the Romans the dominion over the known world, and seemed to be the most formidable danger which the Empire had to fear. They took the old Persian title of *king of kings* [which nearly corresponds to our *emperor*], for from them arose a great number of princes, the kings of Bactriana of Media Atropatene, of Armenia, of Adiabene, of Elymais, of Persis, of Characene, and they were allied to the



Attambilus, King of the Characeni, Vassal of Parthia.¹

chiefs of the numerous hordes of the same origin as their nation, who, under the name of Massagetæ and Alani, had spread between lake Aral and the Tanaïs. From the Indus to the Euphrates all appeared subject to their power, and they had often threatened Asia Minor and Syria. But what the Rhine was for Roman the Euphrates was for Hellenic civilization. The Greek world was bounded by its banks.² It was owing to this that all the countries west of that river had so readily entered into the Roman empire. Beyond was a different country and different men. Neither the Romans nor the Parthians had any interest in changing these barriers; they would not have succeeded had they wished, for other laws

¹ From a coin of the year 14 B.C. (*Cabinet de France*.)

² As far as social organization went, but not with regard to literature and language, for Greek was spoken in all the courts of the East [as far as Bactria], and we find the Parthian kings assume on their coins the title of ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ.

than conquest determine the lasting bonds of the great bodies we term empires. The Germans might overrun Gaul, from the need of giving themselves space, sun, and a more comfortable life. But those Parthians, who lived on horseback or in tents, what had they to do in Libanus or Taurus? Would they come to shut themselves up in the 500 towns of Asia, they, who did not even enter [the Eastern] Seleucia, which had remained a Greek colony at the gates of Ctesiphon.¹

This Empire, moreover, had only the semblance of greatness and strength. Feudalism, which men would fain attribute only to the Europe of the Middle Ages, has at all times prevailed in Asia. Under the kings there appears a powerful aristocracy whose chiefs were the surenas or generals, and who bestowed or took away the crown, imposing on themselves the rule of choosing the king from the eldest branch of the Arsacidæ.² To counterbalance this influence, the kings were accustomed to associate with themselves during their lifetime one of their sons; but as they rarely chose the eldest, and as the brothers of the chosen son always found some great people to support their claim, this selection became a source of crimes and wars; the throne of the king of kings tottered amidst bloodshed. Now that the external policy of the Romans became more systematic and vigilant, the emperors did not fail to have some one of the Arsacidæ at hand to hold the court of Ctesiphon in perpetual dread of a revolution.

One event will suffice to describe this barbarous monarchy. Two Jews, Asineus and Asileus, weavers, in the town of Nierda, being beaten by their master, took refuge in an island of the Euphrates and called round them all the banditti of the neighbourhood. Their band rapidly increased, and they were very soon strong enough to levy tribute on the country, slaughtering the flocks of those who refused, but promising to protect the rest.

¹ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 42, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 30. Seleucia sustained against the Parthians a siege which lasted four years. (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 9; Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 1 *sqq.*) The monument of Ancyra calls the satraps, *principes et reges*. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 20) says; *Regna Parthorum duodeviginti sunt omnia, ita enim dividunt provincias*.

² Strabo (xi. 515) speaks of two councils who made the choice, one composed of members of the royal family, the other of sages and magi. Unfortunately, Strabo refers for details to his *Historical Memoirs*, which are lost, and a whole book of which he had devoted to the customs of the Parthians.

The report of this reached king Artabanus, and the governor of Babylon received orders to put down this smouldering revolt. The satrap was beaten, to the great delight of the prince, who was charmed with the courage of the two brothers, and desired to see them at his table. "His object," says the author of this narrative, "was to gain the Jews, that the fear they inspired might keep the nobles to their duty, for the latter used to threaten to revolt as soon as they saw the king occupied elsewhere." One of the Parthian generals, indignant at the honours paid to these miscreants, desired to kill them even at the monarch's table: "Do not act thus," said king Artabanus to him, "they have received



Coin of a King or Governor of Babylonia.¹

my pledge; but if you insist on avenging the Parthians for the disgrace they have undergone, when they have departed, attack them openly, without mixing me in the affair." The next day he dismissed the two brothers. "It is not well," said he, "for you to remain here longer, you would draw upon you the hatred of the chiefs of my forces, and they would attempt your life, without asking my leave. I commend to you the province of Babylon; protect it from the ravages which might be committed there. This is an acknowledgment you owe me for not listening to those who desired your death."

The two Jews returned to their island and long dwelt there, respected by the governors and revered by the Babylonians, whom they protected, and all-powerful in Mesopotamia. More than once these upstarts adopted royal whims, following the example of the great lords of the neighbourhood. Thus Anileus one day saw the wife of a satrap, fell in love with her, and, to enable him to marry her, declared war against her husband, who was killed in the combat. On another occasion he pillaged the lands of a powerful man named Mithridates, who, with a numerous body of cavalry, attempted to avenge himself; being conquered and made prisoner, he was placed quite naked on an ass and led about for a long time amidst hootings, after which the Jews had the audacity to send him away free. This Mithridates was

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ; a Victory standing. Bronze coin.

nevertheless the greatest lord among the Parthians, and even the son-in-law of the king! And it was in the heart of the monarchy, in the provinces where the court resided, that these unpunished revolts, these insults to the royal majesty, these private wars, recalling our own feudal times, took place! It may easily be seen that the Roman empire, so thoroughly disciplined, could not be injured by such enemies.

Nomadic Tribes of Asia and Africa.—"The Euphrates," says Strabo, "separates the Parthians from the Romans, but the river is lined with Arabs who obey neither, and who levy contributions upon merchants and travellers." The whole line of the southern frontiers was equally covered with deserts or with troublesome, though not dangerous, tribes. South of Palestine, the Nabathæan Arabs formed, in the peninsula of mount Sinai, a kingdom, the chief of which being an enemy of the king of the Jews, sought protection against him at Rome. Its capital, Petra, two days' march from any inhabited country, was the centre of the commerce of Yemen with southern Asia and Europe; accordingly, the Roman merchants began to hasten thither, and like Palmyra, that other queen of the desert, Petra still offers to the eyes of the traveller who succeeds in penetrating to it, the ruins of temples, triumphal arches, and an amphitheatre. Rome has left her mark even on that sea of shiftless sand which effaces everything.



Ptolemy Euergetes.¹

In the upper valley of the Nile wandered the Blemmyes and the Nubians; three cohorts stationed at Syene sufficed to close against them the entrance to Egypt. On the high plateau of Abyssinia there reigned princes who afterwards called themselves descendants of Solomon [and the queen of Sheba]. Ptolemy Euergetes, to whose victories the obelisk of Axum, still standing, bears witness, had taken from them several provinces which his feeble successors did not retain. The Axumites whom he had shown the way to India, had seized upon that rich commerce which was favoured by their position near Bab-el-Mandeb, a dreaded passage named by the Arabs *the Gate of Tears*. The

¹ Bust with radiated crown of the king, with the ægis, a trident on the shoulder. From a gold coin.

Abyssinian kingdom soon afterwards increased, as in the remote time when it had threatened the empire of the Pharaohs; but its ambition was directed towards Arabia, which it governed.



Libyan Chief.¹

situated on the banks of rivers, where they keep their provisions. The stranger is to them an enemy. They kill all whom they meet." (Diodorus.)

¹ Head in bronze, discovered at Cyrene in the ruins of the temple of Apollo, now in the British Museum. M. Trivier thinks it to be the fragment of a portrait-statue erected in the sanctuary where the head was discovered. (Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1878, p. 60, and pl. viii.)

² ΑΓΙΑΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; bust of the king surrounded by two ears of corn. Gold coin.



King of Axum.²

The Romans possessed in Africa little more than the coast line. Moreover, save in Cyrenaica, the nomads, from Egypt to lake Triton were still the true masters of the country, some permanently settled in a few oases or wandering about with their flocks, others living by robberies. "These Libyans sleep in the open air, and have only the instincts of lower animals. Their chiefs possess no towns, but have some towers

CHAPTER LXIV.

ITALY AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

I.—ITALY.

THE voyage we have just made through the Roman provinces and the countries adjacent to them brings us back directly opposite Spain, whence we set out to make the circuit of the Mediterranean. But in the middle of the sea, unique in the whole world for the beauty of its shores, towards which the eyes of twenty nations converged, we have left the peninsula which rose up like a lofty citadel, whence Rome watched over and ruled her Empire. An impregnable position, had she continued well supplied with strength and courage!"¹

Unhappily, Italy had grievously atoned for her victories, and it was only to ancient times that the poet's magnificent salutation could apply:

*Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum!*

What, indeed, now remained of the old Italian race? and was Italy herself still that fruitful soil whither the gods were believed to have come in order to give the first lessons in agricultural wisdom? Here and there, certainly, there were traces of former fertility; in some places marvels were shown: a vine which bore 2,000 bunches of grapes, another at Rome itself, which yielded twelve amphoræ of wine. Varro used to boast also of the corn of Campania and Apulia, the wine of Falernum, the oil

¹ Strabo says (vi. 236); "Italy, being in the midst of all the countries occupied by the greatest nations, seems made to give laws to them, and owing to their nearness can easily compel them to obedience." See the eulogium passed upon it by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 6); *Numine deum electa quæ . . . sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret.*

of Venafrum, and "that multitude of trees which," he says, "make our country one vast orchard. But in general the richness of the soil had disappeared with the old traditions of cultivation,¹ and the corn yielded on an average only fourfold."² "We have abandoned the care of our ground to the lowest of our slaves," said Columella, "and they treat it like barbarians. We have schools of rhetorics, geometers, and musicians. I have even seen where they teach the lowest professions, such as the art of cooking food or dressing the hair; but nowhere have I found for agriculture either professor or pupil. Meanwhile, even in Latium, in order to avoid famine, we must draw our corn from countries beyond the seas, and wine from the Cyclades, Bœtica, and Gaul."

The harvests of Sicily, Africa and Egypt, given away or sold very cheaply in the maritime cities, that is, at all places of large consumption, offer a formidable competition to the meagre crops of Italy; the foreign corn succeeded in killing the native.³ Then they raised cattle, which sold better, substituting pasture for ploughed land, cultivation of which Jupiter bore all the expense, for that requiring much labour, and on these *latifundia*, there was neither employment for the agricultural workman nor room for the petty proprietor.⁴

Thus the Italian soil was impoverished, and Italy depopulated.

To the economic causes of this depopulation we must add the political and military causes; all the bloodshed since the time of [Hannibal], the Gracchi, the war of the Marsi, and the more terrible anger of Sylla; then, so many Italian legions decimated by fatigues and war, so many colonists sent out of the peninsula,

¹ Since the time of the war of the pirates Italy could not supply itself with food. Cicero (*pro leg. Manil.*, 12, 15); *Eos portus quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis.*

² *Majore quidem parte Italiae . . . cum quarto responderint.* (Columella, *de Re rust.*, iii, 3.) Varro nevertheless speaks of fifteenfold in Etruria *et locis aliquot in Italia.* (*de Re rust.*, i, 44.) The average return in France is from ten to twelvefold; in England it is sometimes nearly double as great.

³ In imitation of Rome distributions of corn were often made in the towns of Italy by rich private merchants.

⁴ *Villarum infinita spatia.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 53.) A freedman half ruined by the Civil war still possessed 3,600 pairs of ploughing oxen, 150,000 head of small cattle, and 4,416 slaves. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 47.) [The very same passage from agriculture to pasture is now taking place in England and Ireland owing to the competition of foreign, especially American, wheat. We too, have our *latifundia*, the estates of great lords, and the constant tendency of country-folk to move into the towns. No legislation will ever stop this movement, founded on the seeking of social comforts and material luxuries.—*Ed.*]

and those continual migrations of adventurers going to seek their fortune at a distance. They were Romans, the world belonged to them, and now that indigence was a disgrace, would they modestly continue to till their fields as in the time of the ancient poverty! It was better far to avail themselves in the provinces of their rights as citizens, gain the favour of a patron, magistrate or publican, and to obtain some lucrative employment in those commercial societies so numerous in the Empire that every important town had a colony of Roman merchants.¹ If we have found so many Italians in Asia in the times of Mithridates, how many were there now? How many, again, in Egypt, in Syria, in Carthage, which even at that hour they were restoring; in Spain, where half the country already spoke Latin; in Gaul, where they had completed the invasion of Narbonensis, and had begun that of Gallia Celtica and Aquitania? Soon we shall see them in the depths of Germany amongst the Marcomanni and the Cherusci, and even in solitudes, where the Arab who met them stopped in amazement before those men of an unknown world.

Thus the Roman people were scattered throughout the world, but Rome itself encumbered with a starving crowd, *misera ac jejuna plebecula*, which must not be examined too near, lest the traces of the whip and the irons should be seen under their ragged togas.² In this multitude, drawn from such low classes, Livy saw no more soldiers.³ Columella speaks of young Romans of good family so ruined by dissipation before their time that death had little left to do.⁴

Thus the fate that afterwards befel Spain under Philip II. was happening to Italy; she was exhausting herself in setting up a colossal domination, and paying for her glory by incurable wretchedness. The sun never set on the empire of the son of Charles V., Peru sent him its treasures, his fleets covered the sea, his armies threatened the whole of Europe, and with so much wealth

¹ It was somewhat like the spread of the Spanish race in the sixteenth century and of the Greek race in more ancient times; and both exhausted themselves in peopling other countries.

² Vell. Patern., ii, 4; Val. Max., vi, 2, 3. Cicero says the same thing in other words: *Sin victi essent boni, quid superesset? Non ad servos videtis rem venturam fuisse?* (*Pro Sext.*, 21.) On the immense number of freedmen, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 27, and App., *Bell. civ.*, ii, 120.

³ Livy, vii, 25.

⁴ *De Re rust.*, in præfat.

and power, Spain fell into decay, its fields were changed into deserts, its towns into straggling villages, its castles into ruins, and their masters, the proud hidalgos, covered the country with a race of beggars. The foundation which supported the building having given way, the whole soon fell in. Happily for Italy, she had risen slowly, and slowly she fell.

This state of things struck discerning eyes. Cæsar had been alarmed at seeing the evil which had destroyed Greece spreading over Italy.¹ In order to arrest the migrations which were depopu-



Family of Emigrants.²

lating the peninsula, and to counteract the *absenteeism* which was impoverishing it, he had decreed that no citizen could remain more than three years in succession in the provinces, unless for some legal hindrance; and he compelled his colonist veterans to remain twenty years on their fields before obtaining a right to sell them. But the troubles of the second triumvirate again unsettled everything. The proscriptions, the war of Perugia, and especially the new triumviral colonies, heaped fresh and greater miseries on Italy. It has been reckoned that from Cæsar's dictatorship to

¹ Δεινὴ δολιχάνθρωπια. (Dion, xliii. 25.)

² Bas-relief from the Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, No. 57.)

the early years of the principedom of Augustus, sixty-three towns were given over to veterans who came from every province and were recruited from every race!¹ After these evictions the roads of Italy were covered with emigrants whom hunger drove to Rome. And, while they filled the Forum and the temples² with their lamentations, those whom they left behind on their lands squandered, in a few months of revelling, the property which had nourished ten generations of husbandmen. Usury undid what violence had done. How few of these idle and rough soldiers attached themselves to the soil, brought up a family, founded a house. The greater part, continuing war in the midst of peace,³ plundered their neighbours, and when they found nothing more to take, sold their land to some rich monopolist, in order to rush to Rome to play the sovereign people, to live at the gate of a patron, to sit in the circus, or stretch out the hand on the Sublician bridge and eat in a corner of the Forum the *sportula* which they had begged.

Thus as Rome increased, she overflowed her walls and all her gates! Around the great town there was [as now is the case with London] another, *suburbana*, which descended towards Ostia, or ran along the Appian and the Latin Ways, reached towards Tusculum or Tibur, and crossing the river mounted the Janiculum and the Vatican. Magna Grecia was desolate, *deleta*, save two or three towns which their position protected, and the country of the Samnites was desert. Beneventum in the great pass between the two declivities of the southern Apennines alone maintained a little life;⁴ Sabina and Etruria were at the point of death. In the Middle Ages, after the disaster of la Melloria, whoever wished to see Pisa went to Genoa; he who now looked for Italy

¹ From the moment when Marius, changing the manner of recruiting the legions, had taken proletaries for soldiers, he had made the system of military colonies indispensable; the State owed lands to these veterans, who owned none.

² See this picture in Appian (*Bell. civ.*, v. 12 *sqq.*); ἐς τὴν Πόλιν οἱ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες, ἡ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παῖσι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ, ἰθρύνουν, and above, pp. 490-491.

³ On the violence of the colonists, see Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiv. 27): *Neque conjugii suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti, orbis sine posteris domos relinquebant.*

⁴ Mommsen (*Inscr. reg. Neapol.*, p. 133) has found only 581 Latin inscriptions for Bruttium, Iapygia, and Lucania, including the most insignificant ones, compared with nearly 8,000 which he has collected for all the inland provinces of the Neapolitan country, a proof that after the ruin of the Greek cities the Romans abandoned this region to their shepherds and farmers. Municipal life was dead, where it had been so active under the Hellenic race.

had only to dwell at Rome. How many were there? Some say four, six, even 8,000,000, others only 562,000. This figure ought probably to be tripled. "Divine nature," says Varro, sadly, "had made the country, man made the towns."

Meanwhile the rich from time to time fled far from this crowd, to the hills of Latium and southern Etruria. "There, where our fathers won triumphs," says Florus, "their descendants build villas." They were to be seen most frequently near the



Appian Way (Present State).

beautiful shores of the bay of Naples, which was covered with magnificent structures. The gloomy forest which surrounded Avernus had fallen under the axe of Agrippa's legionaries, and numerous buildings, crowning those dreaded hills, were reflected in the limpid lake which had been named the mouth of hell. In this corner of Italy was centred an activity no longer to be found save at Rome. Agrippa there completed his great work of causing Cocceius Nerva to construct a subterranean road from Avernus



Baiae (from the Devonshire Virgil).

to Cumæ, and he was about to dig or enlarge the famous grotto of Pausilipus, which owed its name to the Sans-Souci of Vedius Pollio.¹

At Puteoli, the sound of twenty languages, and the infinite variety of costumes and commodities, indicated one of the great markets of the Empire. Near it lay the enchanted shores of Baïæ, which Horace calls the most beautiful place in the world; islands and promontories confining the sea into an immense tranquil lake, the breezes of which tempered the heat of a brilliant sun; all the beauties of heaven and earth, all the poetic terrors of legend and nature; the dark cave of the Sibyl with her dreaded oracles, the kingdom of shadows which Virgil was about to open with his golden bough, and the Phlegrean fields emitting their infernal vapours with ominous sounds; but also verdant hills covered with graceful buildings which descended even to the waves, hot springs which promised health, and a warm atmosphere which allured to pleasure. So that matrons there forgot their virtue. "The chaste and severe Lævina came thither . . . she came a Penelope, she left a Helen."²

Naples the voluptuous, the idle Parthenope, offered a less luxurious refuge to retired rhetoricians who came to seek there the ever-living memorials of Greece, gymnasia, phratriæ with their mirthful festivals, musical competitions, and all the games of the stadium. Not far off, Pæstum³ suffered itself to be invaded by the malaria arising from the marshy waters which its inhabitants could not confine. Yet Cicero spoke of it as of a place where one landed on returning from Africa,⁴ but Strabo found it unhealthy, and its temples were soon to stand in the midst of a desert.⁵ Brundisium, whence they embarked for Greece, was increasing

¹ Strabo, v. 4, 5. The mountain had taken the name of the villa which is in Greek literally the *Sans-Souci* of Frederic II. Baïæ was a dependency of Cumæ. See Orelli, No. 2263, and the curious inscription (*id.*, No. 132) in which a loquacious Greek celebrates in Latin distichs, sometimes at the expense of grammar, the charms of Baïæ and the delights of the sea. The grotto of Pausilipo, 2,394 feet long, formed a communication between Naples and Pozzuoli.

² . . . *Juvenemque secuta relicto*
Conjuge; Penelope venit, abit Helene. (Martial, i. 62.)

³ See (vol. i. p. 662) the general view of the ruins of Pæstum and (p. 663) the Basilica. On p. 661 of this volume we give a view of one of the two other temples.

⁴ *Ad Att.*, xi. 17.

⁵ Strabo, v. 4, 13.

every day; Rhegiûm, colonized by Octavius after the defeat of Sextus Pompey, retrieved its fortune more slowly; but Tarentum, situated on fertile soil, at the best harbour south of Italy, recovered a part of its former wealth, if it did not regain its power; nevertheless it occupied but the half of its former circuit.

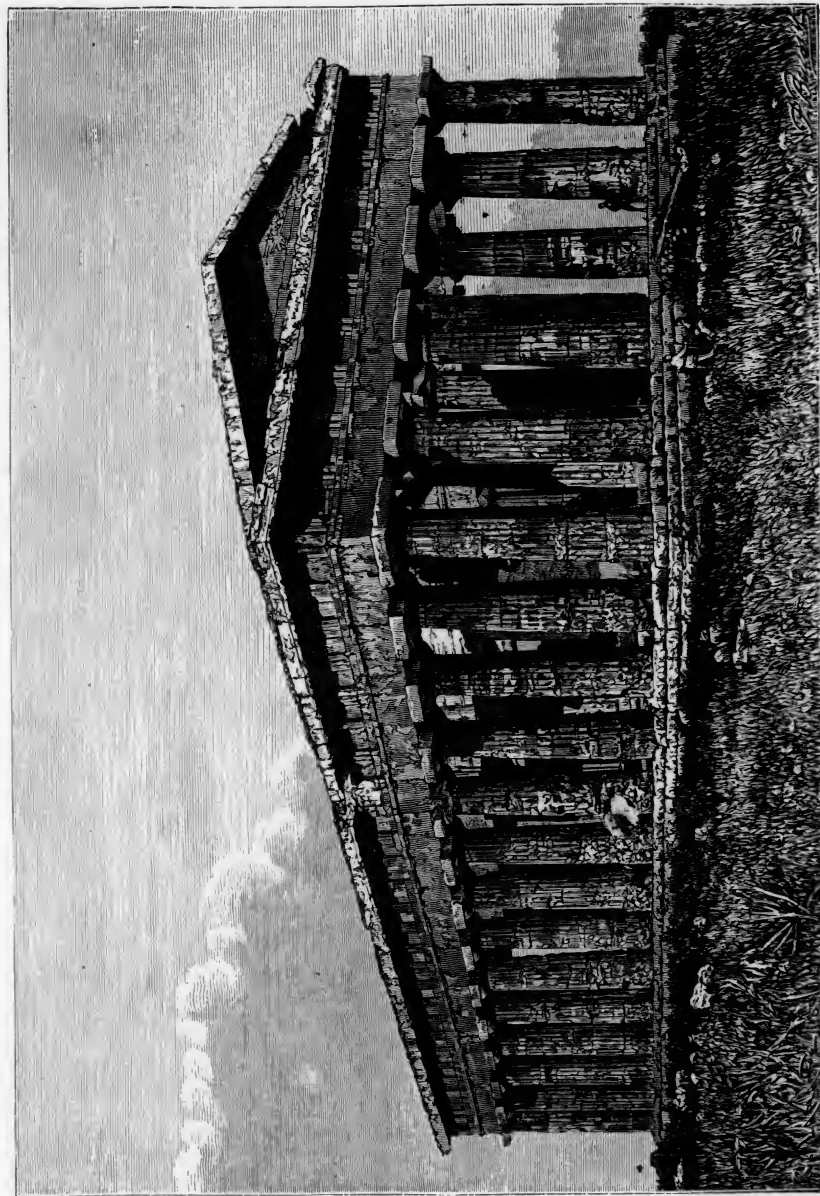
Thus, save Campania and one or two points of Magna Græcia, Italy was depopulated to the profit of Rome, where there strutted a royalty in rags, mendicant and proud, which desired to sit down daily at the banquet of the Empire, provided by the master it had selected.

II.—THE ROMAN PEOPLE AND THE CAUSES OF THE IMPERIAL REVOLUTION.

At last we have reached Rome. We know the kind of men to be found and the ideas which prevail there, for the second and third volume of this history have served to show the slow decomposition of Roman society, of its morals, its institutions, and the attempts made, in a contrary direction, during one century, to save the Republic or hasten its fall. Nothing in this picture must be forgotten, if we wish to render a just report of one of the greatest events of history, the foundation of the Empire.

Writers, like nations, are naturally inclined to give too large a share to historical personages. A scholar can change the face of a science; a general that of war; a statesman will never change the face of a society, because politics are a resultant, and because constitutional law, being the expression of a harmony between ideas, manners, and institutions, has only a relative value, unlike moral law, which has an absolute value. In politics, the greatest are those who respond best to the idea, unconscious or premeditated, of their fellow citizens. They receive more than they give, and their strength lies less in the genius they possess than in the logical sequence of ideas and facts which they know how to obey; whence it follows that usurpation or safety, honour or disgrace, come to them as much from the crowd which upholds as from the ambition which impels them.

Some one has uttered a hard saying, but a just one: nations



The Great Temple at Pæstum.

have the governments they deserve, as man has the condition he makes for himself.

This doctrine destroys no one's responsibility, but it extends it to those who find it convenient to rid themselves of it, and if it has harsh words for the usurper who encroaches on ancient laws, it has the same for the multitude who approve of the usurpation. Only, in judging both, it keeps account of the events which have rendered the transformations necessary or useless, durable or transitory. It absolves those who have travelled in the direction of the great current of national life, and condemns the workers of revolution who have desired to ascend the current or violently alter its course.

Let us apply these principles to the Romans. They had subdued everything, from the Euphrates to the Channel, and from the Alps to Atlas, but those who governed all were themselves in subjection, at first to the senate, afterwards to a party, still later to a man.

Can we, after Actium, speak of a triumphant democracy? Antony and Octavius were not party chiefs. They had fought, pillaged, and slain, not for the nobles or the people, but for themselves. The tyrannicides having been conquered, the former turned his power into revelry, while the latter merged his satisfied ambition in the public interest. We can see the dying oligarchy, but not the coming democracy, Augustus spent his reign in establishing distinctions in Roman society, placing everyone into a class, and imposing on each class a costume. The Roman law, under the Empire, was to draw daily nearer to natural law; but it kept different penalties for the rich and for the poor. The emperors called themselves the tribunes of the people, and they urged an aristocratic organization on the municipalities; so that this Empire, which seemed to have a mission to establish equality, prepared the immense social inequality of the Middle Ages.

It was, however, still a question of comitia. The people appeared to give legality to the will of those in power, as certain machines give the stamp to coins, without making the metal of which the latter are formed.

We know what the old Republican legions had become. The soldiers, recruited at hazard, belonged to those who paid them

best. Sylla, who had given up Asia to them, Cæsar, who had gained with them so many lucrative victories, had been able to count on their devotion. Lucullus maintained severe discipline, they abandoned him; Antony refused them Cæsar's legacy, they left him; Octavius placed his goods on sale; they went to him to fulfil the promises of his father. "They fought," says Montesquieu, "not for a certain thing, but for a certain person." Posterity, which is seldom deceived, has left this revolution its true character, giving to the Cæsars only their military title, *imperator*.

As for the provincials, they followed the course of events without attempting to change them. Like the soldiers, they decided, not for a cause, but for a man, for him who was present with great forces, or whose profitable patronage had bound the interests of the province to those of his house.

In the time of Tacitus, the revolution which changed the Republic to the Empire seemed very simple. "The passion for power," he says, "increased with our Empire, and, like our arms, overthrew everything. As long as the State was small, equality was maintained. When we had conquered the world, everyone contended for the power and riches it gave."

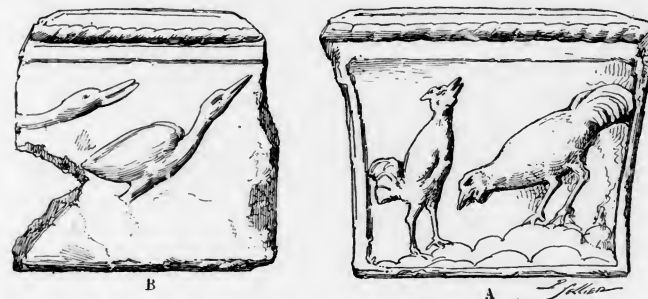
Do these words of Tacitus fully explain the whole revolution? The great historian, or rather the great artist whose tragic soul is at home amidst the gloomiest scenes, loved, like the crowd, to lay the blame upon men rather than things, because the latter need to be analysed coldly, whilst the former, making up the living and passionate part of the drama of history, strike the eyes of the poet and the crowd. Yet what are all the ambitious men who succeeded each other at Rome, in comparison with Rome herself, incessantly transformed by her vices and by her victories?

In becoming a world, instead of a town, Rome could not preserve institutions established for a single city and for a small territory. How could 60,000,000 provincials be brought into the narrow and rigid circle of these municipal institutions? Even in Italy, could the citizens of the colonies and the municipia desire to be present at these comitia, which were interesting only to the inhabitants of Rome? A revolution, therefore, was inevitable, but the Romans, not having changed their civil constitution

for an imperial one, lost the former before obtaining the latter, and without laws, without customs, they found themselves exposed to every hazard, like a vessel which has lost both anchor and compass.

Suppress Sylla and Pompey, even Cæsar and Augustus, and the end of the Republic would not thereby be delayed; Caesarism was born because liberty could no longer live; and liberty was dying because the world then needed something else.

Nations never strongly desire two things at once. At that moment, if we except a few men greater in heart than in intellect, the world did not ask for liberty; it aspired to peace, to order, to security, as, three centuries later, it hastened, even through



Fragments of an Augural Monument.¹

tortures, towards that unknown future which Virgil's great soul had foreseen when he announced the regeneration of the world.

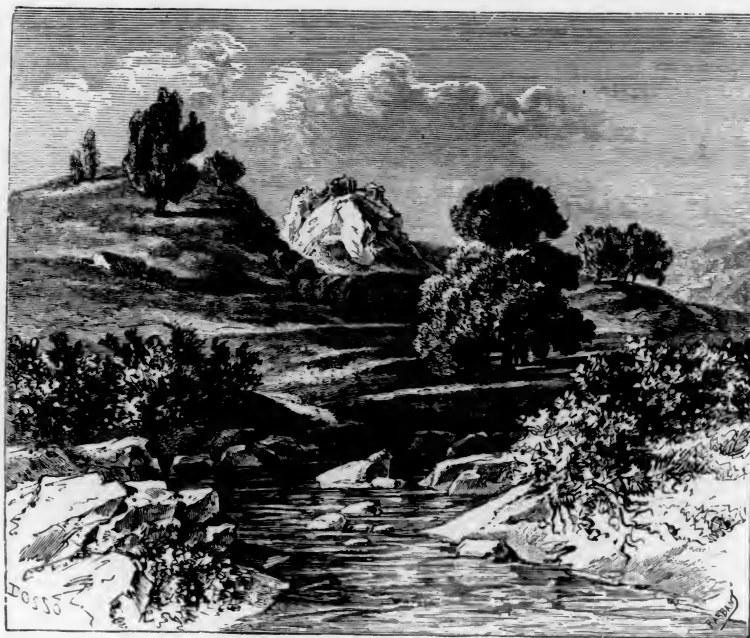
III.—OCTAVIUS.

Augustus² was about to stop these disorders; to fulfil these wishes of the provinces; to give to all this desired peace; and he has only remained great in the memory of men, because in spite of his mediocre genius he answered to the universal expectation. A prudent and timid pilot, he feared the great sea and the unknown shores: *fortiter occupa portum!* He stopped in the harbour where

¹ Front and side of an altar, found in the Loire in 1818.

² [As regards Octavius's changes of name, he was named C. Jul. Cæsar Octavianus by curiate law in 43 B.C., when legally adopted by the Julian gens; he was granted the title of Augustus in 27 B.C., as will be mentioned in its place.—Ed.]

the waves gently rocked and lulled the crew to slumber with the melodious songs of its poets. He himself kept watch, however, and the repose which the world owed to him, he never knew for himself. Spain, Gaul, Asia, all the provinces saw him in turn mark out new divisions, open up roads, establish towns, organize the army, the finances, the government, finally attack and fight, but only in self-defence, being more willing to negotiate, lest men's spirit should awake at the sound of arms.



La Licenza (the Digentia of Horace).

So much prudence, however, was not necessary, for, in this ruin of the Republican government, nothing great enough or strong enough of the old edifice was left standing to prove a serious hindrance on the new path. Those who were called Republicans had fallen on the battle fields of Pharsalia, of Thapsus, of Munda, and of Philippi, or had perished with Sextus. The few who survived had in despair rallied round Antony, and those, too, had shared his fate, or, renouncing hopes which had been

destroyed four times in twenty years, had humbled their pride before the clemency of the conqueror.

But revolutions nearly always call forth conspiracies. The broken sword easily becomes a dagger, and some of those whom victory has thrown at the feet of the master remain there only to mark the better the place where they must strike. The Egyptian expedition was not yet finished, when Marcus Lepidus, son of the triumvir and nephew of Brutus by Junia, his mother, conspired to assassinate Octavius on his return, and re-establish the the Republic. Mæcenas, who commanded the town guards, easily unravelled the ill-conceived schemes of the imprudent youth; he dogged his steps with consummate dissimulation; he entangled him with unseen bonds, then, all at once, without noise or tumult, he seized him and strangled this germ of fresh troubles.¹ The cul-



The Young Octavius.²

¹ The young Lepidus having been sent into Asia to Octavius was there put to death. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxiii.)

² A statue found at Rome, and now in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, hall of the Sarcophagi, No. 559.)

a senator whom the brother of Junia had formerly proscribed; he could remember it; he had a heart noble enough to be touched by such great vicissitudes. Now, indeed, men did grant pardon.

This attempt was, under Augustus, the only and really the last protest against the Empire. There were, indeed, many other plots; Cæpio and Murena¹ in the year 22 B.C.; Egnatius Rufus, Plautius Rufus, and L. Paulus, a little later; lastly, in the year 4 of our era, the notorious Cinna, and at different periods obscure attempts at assassination, but it is difficult to say what was the motive of these men, mistaken ambition or noble and fierce inspiration. Judging by ancient reports, the part due to generous instincts was not the strongest.

Decimated by twenty years of wars and deceptions, the Republican party, for the moment, no longer existed, and of the Roman patriciate there remained but a few men, who all thought as Asinius Pollio said to Octavius before Actium: "I shall be the booty of the conqueror." "The Republic," exclaims Tacitus, "who, then, has seen it?" To find a feeble image of it we must go back through two triumvirates and the fury of Clodius to the first fair days of Cicero, that is to say, more than one man's life. This generation, born in civil war and troubles, preferred a calm present to that past of which they knew only the griefs.²

When society undergoes a transformation, it is the extreme and violent parties which occupy the scene; the moderate keep out of the way and remain silent. But when the work of violence is completed, they again get the influence into their hands. These moderate men now filled the senate and the public offices. They had fortune, and did not seek for power, glad that another should bear its toil and danger. These *novi homines*, thrust into the senate by all the ambitious men who had held authority, had no power with the people, who did not know them. They certainly wore the dress of the old Conscrip't Fathers, but they did not

¹ It was this Murena, a brother-in-law of Mæcenas, whom Horace endeavoured to reclaim by his fine ode (II. x.), in which he extols the happiness of undistinguished life, the *aurea mediocritas*. Murena and his accomplices, "condemned by default to exile, were murdered a short time afterwards." (Dion, liv. 3.) The same author, speaking of the year 4 A.D., mentions a plot formed by a grandson of Pompey, Cornelius Cinna, whom Corneille has made famous. (*Id.*, lv. 22.)

² Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 2): *Tuta et præsentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent.*

possess either their splendid life or their wide influence.¹ With many of them the laticlave scarcely concealed the Gallic *braccæ* or the Iberian *sagum*. It would have been something, at least, if they had been drawn from among brave soldiers; but all kinds of men were to be found on the seats where Cineas had seen kings sitting. It had become necessary, in order to save the dignity of the body, to forbid any one to summon senators before the courts for theft or robbery, and the proscriptions of those already accused were stopped.² As for seeing them compete with gladiators, that was no longer a novelty; one of them was shortly to fight in the arena at the dedication of the Julian Curia.³

The knights, who were engaged in banking, commerce, and tax-farming, who had been ruined by the war, and enriched by the peace, and who were old allies of Cæsar, were the natural upholders of the new order. Below these there were three Roman peoples; the first sought their fortune on the seas and in far off regions; the second begged at Rome; the third was slowly arising in the provinces, but did not yet count for anything. The first of these asked only for peace and security, the second for games and doles. The former, who had grown old in counting-houses and on ships, lived far from Rome and accommodated themselves to everything which left them their barter and their gains. The others formed a numerous body, who would have been formidable had it not been quite clear that their political feelings were limited to being amused and fed. During the Civil wars they had been overlooked in favour of the soldiers to whom they bore no love. Accordingly, they blessed the return of peace which, by rendering the legions useless, rid them of rivals as skilful as themselves in profiting by the prince's favour.

Even at Rome robberies and murder were committed in broad daylight,⁴ and all the roads were, as in the saddest times of the

¹ Suetonius calls them: *deformis et incondita turba*. (*Octav.*, 35.)

² *Ἐπὶ ἁγορεύῃ* (Dion, xlix. 43), in the year of Rome, 721, during the ædileship of Agrippa.

³ Dion, li. 22.

⁴ See Varro's dialogue, *de Re rust.*, i. 69. In order to close the conversation the author supposes the assassination, in full daylight, and in the open street, of the keeper of the temple of Tellus, where the friends had assembled. The calmness with which Varro relates this murder proves that it was one of the commonest incidents at Rome. "We went away," says he, "more moved at the man's misfortune than astonished at the deed, *quam admirantes id Romæ factum*."

Italian banditti, infested by brigands. The modern *bravi* only take the traveller's purse, when he yields it with a good grace; their predecessors took the traveller himself when he was young enough to make a good slave. One of the first cares of Octavius was to wage a regular war against these banditti and make careful visits to the slave factories in order to deliver free men who were detained in them.¹

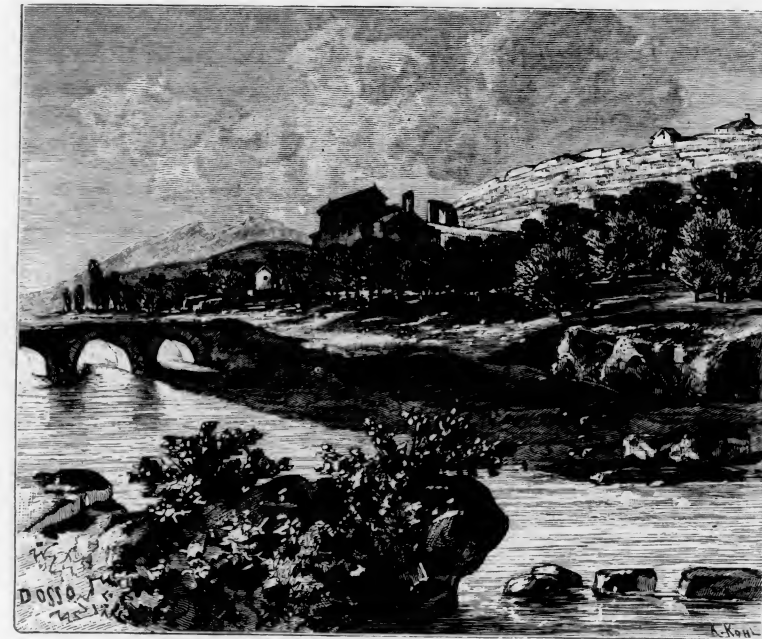
In the last fifty years property in Italy had so often changed hands that amid these repeated perturbations it had almost disappeared. For civil war ruins a country in two ways, by consuming the wealth already produced, and by hindering the production which would have renewed it. Save a few men like Balbus of Gades, who was rich enough to bequeath the Roman people twenty-five denarii per man, or the prudent Atticus, who had invested in property in Epirus the greater part of his 10,000,000 sesterces, with a few other men who had inherited old aristocratic fortunes, and had been overlooked in the proscriptions, or a few upstarts of the Civil wars, all these people were poverty-stricken, ruined, and beggars. Augustus was obliged to lend or give them all something. He purposely lost at play, in order to bestow a needful gratuity on those who had not yet learned to beg. At one stroke he made up to full value the senatorial census of eighty senators who did not possess the 800,000 sesterces required by law. Now an ædile resigned office because he was too poor;² the next day some knights whom the emperor saw concealing themselves among the crowd, did not dare to take the places reserved for them at the public games for fear impatient creditors should seize them. It is a strange sight, this of a man paying for the acceptance of the honours he bestows, paying for having a senate, an equestrian order, and magistrates. Distress was universal, he alone was rich.³

¹ Suet., *Tiber.*, 8. Octavius boasts of having restored to their masters for execution 30,000 fugitive slaves. (*Monum. d'Ancyre*, No. 25.)

² Suet., *Octav.*, 41; Dion, *lv.* 13; Dion, *xlvi.* 53; *li.* 2; *liv.* 10; *ἐπὶ πτωχίας*. Men are no longer willing to be senators, says he. (*liv.* 26.)

³ Suet., *Octav.*, 40. See in Seneca (*de Benef.*, *iii.* 27) an anecdote about the senator Rufus, who was so cowardly and avaricious. Seeing what misery a political crisis causes in our modern state of society, we can understand what twenty years of civil wars must have produced in ancient societies, which possessed so little capital, and where that small capital was so quickly consumed or destroyed. In olden days men had not yet appropriated to themselves

Men refused honours because the magistracies remained onerous, as they had been under the Republic, and no longer offered as a compensation the profits which Verres had found in them. They refused them again, because the master himself set the example



Vicovaro (the *Varia* of Horace).¹

of moderation and disinterestedness. Like him, they affected a desire to withdraw from the burden of public affairs. "No one," writes Dion Cassius, "will enter the senate;"² and as the sons

any natural agent but the soil. In rural economy they had made great progress in the domestication of animals and the acclimatization of plants, but they had scarcely any implements but their hands, and very few machines, so that the labour was immense and the produce little; this it was which excused slavery in the eyes of the more thoughtful men. So long as peace lasted, or so long at least as it was not necessary to supply the necessities of external warfare, ordinary labour, though it required an enormous supply of men, was sufficient. But when war broke out on all sides, it began by disorganizing the slave system; the slaves deserted in crowds, work came to a standstill, production was suspended, and as this society lived from hand to mouth, with no accumulated capital, the distress soon became frightful.

¹ Vicovaro is the ancient *Varia*, on the territory of which stood the farm given by Mæcenas to Horace, and the river Licenza is the *Digentia* sung by the poet.

² Οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲς ἰθὺλοντὶ βουλευσῶν ἠρίσκετο . . . μηδεὶς ἐτι βραδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἤρει (*liv.* 26).
XX 2

of senators refused the places of vigintivirs which were reserved for them, it became necessary to throw that dignity open to members of the equestrian order. Mæcenas, L. Proculus, his brother-in-law, V. Sallust, another friend of Augustus and great nephew of the historian, remained simple knights.¹ Horace, who was a legionary tribune at twenty, never rose higher than a clerk of the treasury, and wrote his last epistle to boast of having no ambition.

Repose and pleasure, that luxurious and elegant life, pleasantly



Ruins of Horace's House at Tivoli (Tibur) (Bibl. nat.).

filled up with trifles, which the poet of Tibur has sung so well; no more tribunes, no more violent struggles, no more looks and words like daggers; peace, instead, and silence; let one man watch and act for all, with a single condition—that the provinces,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 30. In the year 24 B.C. no questors could be found for the senatorial provinces, and the same was the case with the tribunship a few years later. In the year 13, Augustus was obliged to retain or forcibly recall into the senate members who no longer desired to hold a useless title.

formerly the property of a few families, should through him again become the true patrimony of the Roman people; such was now the general desire. For some years past Octavius had perceived this, and by the signs of universal lassitude he saw that violence had had its day, that the time for moderation was come. This perception was the secret of his strength. After being the leader of the most violent party, Octavius had by degrees made himself that of the moderate section. Some see in the triumvir and the emperor two different men; but it is not so. Octavius was not cruel by nature, but by position. Plunged into difficult affairs before he was twenty, and finding that none would treat him with serious consideration, he assumed severity on his youthful brow, and his hand, scarcely matured for a sword, firmly signed the list of proscriptions. Then, indeed, it became necessary to believe in his energy and power, and to cease to treat him as a child; once



Octavius.¹

in the path of bloodshed, men seldom halt; he, however, stopped, so that he had the rare good fortune to fit two different epochs of a revolution. The fact was, he had ever before his eyes the picture of Caesar stretched bleeding at the foot of Pompey's statue, through having too loudly proclaimed his contempt for men and refused to

¹ Octavius crowned with oak. (Bust in the Louvre Museum, No. 278 of the Clarac Catalogue.)

make allowance for their weaknesses. This memory had taught the son of the great victim that one might with impunity steal the public liberty; but that it is prudent to respect that which each individual holds dear—vanity and that secret pride which makes the man survive the citizen.

Cæsar had obtained his power by violence. Octavius, whom heroic proceedings did not suit, laid it down after he had won it, in order to receive it modestly from the feeble hands to which he had feigned to restore it. To the last he played this part of disinterestedness, veiling his position and power behind ancient titles and old institutions from which all force had passed away, but whose form was still left, making as few innovations as possible, guaranteeing the present, but preparing nothing for the future; so that the Empire, like its founder, lived from day to day, with no thought for the morrow, amid perpetual convulsions, which did not necessarily disturb the provinces, but turned the palace into a bloodstained arena.



Mæcenæ.¹

notwithstanding all that has been said of his suspicious and cruel character, through all his varying fortunes he still retained the two friends of his youth. The former of these, Mæcenæ, who was a few years his senior, came of an illustrious family of Etruria.² But as minister of a government which intended to pay

¹ Visconti, *Iconogr. rom.*, i. p. 178, from a cornelian in the Farnese collection. A valuable amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, signed by Dioscorides, represents the same person, who was at first thought to be the legislator of Attica, on account of the name COAΛNOC cut on the stone, but this is only the name of the engraver, Solon. Visconti has attributed the two stones to Mæcenæ, of whom Dioscorides was a contemporary, an opinion which is based upon conjectures, and not upon any monuments.

² The Cilnii. (Horace, *Carm.*, i. 2; *Sat.*, i. 6.) As regards the foibles of Mæcenæ, with



Ruins of the House of Mæcenæ at Tivoli (*Bibliothèque nationale*).

no heed to birth, he laughed at his own nobility, even while he allowed Horace to sing of his royal origin. His fortune placed him in the equestrian order, and he would never leave it. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, on the contrary, was born of an obscure



M. Vipsanius Agrippa.¹

house, in the same year as Octavius, 63, at the time when Cicero was ruling Rome by his speeches. He was with the youthful Cæsar when the news reached Epirus of the ides of March, and he

which I am not here concerned, see Seneca, *de Prov.*, 3; *de Benef.*, iv. 36, and *Epist.*, 19, 92, 106, 114.

¹ Bust in the Uffizi gallery at Florence.

was one of those who persuaded him to claim his dangerous heritage. It seemed as though the gods, in order to end the slow death-pangs of the Republic, had united all the good qualities of the old Latin race in this founder of the Monarchy; he was of a clear but not brilliant mind, an indefatigable worker, rough in his manners,¹ speaking little, doing much, fitted alike for war or civil matters, and successful in all his undertakings. If the devotion of such men is honourable to him who succeeded in inspiring it, never was friendship more useful. In conducting a difficult negotiation, in sowing discord among his adversaries or winning over malecontents, in lulling hatred or confirming wavering friendships, in short, in knowledge of men and of the means of leading them, none equalled Mæcenas; for commanding and fighting none came up to Agrippa. The treaties of Brundisium and Tarentum, the politic marriages of Octavius with Scribonia, and of Antony with Octavia, and the baffling of the plot of Lepidus, such were the claims of Mæcenas to consideration; the submission of the Gauls, the defeat of Sextus and the victory of Actium, were those of Agrippa. These two men had won half Augustus's fortune for him.

Thereafter their services were still to be great, but of a different nature. Mæcenas who by his dexterity had done so much to aid his master in steering clear of reefs during the tempest, sat down to rest when they came in port. He retired into obscurity and avoided honours; he left Agrippa to share with Augustus the consulship and censorship, to carry on the administration, build temples and aqueducts, found cities and military roads, pass ceaselessly to and fro through the Empire, and bear everywhere and into everything his activity and clear-sighted intellect. For himself, he remained at Rome; made verses, listened to Horace and Varius, and gave well-appointed suppers at which perfumes flowed freely; and Augustus, who was fond of jeking, called him the man of fashion with his dripping hair. He still played a serious part, however; at his table conversions took place, fierce courage was toned down, severe virtues melted beneath the soft breath of pleasure; there men

¹ *Vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 9.)

learned all the joys of peace, indolence and dalliance; there above all they forgot, and called those who did not, senseless. Mæcenas kept open house for wit and effeminacy, and at his board it was that as the outcome of a gay feast, amid the Epicurean odes of Horace and the elegies of Propertius, liberty abdicated her throne, consoling herself with some epigram of Domitius Marsus, which the host himself applauded.

After the two great ministers, we see round Octavius the cold and severe face of Antistius Labeo, an unbending Republican, and yet an innovator in the science of law; Ateius Capito, less proud, but like him the leader of a school; Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom Octavius had just taken as a colleague in the consulship; Statilius Taurus, a *novus homo* like Agrippa, but also a man of merit, who gave the city its first stone amphitheatre, as if to show the Romans that their new master did not wish any cessation of their pleasures; Sallust, the adopted son of the historian, and Cocceius, Delliis, and "the other friends of the first entry;"² all drawn from the hostile camp and won over by clemency.

Messala Corvinus, being proscribed by the triumvirs as an accomplice in the murder of Cæsar, had on the day of the first battle of Philippi taken the camp of Octavius, and inflicted on the young triumvir that defeat which brought so many sarcasms upon him. Octavius never forgot the man who had so thoroughly beaten him. When Messala, who had been saved after Philippi by Antony, left that senseless chief, Octavius heaped honours upon him, entrusted him with the most important affairs, and allowed him freely to extol, even in his own presence, the virtues of "his beloved Brutus." He was one of those many-sided men produced by disturbed epochs; a great orator in Quintilian's judgment, extolled by Seneca as one of the purest of writers; an excellent general, good administrator and better citizen, for he defended the Republic without violence, and monarchy without servility. Another senator, L. Sestius, piously preserved the image



Coin of Statilius Taurus.¹

¹ TAVRVS REGVLVS PVLCHER. *Simpulum* and *lituus*. Reverse of a bronze coin of the family Statilia.

² *Cohortem primæ admissionis.* (Seneca, *de Clementia*, i. 10.)

and memory of the tyrannicide, but this did not prevent his attaining the consulate. Octavius who was anxious to appear to continue the Republic and honour all its glories, was very careful not to forbid this inoffensive respect for the last republican. Even the son of a freedman could with impunity remind the triumvir that he had fought against him; the poet hastened, it is true, to add that he had been one of the first to run away:

... *Relicta non bene parmula.*

But Octavius had not imposed this dishonouring confession upon Horace. At Milan he respected a statue of Brutus; he spoke of Cicero, whom he had slain, as a good citizen, and tried to wipe out his remorse by appointing the victim's son consul and augur, though his chief merit was that he contested with Torquatus *Tricongius* the reputation of being the hardest drinker in Rome.

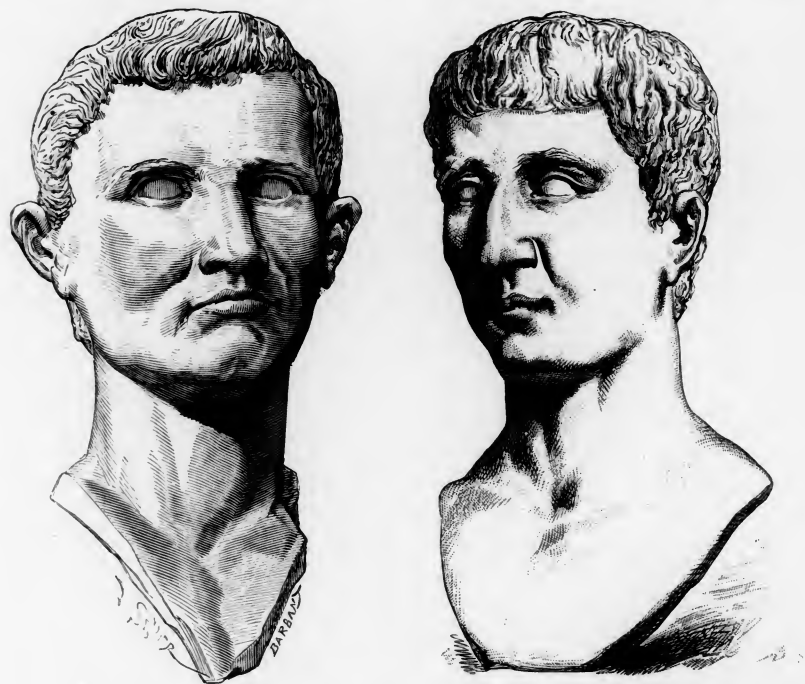
Poetry, lately hostile in the person of Catullus, was disarmed like politics. Though Tibullus, whom the war had quickly frightened, still sulked against Octavius, he only sang of love, following the example of Propertius; and Livy, Virgil, Horace, the glorious representatives of history, and epic and lyric poetry, furthered the designs of the founder of the Empire by celebrating the greatness of Rome or the destiny promised to the descendants of Iulus.

Near the victor of Actium I find another old friend and faithful servant of Cæsar, Asinius Pollio, the protector of Virgil, and, notwithstanding the eloquent counsels of Horace, the historian of the Civil wars. He had formerly sworn an oath to Cicero to fight to the death for liberty.¹ Convinced that liberty was no longer possible, he had accepted a master, but neither eagerly nor with baseness, and had taken refuge against despotism in devotion to literature and in independence of spirit. Octavius rather esteemed than loved this serious man.

Munatius Plancus had come through those difficult times with less honour. First a lieutenant of Cæsar, then the friend of his assassins, he had gone over to the triumvirs, to whom he had

¹ Cicero, *ad Fam.*, x. 31.

abandoned his brothers. At Alexandria he was the buffoon of Antony, whom at Lyons he had called an infamous robber, and he came and denounced him at Rome. In him all kinds of treachery were united; but a man so conscientiously devoted to the strongest side, and who openly taught adulation,¹ was too useful not to be employed. Octavius, who neglected Pollio, loaded Plancus with honours in order that all men might see what was now the road



Young Tiberius and his brother Drusus, the two sons of Livia.²

to fortune. The singer of Tibur calls him a sage, but this wisdom of Horace is the same which quailed at the mere name of the indomitable Cato, *atrocem animum Catonis*.

I call special attention to these two men because they are the representatives of the two divisions of the senate and nobility:

¹ See in Seneca, *Quest. nat.*, lib. iv. in *præfat.*, his theory of flattery; he analyses and gives the rules of it. This was the programme of the new public manners.

² Busts in bronze; that of Tiberius, found at Mahon in 1759, had eyes of silver. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3121.) The bust of Drusus is in the Louvre Museum.

the first resigned yet proud and few in numbers; the second, which daily grew larger, going over to Octavius in order to attain through him the dignities, wealth and honours promised to servility.¹

Beside these men we must make room for a woman, the first in



Livia.²

the Roman world who made her influence felt in political matters; I mean Livia. The sway she had gained over her husband was a discreet and lawful one. More than once Augustus was to have proof of the correctness of her judgment and the excellence of her advice. Imperious with her sons and her daughters-in-law,

¹ *Quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 2.)

² Statue in the Vatican, *Pio-Clementino Museum*, ii. 4.

she was gentle and complaisant with her husband, and the emperor could point out as an example to the matrons the ever dignified bearing and severe chastity of her who in her palace kept up the tradition of Tanaquil the spinster.¹ She was very beautiful: "In features she is Venus, in manners Juno," says Ovid; her busts do not contradict the poet's eulogies, which Tacitus repeats. By Claudius Nero, her first husband, she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, but she bore none to the emperor. If Julia, the daughter of Augustus and Scribonia, was to scandalize Rome and the court by her licentiousness, the charming Antonia, the loving wife of Drusus, her mother Octavia, whose chaste reputation was never sullied by the slightest



Julia, daughter of Augustus.²

suspicion, and the grand-daughter of Augustus, that noble Agrippina whom the whole Empire honoured for her virtues, were to restore in the imperial house the old Sabine manners.

Let us sum up this long review in a few general propositions,

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 71, 84; Dion., lvi. 2; Seneca, *de Clem.*, i. 9. Caligula called Livia a female Ulysses, *Ulysses stolatum* (Suet., *Caius*, 23); but in Seneca's opinion (*Consol. ad Marc.* 4) she was *feminam opinionis suae custodem diligentissimam*. Macrobius speaks of her (*Saturn.*, 2 v.) as always surrounded by grave persons, and Tacitus says (*Ann.* v. 1): *Sanctitate domus praeceps ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis*. Augustus wore no garments but those woven by his wife and daughter. (Suet., *Octav.*, 74.) Ovid says:

Quae Veneris formam, mores Junonis habendo:....

We might doubt the sincerity of the poet, but Octavius took her away from Nero, says Tacitus, *cupidine formae* (*Ann.*, v. 1).

² Statue from the Villa Panfilii. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 978c., No. 2343.) The Louvre also possesses a statue of Julia, but the head is modern.

which we will put into the form of so many questions to which the Empire must reply, so many problems for it to solve.

From the Euphrates to the Channel and from the Alps to



Antonia, wife of Drusus.¹

Agrippina the Elder.²

the Atlas we have found a supreme authority, that of the Roman people, and beneath this external unity an infinite variety of local laws, manners, religions and conditions of freedom. The Roman Empire was established; but there was as yet no Roman nation. Would the emperors succeed in making one?

In all these countries the Republic had, save at a few points,

¹ Statue in the Vatican, found at Tusculum. The wavy style in which the hair is done is considered as a proof that the statue is *ionic*, that is, the portrait of the person represented. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 928, No. 2359.)

² Statue from the Egremont collection, representing Agrippina the Elder wearing the Latin diadem, in the posture and with the attributes of Ceres. (Clarac, *op. cit.*, pl. 330, No. 2366.)

overthrown the native governments. The Empire would therefore be obliged to undertake the administration in their stead. Would it keep order, and would "the Roman Peace," which the peoples so eagerly longed for, be guaranteed by provident institutions?

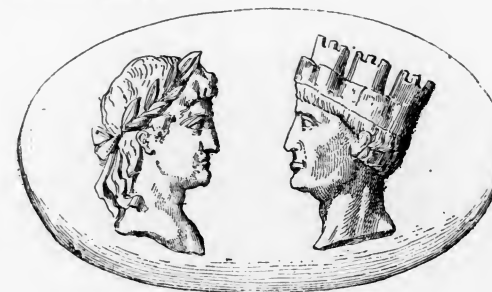
Around this immense dominion we have seen barbarous peoples, some brave and turbulent, but divided, others corrupt and feeble; there was consequently no indication at this time of any serious danger. Yet, since the Romans had destroyed the military force of their subjects, they were bound to defend those whom they had disarmed and who paid them; for this needful protection they were obliged to have recourse to a formidable novelty, the establishment of a standing army. Would this army be imbued with the spirit of discipline and sacrifice, with love of country and respect for the civil laws?

The right of commanding involves still other duties.

Rome occupied all the civilized portion of the ancient world and had at her disposition the forces furnished by intellect, social organization, and wealth. Would the new Rome employ these forces to increase the activity of the fire whereat was kindled the torch which illumined the world—to make the heat more diffused, the light more brilliant, in one word, to preserve, increase and purify the ancient civilization whose store-house was now committed into her hands?

Finally, the history of the last century of the Republic has proved the necessity of the Empire, that is the excuse of Octavius. Would he be capable of organizing it? Here we await Augustus, to see whether he has deserved his fortune.

¹ Busts, facing each other, of Augustus with the laurel, and Agrippa wearing the mural crown. From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of three layers, 1.18 inch by 0.732 inch), No. 198 in the catalogue.



Augustus and Agrippa.¹

EIGHTH PERIOD.

AUGUSTUS, OR THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT (30—13 B.C.)¹

I.—DECREES OF THE SENATE AFTER THE DEATH OF ANTONY (30—28).

ANTONY being dead, and Egypt reduced to a province, Octavius returned to Syria, where he received from the king of the Parthians a first embassy, in no way haughty in tone, for

¹ *Chronology of the Reign of Augustus after Actium.*—B.C. 30, death of Antony; Egypt reduced to a province; Octavius passed the winter at Samos. 29, Return of Octavius to Rome; he closed the temple of Janus. 28, Census taken by the consuls; 4,164,000 citizens. 27, Octavius received the title of Augustus, divided the provinces with the senate, and remained three years (27-25) in Gaul and Spain. 24, He returned to Rome. 23, He was invested with the tribunitian power for life, and received an embassy of Parthians. 22, Conspiracy of Murena; Candace invaded Egypt; revolt of the Cantabri. 21, Augustus repaired to the East; passed the winter at Samos, and married his daughter Julia to Agrippa. 20, The Parthians restored the standards taken from Crassus; Augustus at Samos. 19, Return to Rome [his *potestas consularis*]; death of Virgil. 18, *Lex de maritandis ordinibus*. 17, The secular games; Agrippa sent to Asia. 16, Defeat of Lollius; Augustus repaired to Gaul, where he again remained three years (16-14). 15, Tiberius and Drusus subjugated the Ræti and Vindelici. 13, Augustus returned to Rome. 12, Death of Agrippa and Lepidus; Drusus in Gaul; the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lyons. 11, War of Drusus against the Germans, of Tiberius against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; Tiberius marries Julia. 10, Augustus in Gaul. 9, Death of Drusus. 8, Augustus in Gaul for the fourth time; Tiberius in Germany; death of Mæcenas and Horace. 7, Tiberius in Germany. 6, Tiberius received the tribunitian power for five years, and retired to Rhodes, where he remained seven years. 2 B.C., Banishment of Julia. 2 of our era, Return of Tiberius to Rome. 4, Tiberius adopted by Augustus, repaired to Germany, where he remained three years (4-6). 6, Revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. 7, Germanicus in Germany; three campaigns of Tiberius in Illyricum (7-9). 9, Defeat of Varus; exile of Ovid. 10 and 11, Tiberius in Germany. 11, Tiberius returned to Rome and triumphed. 14, Closing of the census; 4,197,000 citizens; Augustus died on the 19th of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his tribunitian power.

Phraates, in order to prevent the Roman *imperator* giving his support to a candidate for the throne who had taken refuge in the territories of the Empire, sent him his own son as a hostage. Augustus employed the winter and the spring of the year 29 in regulating the affairs of the Asiatic peninsula. Ephesus and Nicæa, the two capitals of Asia and Bithynia, were authorized to build each a temple to the two new deities, Rome and the hero Julius; Pergamum and Nicomedia, to establish "consecrated enclosures in honour of Octavius and Rome." This was the second year which he passed away from Italy. But he was in no hurry to return thither. He wished to strengthen his power by exercising it at a distance, and allow the Romans time to accustom themselves to the idea of a master. Indeed he was over-cautious; the secret wrath of the aristocracy did not require such prolonged circumspection.



Octavius.

Moreover Mæcenas and Agrippa kept guard for him at Rome; the letters of Octavius to the senate and consuls passed through their hands; he had even left them a seal like his own that they might modify according to circumstances the contents of his dispatches.¹ They gave the watchword for devotion, they prompted enthusiasm, they directed deliberations and voting. Thanks to the universal desire for peace, this was an easy task.

Since the blundering attempt of Lepidus, that salutary warning which Augustus had so well understood, the calm had not been disturbed, and the only clamour which agitated the city was that of the adulatory decrees of the senate. After Actium they had voted a triumph, after the subjection of Egypt they decreed another and commenced in his name the building of the great temple of Fortune at Præneste. Then the priests were ordered



Coin of Augustus.²

¹ This seal bore the image of the sphinx, the emblem of his conduct; later on he made use of a ring on which was engraved the head of Alexander, and a signet bearing a good likeness of himself. (Suet., *Octav.*, 50; Dion., li. 3; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4.) For correspondence with his counsellors he had a cipher, which consisted of putting instead of the required letter the one immediately following it in the alphabet. (Dion., *ibid.*)

² Head of Octavius, consul for the sixth time. On the reverse a crocodile, the symbol of Egypt, and the inscription, *Egypt captive*. Denarius.

to offer up prayers for Octavius as they did for the Roman people, and in their petitions to join his name with that of the gods; the citizens were enjoined to pour out libations in his honour at their banquets; the vestals, senators and people were to go forth to meet him on the day when he should re-enter Rome. That day was to become a yearly festival; two triumphal arches, one at Brundisium, the other in the Forum, were to be raised to perpetuate the memory of his victories; on solemn occasions he was to wear the purple mantle; and finally the entrance to his house was to be adorned with branches of laurel and a civic crown. We possess a medal whereon this crown surrounds the inscription which courtiers of fortune are so ready to lavish upon those whom they call saviours of their country, *ob cives servatos*.

To these showy honours it was well understood that power must be added. At the beginning of January in the year 29, while Octavius in Asia was entering upon his fifth consulship, the senators and magistrates at Rome swore to obey his decrees, and the tribunitian power was offered him for life with the right of extending its inviolability to whosoever should implore it. But all this had for the most part been given to others, and they wished to do something fresh. A classical idea cleared away the difficulty. Before the Areopagus, Orestes had been saved by the vote of Athens; it was decided that in criminal causes Octavius might vote in favour of the accused. This was the right of pardon, which has remained one of the attributes of sovereignty.¹

A deputation from the senate went to bear him these decrees. They found him occupied in making a god of Cæsar and permitting temples to be built to himself in Pergamum and Nicomedia. With the Greeks, who had long since grown accustomed to these sacrilegious flatteries, he readily allowed an apotheosis to be decreed him during his lifetime;² with the Romans he did not accept all

¹ Dion, li. 19. In the year 13 it was decreed, on his return from Gaul, that to all those who should go out to meet him *ἐν τῷ τοῦ πομπίου ὄντα ἀδελφὸν εἶναι* (*id.*, liv. 25.) When he re-entered Rome no criminals were executed on that day. Finally, his temples and statues became inviolable asylums, and in the colleges of priests he could increase the number of members as much as he liked. (Senec, *de Clem.*, i. 18; Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 36; Dion, li. 20.)

² On this question see, in vol. iv., chapter lxvii., § iii.: *Religious Reform*.

that was offered him; he even refused the most valuable of these prerogatives, the tribunitian power for life, in order to leave some doubt as to his intentions and an illusion to those who still indulged in them.

Meanwhile his lieutenants made his arms triumphant everywhere: Statilius Taurus in Spain; Nonius Gallus and Carinas in Belgica; Messala in Aquitania;¹ Crassus against the Bastarnæ and Daci. He might have ascended to the Capitol escorted



Ruins of Nicomedia.²

by triumphant generals, and inaugurated his government by announcing to the Romans the end of all war. It was the propitious moment for returning to Rome; he passed through the gates in the month of *sextilis*, which afterwards took his name (August 29th B.C.), and triumphed thrice, for the Dalmatians, for Actium,³ and for Egypt, whose great river, according to custom,

¹ Messala had taken with him his *protégé* Tibullus, who was no more of an ardent soldier than Horace. (Cf. Tibullus, *Eleg.*, i. 7.)

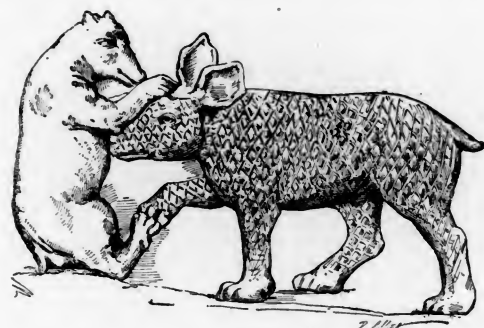
² Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, vol. i., pl. 1.

³ The name of Antony was not even uttered; it was for his victory over the Egyptian fleet at Actium that Octavius triumphed; but decrees of the senate had already overthrown the statues of the triumvir, declared the day of his birth unlucky, and forbidden any member of the *gens Antonia* to bear his surname of Marcus.

figured in the ceremony, and thus gained for us the beautiful statue of the Nile, which is preserved in the Vatican. On descending from the Capitol he vowed a temple to Minerva, the goddess who had given him his precocious wisdom, and in the Julian Basilica, which he dedicated, he placed that statue of victory which after the triumph of Christianity remained to the last pagans at Rome the venerated symbol of the glorious history of their fathers. The recompenses to the soldiers and the gratuities to the citizens were such as the treasures of the Ptolemies permitted: 1,000 sesterces each to the former, and they were 120,000 in number; 400 to the latter; even the children, who usually counted only over eleven, received their share, in honour of the young Marcellus.¹

So much gold was suddenly brought into circulation that throughout Italy the interest on money fell two-thirds, from twelve to four per cent., and the price of property was doubled.²

Notwithstanding this expenditure, Octavius was still rich



Combat between a Rhinoceros and a Bear.³

enough to make sumptuous offerings to the temples of Rome, although he had refused the golden crowns offered according to custom by the cities of Italy; he had paid all his debts without

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 41. Octavius had found a great quantity of gold in the palace of Cleopatra, for the queen on her return from Actium had despoiled the temples and the rich citizens of Alexandria, which freed Octavius from the necessity of doing so. He confiscated property, however, of those who could be accused for having sided with Antony, and all the other inhabitants had to yield him the sixth part of their fortune. (Dion, li. 17.)

² Dion, li. 21.

³ Rich, *Diet. des Ant. rom. et grecq.*, under the head *Venatio*.

demanding anything from his numerous debtors, and had burnt the acknowledgments of State debts.¹ These royal manners and the splendid fêtes which followed: Trojan games, at which Marcellus and Tiberius appeared, combats between Servian and Dacian prisoners, hunts in the circus, in which were seen for the first time a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus; so many largesses and pleasures sowed oblivion and hope. In order to announce solemnly the commencement of the new era, Octavius closed the temple of Janus, which had been open for two years, and caused the augury of safety to be taken.³



A Hippopotamus.²

Fifteen years previously, a youth from the schools of Apollonia, small in stature and of feeble constitution, had set out alone from that city, and arrived almost unknown at Rome, where notwithstanding the advice of his kindred and the entreaties of his mother, the ambitious boy of eighteen had had the boldness to claim the heritage of his adopted father, who had fallen under twenty dagger-thrusts. At first he had been laughed at. But he had deceived the most able men, he had crushed the strongest, and on the ruins of all parties and of all ambitions, he had raised an unassailable fortune. Having reached the limit, what would he do now? It is said that he consulted Agrippa and Mæcenas; that the former advised him to abdicate, the latter to retain the Empire.⁴ Such counsels are only given from the benches of rhetoricians.

Being really a cautious, practical man, without large ideas, Octavius set himself to build up bit by bit a constitution which has remained nameless in political language, and which for three centuries rested upon a lie. Fraud never endures so long; in this case only the form was false. Everyone well understood the

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 30; and Dion, liii. 2.

² From a coin of Julia Mammæa, published by Pellerin, *Mélanges*, vol. 1, p. xv.

³ *Monum. Ancyrr.*; Suet., *Octav.*, 31; and Dion, li. 20: τὸ εἰσὶναι τὸ τῆς Ὑγίας (or σωτηρίας.) Dion has previously explained (xxxvii. 24) what this ceremony was, which could only be accomplished when no army was engaged in a campaign. The augurs took the auspices in order to know whether the prayers addressed to the goddess *Salus* would be accepted that day.

⁴ Dion, lii., 1-30.

basis of things, but everyone also wished to keep up the illusion, the beloved and glorious image of ancient independence.

He therefore assumed neither the ever-hateful royalty nor the dictatorship of bloody memories. But he was sufficiently acquainted with the history of his country to know that he would easily find the means of disguising the monarchy beneath Republican tinsel, and be able sufficiently to arm absolute power with the laws of liberty. He had been consul since the year 31; under that title he had fought the battle of Actium. For six years longer he was to retain this post, which made him the official head of the State, and legally gave him the greatest part of the executive power.

But above all things he needed an army, a better guarantee at such an epoch than all the decrees and all the magistracies. He was therefore unwilling at any price to disband his legions, and in order to remain at their head he obtained from the senate a decree conferring on him the name of *imperator*. Not that simple title of honour which the soldiers gave to victorious consuls on the battle-field, but that new office under an old name which Cæsar had possessed and which conferred the supreme command of all the military forces of the Empire. The generals thus became his lieutenants, the soldiers swore fidelity to him, and he exercised the power of life and death over all those who bore the sword.²



The Goddess *Salus*.¹

¹ Hirt., *Mythol. Bilderb.*, p. 109.

² The title of *imperator* in the sense of victorious general was twenty-one times decreed

The senate represented the ancient constitution; nevertheless he retained it, and, by a piece of irony—which would be most cutting, did not history clearly prove this law of human societies, that the past always continues long into the present—he made the Republican assembly the principal part of the machinery of the imperial government. For this, two things were necessary: that body, which had fallen into great discredit, must be raised again in the eyes of the people, and at the same time it must remain pliant and docile. He attained this double end by getting conferred upon him, with Agrippa as colleague, and under the title of *præfectus morum*, all the powers of the censorship, which allowed him to make a revision of the senate.¹ There were then a thousand senators. At his invitation fifty resigned; he allowed them to retain the senatorial insignia; 140 members, who were either unworthy, or were friends of Antony, were struck off the list.

Some bold enterprise on their part was feared; they were only allowed to enter the Curia one by one, after having been searched, *prætentato sinu*, and while this operation lasted ten armed senators surrounded the curule chair of the *præfectus morum*, who wore a cuirass under his toga. But the *charonites* and the *orcini*² accepted their condemnation in silence. This necessary severity was the last act, as it were, of the Civil war. Lest men should see in it the commencement of fresh persecutions, Octavius declared that he had burnt all Antony's papers.³ This was closing the temple of Janus a second time (28 B.C.).

Many of the Conscript Fathers were poor; Octavius, who knew that in such times no consideration is shown save for wealth, required that every senator should possess at least 1,200,000

to Octavius by his soldiers after a victory. (*Monum. Ancy.*, i. 22; Dion, lii. 41.) Augustus granted this title to several of his lieutenants. Blæsus, under Tiberius, was the last who obtained it. (*Tac., Ann.*, iii. 74.)

¹ The censorship was incompatible with the consulship. The senate at that time, *deformis et incondita turba* (Suet., *Octav.*, 35), contained freedmen (Dion, xl. 48, 63), a private soldier (*Id.*, xliii. 22), and a muleteer (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 4; Juvenal, *Sat.*, vii. 199.)

² The name *orcini* (*Orcus*, the surname of Pluto) was given to slaves set free by testament; hence the term applied to those senators who had entered the Curia in virtue of Cæsar's will as interpreted by Antony; the word *charonites* is merely a variation of it, but equally unpleasant for those to whom it was applied. (Plutarch, *Anton.*, 17; Suet., *Octav.*, 35.)

³ He kept some of them, however, says his biographer, and made use of them later on. (Dion, lii. 42.)

sesterces,¹ and as the senate was reached through the quaestorship, he closed that office against all who had not large estates, by imposing upon the quaestors the obligation of providing the people with combats of gladiators. But he took care to raise to the census-value the property of those senators who did not possess the required sum, finding in this measure the double advantage of increasing the authority of his senate and making the nobles his pensioners.

To this assembly, now less numerous and more worthy, he transferred, as Sylla had formerly done, the most important affairs, taking them from the people, and none could attain the plebeian tribuneship till he had entered the senate.

But the tribuneship had fallen so low that senatorial candidates were lacking, so that he was compelled to allow equestrian candidates.² The senators displayed little eagerness to repair to the sittings of the Curia, though there were only two a month. The presence of 400 members was necessary to make a *senatus-consultum* valid; as it was impossible to assemble that number, it became necessary to reduce it.

Octavius passed the equestrian order in review with all the ancient pomp. He expelled from its ranks men of evil repute, and those who had not the 400,000 sesterces required by the *Roscian Law*; the remainder he forbade to appear in the arena or on the stage. These measures effected their object, but with this old-fashioned severity he ran the risk of not finding anyone to whom he could give the gold ring. He was determined, however, to keep the three orders complete, as well as the ancient magistrates. Lest his scarcity of knights should be observed, he authorized those who had themselves, or whose fathers had possessed, the equestrian census, to take their seats at the circus upon the benches set apart for that order. He restored the ancient institutions, because, being no longer dangerous, they

¹ About £13,000. (Suet., *Octav.*, 41; Dion, lix. 17; *καὶ οὕτως . . . ἐλάττω . . . κερταμένους ἔχαριστο ὅσον ἐνέει.*) Was there a senatorial census under the Republic? A passage in Cicero (*ad Fam.*, xiv. 5) proves that in the time of Caesar a great fortune was not necessary in order to be a senator. Marquardt (*Handbuch*, iii. 2, p. 218-228) and Willems (*op. cit.*, p. 189 *sq.*) think rightly that it was an innovation introduced by Augustus, who successively raised the amount from 400,000 to 800,000, and finally to 1,200,000 sesterces.

² Dion, liv. 30; Suet., *Octav.*, 40; Dion, lv. 4; *id.*, liv. 35.

became useful instruments in his skilful hands, and served as ornaments of his monarchy.

With a few thousand sesterces a senator or a knight could be made; it seemed more difficult to make patricians, and the war had destroyed so many old families that, in spite of the creation of fresh nobles by Cæsar, patricians were lacking for the religious services which they alone could perform. Octavius was anxious to appear as the restorer of religion, as well as of the State; he obtained commands from the senate and people to create new patrician families.¹

This parvenu took his precautions against the revolution



Combat of Gladiators.²

which had borne him to fortune; he wished for a senate and for nobles; in this state of society, so levelled by servitude and distress, he re-established a hierarchy necessary to place him far above the multitude. It was a vain precaution, for this factitious nobility, like all that do not result from their own work, though it was powerless to resist him who had created it, was too feeble to defend or restrain him, which was another manner of saving him. In the next three centuries Diocletian and Constantine were to take up this idea more seriously, but without any greater success. Octavius nevertheless retained all his rancour against

¹ Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 2, and xi. 25; *Monum. Ancy.*, No. 8. There were no more than fifty old families: *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ . . . πενήκοντα . . . οἴκοι.* (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, i. 85.) The last mention is made of patricians in the edict of Diocletian for the *maximum*; but Gaius said that for a long time past the *gentilicium jus* had ceased to exist.

² Painting in the house of Scæurus at Pompeii, from Mazois. (*Pomp.*, i. pl. 32.) Two Samnites have fought two *mirmillones*. On the frieze are inscribed the names of the gladiators, those of their masters, and the number of their victories.

the nobility, and he allowed it to appear by forbidding any senator to leave Italy without express permission.¹ It is true that here again his suspicions were veiled under the pretext of desiring a good administration of the State, and that the prohibition was renewed from ancient consular edicts, so that it appeared to be a return to old and wise customs.

The greater part of these measures were taken during his fifth consulship. In the following year (B.C. 28), he closed the census, which registered 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty.² The last numbering, in the year 70, had given one-ninth of this, 450,000. This increase, which was especially due to Cæsar, shows that he had perceived the necessity of rapidly assimilating provincials and citizens, and of establishing the Empire upon a broader basis than that which had borne the Republic. Octavius did not follow him in this path. The Roman people now numbered more than 17,000,000 souls; it was a nation. He considered it numerous and strong enough not to bend beneath the weight of the dominion which it upheld, while remaining, with relation to the provincials, a privileged class. Such at least was the part he destined for it, and during his reign the number of citizens only increased through the normal development of the population.³

When the ancient censors closed the census, he whose name they had put at the head of the list of senators, generally one of themselves, was called the chief of the senate, *princeps senatus*, and this merely honorary position he was allowed to retain during his life. Agrippa gave his colleague this Republican title (B.C. 28). No power was attached to it; only, in the absence of the consuls elect, the prince of the senate spoke first, and in Roman customs the first expression of opinion carried great weight. What would it be, then, when it issued from the mouth of the man in whose hands lay all the military power of the Empire?

¹ Dion, lii. 42; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 23. Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis were in this respect considered as Italian territory.

² *Monum. Ancyrr.*, No. 8. This number of 4,063,000 citizens between the ages of seventeen and sixty makes the total population more than 17,000,000. (See Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*, vol. iii. p. 461.)

³ I return to this question at the beginning of chapter lxx. Augustus made especially individual concessions, *provincialium validissimis*. (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 24.)

But festivals and games succeeded one another; the people had received a measure of wheat much larger than usual, the poor senators gratuities, those who were in debt to the treasury before Actium, the acquittal of their debts, and four times he came to the aid of the exhausted *ærarium*.¹ Why doubt or fear? Had he not given a brilliant pledge of the respect he wished to show for law and justice by suppressing all the triumphal ordinances? Few political men have thus dared to pronounce their own condemnation and repudiate one-half of their lives to secure the public sympathies for the other.² Nothing, then, outwardly announced the master; he had just resigned the office of *præfectus morum*; if he was prince of the senate, Catulus and twenty more had been so before him; if he was still consul, it was by the votes of the people. Was he not seen to take the fasces alternately with his colleague, according to the ancient custom, and, like the magistrates of old, to swear, on the expiration of his term of office, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws? The title of *imperator* only declared the new times.

II.—NEW POWERS ACCORDED TO OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS.

In the first days of the year 27 Octavius repaired to the Curia; he declared that, as his father was avenged and peace re-established, he had the right to withdraw from the fatigues of government and take his share of the repose and leisure which his victories had secured for his fellow-citizens; consequently he placed his powers in the hands of the senate.³

Men had resigned themselves to having a master, and here was an unexpected piece of disinterestedness making everything uncertain again. The greater number were struck dumb. Some feared; others, gifted with more foresight, doubted. The explanation of this game, played so seriously in the face of Rome, was

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 32; Dion, liii. 2.

² *Monum. Ancyrr.*, No. 17. In order to establish the public chest, *fiscus*, he poured into it, in the year 6 B.C., 170,000,000 sesterces. (*Ibid.*, i. 37.)

³ *De reddenda republica bis cogitavit, primum post oppressum statim Antonium . . . ; ac rursus tadio diuturnæ valetudinis*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 28.) *Omnis ejus sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est ut speraret otium*. (Senec., *de Brev. vitæ*, 4.)

soon forthcoming. Those who were in the secret or who had been allowed to guess it cried out against this shameful abandonment of the Republic, against these selfish desires which might suit an obscure citizen, but which were culpable in the man whom the world proclaimed and awaited as its saviour. Octavius hesitated, but the whole of the senate urged him on; at length he accepted, and a law voted by the people and sanctioned by the Conscript Fathers confirmed him in the supreme command of the armies, which he might increase or diminish at his will, and conferred on him the right to receive ambassadors and decide on peace or war.¹ It was not Octavius who usurped; it was the Roman people who despoiled themselves. The forms were preserved and the stamp of legality would be impressed upon despotism. The character of the new monarchy at once manifested itself. The first decree which Augustus demanded of the senate was one to double the pay of the prætorians.

In other respects Octavius kept up his affected moderation. The title of *imperator*, which was offered him for life, he would only accept for ten years, and for even a shorter time should he complete the pacification of the frontiers. The command of the armies required and entailed the command of the provinces, and the senators had placed them all beneath his absolute authority by investing him with proconsular power; he feigned alarm at the magnitude of the charge; the senate ought at least, to share it with him. He would leave them the calm and prosperous regions

¹ Cf. fragm. of the *lex regia*: . . . *Fœdusve cum quibus velit facere . . . liceat*. I need not add that in the life of Augustus there was no opportunity for drawing-up the *royal law*, of which the juriconsulti of Justinian made such great use. The promulgation of such a deed would have been contrary to the principles which regulated all his conduct. Indeed the explanation is very simple. The ancient kings of Rome, Cicero affirms in his *de Republica*, only took possession of the power by a curiate law, *lex de imperio lata*. During the whole time the Republic lasted a consul-elect could only in like manner exercise his powers. As in the new organization the senate replaced the ancient assemblies, the act by which it confirmed the emperor, who soon became merely the choice of the soldiers, took the place of the *lex curiata de imperio*; hence the expression of Gaius (*Inst.*, i. 85) that everything which the emperor established by decree, edict, or letter, had the force of law, *cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat*. But the senate having by degrees come to enumerate in this deed all the powers attributed to the emperor (Cf. Tac., *Hist.*, i. 42; ii. 55: *In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur*; and iv. 3: *cuncta principibus solita*), the juriconsulti put these declarations together and made up a single formula which they called not *lex curiata*, since there were no longer curiæ, but *lex regia*, in memory of the ancient royalty to which they liked any reference.

of the interior, and would take for himself those still in a state of disturbance or threatened by the barbarians. Since everyone sacrificed himself that day to the public good, the senate submitted to the necessity of administering half the Empire. True, they would not have a single soldier in their peaceable provinces, which would be surrounded by the twenty-five legions of the *imperator*. Yet in the fervour of their gratitude they sought a new name for him who was opening up a new era to Rome. Munatius Plancus proposed the title of *Augustus*, which was only given to the gods. The senate and people hailed this semi-apotheosis with repeated acclamations (17th of January, 27 B.C.). A free course was opened to adulation; all plunged into it. A tribune named Pacuvius devoted himself to Augustus and swore an oath not to survive him. A senseless and servile multitude repeated the same oath after him. The long life of the prince absolved them from keeping their word, and the tribune

Augustus.¹

had full leisure to reap the profits of his devotion. It was well to encourage baseness, so Pacuvius received gifts and honours.

The division of the provinces presently rendered another innovation necessary; the revenues also were divided. The public treasury, *ærarium*, was left to the senate, and for the emperor a private chest [*fiscus*] was established, which was to be supplied by certain taxes and the contributions of the imperial provinces. With his usual carefully calculated generosity Augustus contributed a considerable sum to it as a foundation.

At the period which we have now reached, the founder of the Empire had as yet only the military authority in his hands, though in an exceptional manner. But Augustus was never impatient to reach his ends. In order to justify his power he quitted Rome for three years and went to organize Gaul and Spain, subdued the Salassi through one of his lieutenants, and in person quelled the Astures and Cantabri. When he returned, in the year 24, after an illness at Tarragona, the joy caused by his

¹ Small bronze piece of Augustus (semis), representing on the obverse the head of that prince, and on the reverse an eagle, with the inscription, *Augustus*.

recovery and return took the form of fresh concessions. He had promised a distribution of money; before making it he modestly begged the authorization of the senate, who replied by granting him a dispensation from the *Cincian Law* relating to donations.¹ This unimportant dispensation was the first step towards the doctrine, which is the basis of absolute power afterwards proclaimed by Ulpian, that the prince is bound by no law. He was also flattered through his relations. Marcellus, who was both his nephew and son-in-law, was empowered to canvass the consulship ten years before the proper age; a like exemption of five years was granted to Tiberius, his adopted son, and the one was made ædile, the other quæstor.

The idea of hereditary succession showed itself in these premature honours; but Augustus was too prudent to allow it to be now established; on the contrary, he proclaimed his Republican sentiments more loudly than ever. In his eleventh consulship (23 B.C.), a new illness having brought him to the point of death, he summoned round his bed the magistrates and the most illustrious of the senators and knights. They thought he was going to declare Marcellus his successor in the title of *imperator*. But after he had talked of public affairs for some time, he handed over to Piso, his colleague in the consulship, a statement of the forces and revenues of the Empire,² and to Agrippa his signet ring. It was Alexander's will over again: *To the most worthy!* In the eyes of many it was even better, since he seemed to constitute the Republic his successor. That none might doubt it, he desired, when the physician Musa had cured him,³ that the writing to which he had confided his last wishes should be read aloud to the senate. The Fathers all declared that this proof was unnecessary, and refused to have the will read. Then he announced that he should resign the consulship, upon which there arose a fresh opposition on the part of the senate

¹ The Republican senate had assumed to itself this right of dispensing with the observation of a law. (See vol. ii. p. 320.)

² *Rationarium imperii*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 28.)

³ This cure gained for Musa, among other rewards, exemption from taxation, *ἀτέλεια*, for himself and all the men of his profession. (Dion, liii. 30.) He had cured Augustus by means of cold baths. Thus we see that the hydropathic system is older than the peasant of Graefenberg. The remedy which had saved Augustus a few months later killed, or at least proved unable to save, Marcellus.

and people; but he persisted in his disinterestedness, quitted Rome, where he could no longer appear without ambition, and went and resigned upon the Alban Mount. The choice of his successor was no less skilful; he substituted for himself a former quæstor of Brutus, who preserved a religious respect for the memory of his general and had piously placed his image in the *atrium* of his house.

It would have been ungrateful to be outdone by such a man. Rome must show herself as generous and confiding as he. He gave up a few months of consulship; the tribunitian power was conferred upon him for life, with the privilege of making any proposal he pleased to the senate,¹ and the proconsular authority, even in the senatorial provinces, with the right to wear the war dress and the sword even within the *pomærium*. This time the abdication of the senate and people was a real one.

For to the military authority which he already held was added the civil power which the tribunes, owing to the undefined nature of their office, had more than once seized. Since ambitious men no longer sought support among the people, but from the armies, the tribuneship had fallen off greatly; it could still, however, furnish



Augustus.²

¹ The tribunes and consuls had the right to propose legislative resolutions to the senate and people. Augustus, who held the tribunitian and was soon to hold the consular power, had thus the initiative in law, that is, the real sovereignty. But with his customary prudence he limited himself to making use of it only once at each session of the senate. Cæsar, holding the dictatorship, had no need of the tribunitian power; it was necessary to Augustus, who had not wished to assume the dreaded title of dictator, and who as a patrician and *imperator* could not be tribune. (Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 56.)

² Statue in Luni marble, with cuirass and rostrum; the plinth is decorated with the prow of a vessel. (Rome, Museum of the Capitol.)

right to him who had only might, for it represented the national sovereignty.¹ Augustus took care not to refuse the pre-eminently Republican magistracy, which carried with it inviolability and allowed him to receive appeal from all jurisdictions, to stay the action of all the magistracies, and the vote of all the assemblies, for the first duty of the tribune was to watch over the safety of the people, *ad tuendam plebem*, even if, in order to do so, he should have to transgress the laws. Had not Cicero formulated the celebrated and dangerous axiom: *Salus populi suprema lex*?

The emperors reckoned the years of their principedom by those of their tribunitian power; thus the magistracy which had established liberty became the principal instrument of absolute government.

Augustus would have, then, the right to propose, that is, to make laws; to receive and judge appeals,² that is, the supreme



The Seal of Augustus.³

jurisdiction; to stop by the tribunitian veto any measure, any sentence, that is, to oppose his will at all points to the laws and magistrates; to convoke and preside over the senate and the people, that is, to direct according to his pleasure the comitia of election. And these prerogatives he would hold, not for a year, but for life, not in Rome only and to the distance of a mile from its walls, but throughout the whole Empire, not in conjunction with ten colleagues, but exercised by himself alone; and finally, he would be irresponsible, since his charge never expired, and according

¹ The power of the tribunes could only be exercised at Rome and within one mile of its walls; the *potestas tribunitia* of the *imperator* extended throughout the Empire. Dion (li. 19) certainly confines the *potestas tribunitia* of Augustus to the ancient limits; but Suetonius (*Tiber.*, 11) speaks of Tiberius exercising it under Augustus at Rhodes.

² Ἐκκλησιον δικάζειν. (Dion, li. 19.) Under the Republic a man could invoke the intercession of the tribunes or appeal to a magistrate of equal or superior standing against the sentence of the prætor or any act of a magistrate whereby he thought himself injured. Being perpetual tribune, consul, and proconsul, Augustus naturally had the right to receive and judge appeals. The appellant deposited a sum of money which was confiscated when the appeal failed. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 28.) Nero imposed the same obligation on those who appealed to the senate from ordinary judges. (*Ibid.*)

³ Bronze seal discovered at Nîmes in 1739. (*Hist. de l'Acad. des insc. et belles-lettres*, in duodec., vol. xiv. p. 105.) The Museum of Florence possesses a seal of Augustus found in the tomb of that prince.

to Roman custom, the magistrate need render no account so long as he was in office. Here then we find ourselves in the face of monarchy, and none could accuse Augustus of usurpation, for everything proceeded legally and even without any offensive innovation. He was neither king nor dictator, but only prince of the senate, *imperator* in the army, tribune in the Forum, and proconsul in the provinces. What had formerly been divided among several was now united in the hands of one; what had been annual had become permanent. That was all the revolution.

After this great step Augustus halted for four years, which he employed in organizing the eastern provinces and convincing the Romans of the uselessness of their Republican magistracies. Of all the great divisions of the public power, there remained out of his hands only the censorship and consulship; I do not speak of the supreme pontificate, which he disdainfully made over to Lepidus. But the censorship was practically abolished, and he had insisted upon having the consulship given to him every year. In order to let the Romans make one last trial of them, he re-established the one and gave up the other.

The comitia for the year 23 appointed Marcellus Eserminus and Arruntius consuls. As though nature had been the accomplice of Augustus, no sooner had they assumed office than the Tiber overflowed, the plague desolated Italy, and famine alarmed the city. The people, seeing in these disasters manifest signs of the anger of the gods, rose against the senate, which allowed Octavius to desert his post and abandon the Republic.

The senators, shut up in the Curia, were threatened with being burnt alive there unless they appointed him dictator and censor for life. Augustus refused, and the people insisting, he rent his garments in grief, he laid bare his breast, and demanded death rather than suffer the shame of making any attempt upon the liberty of his fellow-citizens. He accepted the supervision of the victualling however, in order to have the right to watch with more solicitude over the maintenance of the people. As for the censorship, he bestowed it upon two former proscripts, Munatius Plancus and Paulus Lepidus (22).

These two Republicans were well chosen to bring dishonour upon the great Republican office and deprive the Romans of the

respect that they still retained for it. "An unhappy censorship," says a contemporary, "which they passed in continual debates, with no honour to themselves and no advantage to the Republic. The one had not the energy for a censor, the other had not the manners. Paulus was incapable of fulfilling his charge; Plancus should have dreaded it."¹ The censorship never recovered from the blow. Munatius and Lepidus were the last who were invested with that great magistracy in its ancient form.² When the troubles of the year 19 led to a desire for the re-establishment of an office which should allow of reaching those whom the law could not touch, Augustus did for the censorship what he had done for the tribuneship, and what he was afterwards to do for the consulship—he took the authority without the title; the office of *praefectus morum* was conferred on him for five years, an undefined and therefore all the more formidable power.³

The consulship fell in the same manner. He had not accepted it for the year 21. Forthwith the canvassing of former days reappeared; disturbances broke out, and all the city was agitated by those mad ambitions which pursued a shadow of power as though it were the power itself. Augustus was then in Sicily; he summoned the candidates before him, and after having sharply reprimanded them, caused the election to be made in their absence. But the peace of Rome was too important to be neglected. Agrippa, whom he had sent into honourable exile in order to please the young Marcellus, now dead,⁴ was recalled from Mitylene, whither he had retired, affianced to the emperor's daughter and sent to the capital; order reappeared with him. Things went well till about the time when Augustus was making his preparations for quitting the East. He allowed Agrippa to set forth against the revolted Cantabri, and left Rome to herself once more. Wishing, no

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 95.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 37. Later on Claudius held the censorship with Vitellius, and Vespasian with Titus. (Suet., *Claud.*, 16; *Vesp.*, 8; *Tit.*, 6.)

³ This was not the old censorship, since the troublesome right of making the census was detached from it; but the office of *praefectus morum* continued to give him who filled it a right of surveillance over all the citizens.

⁴ Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, had displayed great displeasure at that prince giving his signet to Agrippa in his illness. Augustus soothed this displeasure by a line of conduct at which Agrippa in turn took offence (23 B.C.). Being sent into Syria he had withdrawn to Mitylene. (Dion, liii. 33; Suet., *Octav.*, 66.) Marcellus died in the year 20 B.C.

doubt, to see what would happen in his absence, he did not make known before the 1st of January, 19 B.C., his refusal to accept one of the two posts of consul which had been reserved for him, so that the other consul, Sentius Saturninus, entered office alone. This novelty irritated the people; fresh comitia of election having been announced, men repaired to them with a passion and anger which recalled the palmiest days of violence in the Forum; blood flowed. Circumstances appeared propitious for the senate to reappear upon the scene; they exhumed the formula of old Republican days, whereby the consul was invested with dictatorial authority: *Caveat consul ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*. Sentius knew his part and his strength better; he refused what was bestowed upon him, and the senate sent deputies to Augustus. The *imperator* was satisfied, and named one of them consul. This was assuming the rights of the comitia, but the standards of Crassus which he brought back with him threw a glorious veil over the usurpation. Egnatius Rufus, the chief author of the disturbance, was punished with death.¹

Many decrees were passed very flattering to his vanity, a littleness exceedingly common among the Romans, who were so grave in appearance; but he only accepted one, that which consecrated an altar to the Fortune of Happy Return. But the experiment was made. As soon as Augustus went away Rome fell into disorder. Wise people thought so; they said so aloud in the senate; and on re-entering the city Augustus met a proposal to accept the consular authority for life. He already had the reality of power, the army and the provinces; a portion daily increased, without any fresh effort on his part, of the legislative and judicial authority; and finally, he was the real head of the administration and of the executive power, for the offices which seemed to be independent were open only to his creatures. He could therefore allow the nobles of Rome to play at Republic with that consulship which, hemmed in as it was on all sides, was no longer aught but an empty appearance. But his monarchical establishment would have been incomplete had he failed to get into his hands the office

¹ Dion, liv. 10; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 10. The new consul, Lucretius Cinna Vespillo, was one of the proscribed of the triumvirate. Dion relates (liv. 13) that Augustus often wore a little cuirass beneath his toga, even in the senate.

which gave a man power over all the citizens; which for 500 years had represented the glory and might of Rome; which only lately had been on the point of changing to dictatorship. He would fain be consul, however, as he was tribune; I mean that he would hold all the rights of his office unshared, though allowing others to bear the title and insignia. Not only did he maintain the consulship, but the needs of the service obliged him to make three, four, and even a greater number of consuls every year (*consules suffecti*);¹ he went so far as to separate the title from the functions in order to bestow the former without the latter, and the inoffensive magistracy lasted longer than the Empire itself.²

We have seen that Augustus had the initiative in laws, in the Curia as prince of the senate, at the comitia as perpetual tribune; he also held legislative power in another manner. Most of the Roman magistrates could publish edicts.³ In his character of proconsul, tribune, and *præfectus morum* Augustus already possessed this right, but it was limited to matters relating to each of those offices. In giving him the consular power the senators extended the *jus edicendi* of the consuls in his case to almost every question.⁴ They wished to swear obedience beforehand to all the *leges Augustales*. Relying more on his own strength than on their oaths, he dispensed with this useless formality. But he made ample use of a prerogative in appearance more modest. Being interrogated

¹ Augustus bore the consular insignia, sat between the two consuls as their chief, and always had the twelve fasces, whereas the consuls in charge only had them a month each in turns. As for the candidates, he presented them to the tribes or, like Cæsar, recommended them by a message, *per libellos. Commendo vobis illum* . . . , etc. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41.) The *ornamenta consularia* conferred no right; the *suffecti*, on the contrary, were really consuls; but the *fasti* only give the names of the two consuls who began the year.

² The consulship was abolished by Justinian in 541, sixty-five years after the fall of the Western Empire.

³ *Adjuvandi vel supplendi, vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam.* (*Digest*, i. 1, fr. 7, § 1.) The constitution thus accorded the magistrates a share in the legislative power that they might fill up or correct by their edicts the omissions and defects in the laws which time brought to light. Hence resulted that rich development of the science of law which no other people has ever displayed. Of course the same latitude was not allowed to all magistrates in their edicts. Thus the curule-ædiles only regulated matters relating to public order and municipal right. Yet there remains in the *jus civile* more than one trace of their prescriptions. The actions *rehabitoria* and *quanti minoris* which the *Digest* borrowed of them have even passed into the French Civil Code, Art. 1644. (Cf., on the *jus edicendi*, Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 6.)

⁴ His edicts and rescripts had the force of law: *νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλοιοτο*. (Dion, lii. 15; liv. 10; lvi. 38; Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani*; Gaius, i. 5; *Dig.*, i. 2; i. 4.)

from all parts of the Empire about difficult or novel cases, he replied to the magistrates, cities, and even private individuals, and these replies had the force of law. Tiberius afterwards testified to the number and importance of the legislative acts of his predecessor.¹ He himself followed the example, and his successors also imitated it, and the *edicts*, letters, *imperial rescripts*, became the most abundant source for the *jurisconsulti* of Justinian. Being no longer drawn up from the narrow point of view of a city, but in the general interest, they embodied natural law in civil right. But for them the Roman code would never have been called *written reason*.

Augustus had only accepted the command of the provinces and armies for ten years; at the commencement of the year 18 he obtained the renewal of his powers for five years. This time would suffice, said he, for the completion of his task. But when it had elapsed he demanded a fresh prorogation for ten years, and thus continued until his death, protesting each time against the violence done to his feelings in the name of the public interest. In memory of these repeated abdications of the senate and people, his successors always celebrated the tenth year of their reign by solemn feasts, *sacra decennialia*.²

This senate, which granted all that was demanded of it, was a very docile one certainly. But political bodies sufficiently numerous for the responsibility of each member to be lost in the mass do not always lend themselves to an absolute resignation, and the senate had just shown some desire to act. Augustus, who wished to appear to govern through it, decided upon purging it a second time.³

Agrippa, whom he associated for five years with the tribunitian

¹ The Roman people did not, however, resign their legislative power in favour of Augustus. They communicated it to him in such a manner that this power was exercised conjointly by the emperor, the senate, and the comitia. Had this division been really made the result would have been anarchy in the very power which should regulate all others, that which makes the law. But the senate and comitia only decreed what it pleased the emperor to make them vote.

² Dion, liii. 16. Under Tiberius it was no longer aught but a mere ceremony. (*Ibid.*, lvii. 24; lviii. 24.)

³ On two more occasions he had recourse to this measure, in the year 13 B.C. and in 4 A.D. (Dion, liv. 26, and lv. 13.) The Monument of Ancyra only says *ter senatum legi*. This was because he did not directly intervene in the fourth revision. *Τοῦτο δὲ ἑτέρων ἔπραξεν*. He chose ten senators, from whom three were taken by lot to carry out the operation.

power, also aided him in the operation. Dion and Suetonius give the details, exaggerating no doubt the fears with which it inspired Augustus. A few free out-spoken words were heard. One of the men excluded showed his breast covered with scars; another



Coin of Agrippa.¹

was indignant at being admitted while his father was expelled; and Antistius Labeo, who was chosen with thirty of his colleagues to present each a list of five candidates, placed at the head of his the name of Lepidus. "Do you know none worthier?" demanded Augustus, angrily. "Do you not retain him as sovereign pontiff?" coldly replied the great jurisconsult. And Lepidus again took his seat in the Curia. But this return to the senate did not rehabilitate him. Augustus avenged himself by indirect sarcasms, and the poor old man more than once regretted the solitude of Circeii. His death, which occurred five years later (B.C. 13) left the high pontificate vacant, and Augustus obtained it from the people for himself; it was his last conquest; there was no longer anything left worth taking.² A few years later (B.C. 2) he received the name of father of his country, a title apparently merely honorary, which, as we shall see further on,³ had a certain religious importance, and which for that reason all his successors retained. It was no doubt on account of this title that the priests were ordered to add to their prayers to the gods for the senate and Roman people, prayers for the

¹ Head of Agrippa, and on the reverse, Neptune between the letters S. C. Bronze coin.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 31; Dion, liii. 17. The chief pontiff was the head of the official religion and of the college of priests, which regulated the ceremonies of religion, examined all novelties which men attempted to introduce, and, in a word, took cognizance of all religious questions. In an inscription from the arch of Pavia, which has been preserved to us by the anonymous copy of Einsiedeln, the titles of *pontifex maximus*, *augur*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, and *septemvir epulonum*, are given to Augustus in the year 7 B.C. These were the four great sacerdotal colleges of Rome, of which all the emperors were afterwards members. Immediately after their accession they were enrolled in those to which they did not yet belong. (Borghesi, i. p. 352, and iii. p. 429 seq.) The office of chief pontiff was held for life, like the title of *imperator*. Accordingly we find double indications made on the coins of Augustus. For other offices the prince reckoned the number of years for which he had held them.

³ Chapter lxvi. § 3.

emperor also, a custom which has been retained by modern nations.



Augustus as High Pontiff.¹

To a superficial observer, however, the Republic still existed.²

¹ Statue in the Vatican, Round Saloon, No. 542.

² Under the Republic the comitia possessed a triple power, electoral, judicial, and legislative. Augustus suppressed their *judicial power* (Dion, lvi. 40) in favour of the *questiones perpetue*, the urban prætor and the senate. (*Id.*, lii. 31.) The prætor of the city also judged in many cases and without assistance from juries. Augustus appeared to have more respect for the *electoral powers* of the comitia. He restored to the people the right, which Cæsar and the triumvirs had assumed to themselves, of appointing to offices (Suet., *Octav.*, 40), but he really retained the power of disposing of the most important functions: *potissima arbitrio principis, quedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant*. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 15.) He nominated himself directly to one half the offices, and for the remainder he presented the candidates to the comitia and solicited votes for them, thus giving no opportunity for a refusal. (Suet., *Octav.*, 56.) This

Everyone believed in it; even in the time of Tiberius, Velleius continually spoke of it. Was there not a senate occupied with the gravest matters; consuls who retained the honours of their rank, *civitatis summa potestas*, and still appeared to conduct all affairs reserved for the senate; prætors who administered justice in civil and criminal cases;¹ tribunes who exercised their veto even up to the time of the Antonines;² and finally quæstors and ædiles who held office in the name of the senate and people;³ whilst the

recommendation even became, as a legal act, an actual proposal made to the people and requiring their acceptance. (Cf. *Lex de imp. Vespasiani*, and App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 103; Suet., *Vitell.*, 11; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 77.) His consular power, moreover, allowed him to exclude the candidates who were displeasing to him. Tiberius had none of this circumspection; he suppressed the electoral comitia. But Dion (liii. 21) agrees with Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 91), Pliny the Younger (*Panegy.*, 63, 64, 77, 92), Quintilian (*Instit.*, vi. 3, 62), Suetonius (*Dom.*, 10), and Vopiscus (*Taciti Vita*, 7) in stating that there was an apparent concourse of citizens at the election, and this, he adds, is still seen to this day (under Alexander Severus). It was only in the third century that the emperors nominated themselves to all the offices. (*Digest*, xlvii. 14; *fr. ex libris Modestini*.) Even then there was an appearance of *comitia centuriata*, and the flag still floated over the Janiculum. (Dion, xxxvii. 28.) As for the legislative comitia, they are found under Augustus (Suet., *Octav.*, 34; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 16; and Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 12), under Tiberius (*ad Ann.*, 24, *medendum senatus decreto aut lege*), and further on, *lata lex*. This was the formula for a law voted in the comitia. They are found under Claudius; under Vespasian we find a *populi plebique jussus* in the Royal Law. Under Nerva (*Digest*, xlvii. 21, 3) and Trajan mention is still made of laws voted in the comitia, and up to the time of Hadrian right seems to have been wholly regulated by laws and *senatus-consulta*. (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 3.) Even in the third century the adoption called *adrogatio* could only take place at Rome, *et populi auctoritate* (Cf. Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 98-108, and Ulp., *Regul. lib.*, viii. 2-5); but in that case the thirty curiæ which formerly exercised the *auctoritas populi* were represented by thirty lictors, presided over by the chief pontiff, and it was to this man that Antonine addressed himself when he wished to permit wards *adrogari*. (Gaius, *ibid.*) The *jussus populi et plebis* was also a mere formality at least 100 years before Hadrian. The imperial policy delighted in making words last far longer than things.

¹ There were as many as sixteen under Cæsar; Octavius restored the number to twelve. (Vell. Patere., ii. 89; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 4; Dion, liii. 32; lvi. 25.) Fifteen or sixteen were found under Tiberius. They presided over the *questiones perpetuæ* as long as they existed—courts formed of senators, knights, tribunes of the treasury, and *ducenarii* appointed by the prætor. Later on a prætor was established for *fideicommissa*, another for disputes between the treasury and private persons, a third for wards. (Suet., *Claud.*, 23; Dion, lx. 10; Capit., *Marc Anton.*, 10.) They were obliged to be at least thirty years old. (Dion, lii. 20.)

² Under Tiberius a tribune opposed his veto to the senate and won. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 77.) Under Claudius the tribunes still convoked the senate. (Dion, lx. 16.) Under Nero a tribune set free some men arrested by a prætor, but a limit was then set to their jurisdiction. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 28.) Upon the duration of their veto, Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 26; *Hist.*, ii. 91; iv. 9 (under Vespasian); Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 23; ix. 13 (under Nerva). They retained the right of bringing proposals before the senate, and shared with the prætors, ædiles, and quæstors the superior administration of the fourteen divisions of Rome.

³ The quæstors, who numbered twenty after Sylla's time (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22), and were obliged to be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20), had the same powers as in the past except that the administration of the *ærarium* was taken away from them and entrusted to two

comitia of tribes and centuries assembled to confirm the laws, appoint magistrates, and even, should it seem good to them, reject the proposals of the prince?

If a rogatio was in question, Augustus came and voted with his tribe; if a trial, he gave his evidence as a witness; and the advocate might with impunity take him to task or utter sarcasms against him;¹ if an election, he led forth the candidate whom he supported amid the crowd, recommending him for their votes, but always adding, even to his nearest relatives, "if he deserves them."

This economical and simple man, always dressed in wool that his wife, his sister, or his daughter had spun,² who for forty years, winter and summer, lived in the same room in a modest house on the Palatine, the door of which was ornamented with laurels and a crown of oak leaves; who in the senate spoke, listened, and voted like an ordinary senator; who never shut his door against any,³ nor refused his aid to the poorest of his clients; who had friends; who went out to dinner without a guard,⁴ wherever he was asked, and gave his advice at family councils when it was desired;⁵ and who finally, in order to save an obscure prisoner, pleaded with the

ex-prætors; but in exchange they had charge of the *senatus-consulta*, of which the ædiles were deprived. (Dion, liv. 36.) Later on there were *quæstors candidati principis*, whose exclusive duty it was to read the letters from the prince to the senate. (*Digest*, i. 13, 1, § 2; Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 27.) The ædiles, the number of whom was raised to six by the creation under Cæsar of two ædiles for the distribution of wheat (Dion, xliii. 51), had the right of judging certain matters; which for greater regularity Augustus made over to the prætors. (*Id.*, liii. 2.) A share of their powers also went to the prefect of the city, the superintendent of provisions, and the commander of the night-watch; there remained to them only the surveillance of the streets, markets, baths, and books, the supervision *lupanarium* and *popinarum*, the care of carrying into force the sumptuary laws, which last duty Tiberius took away from them (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 52-3), and the heavy expense of the *ludorum solemnium*. Accordingly the ædileship was little sought after, although on more than one occasion Augustus helped the ædiles from his private purse to do the honours of their office; after the third century they are no longer mentioned. The *vigintivirs* (originally twenty-six in number) also existed.

¹ Like Murena in the trial of Primus. (Dion, liv. 3.) Violent libels were written against him; he contented himself with merely answering them publicly. (Suet., *Octav.*, 55.)

² At his meals there were only three, or at most six, courses, and these always of the plainest fare.

³ *Admittebat et plebem.* (Suet., *Octav.*, 53.) A suppliant presented a petition to him, trembling: "Truly," said he, "you make as much fuss about it as if you were offering a piece of money to an elephant." (*Ibid.*)

⁴ He had a personal guard of German soldiers however [like the Swiss or Scottish guard of some recent courts.—*Ed.*].

⁵ Senec., *de Clem.*

prosecutor instead of interposing his veto;¹ a man like this, what was he? A master or a God, as some declared him to be? No,



Health (Hygieia).²

alone exercised in the name of the whole Republic. But let us follow the example of Augustus, who surrounded these superseded

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 56-7, and 72; Dion, xlix. 15; liv. 15 and 30; Vell. Patere., ii. 81. On returning from a journey he always entered Rome at night in order to avoid the noise and display. Till within two years of his death he took part in the family festivals of his friends. (Suet., *Octav.*, 53; Dion, lvi. 26.) Although he possessed the right he never wore the sword or war-dress at Rome, but only the senatorial toga. (Suet., *Octav.*, 73.) He forbade men to call him master or lord. (*Ibid.*, 53, and Dion, liv. 12.) "Let them speak ill of me," wrote he to Tiberius, who blamed him for his moderation; "what does it matter as long as they cannot do me any harm?"

² Statue in the St. Petersburg Museum. "In this statue," says Clarac, "we have the most pleasing of the representations of the goddess of Health and her serpent." The Louvre Museum possesses a Hygieia, which we gave in vol. ii. p. 362.

he was peace and order personified. When the people and senate clubbed together to raise statues to him, he refused, but erected them to the deities whom he wished to have honoured above himself: Public Health, Concord and Peace.

To enable him to realize and bestow these good things, the essence of all the great Republican offices had been extracted and given to him, and from the union of these powers had been formed an authority still nameless in the city, and which was limitless, because he who possessed it permanently was the representative of the Roman people, the depositary of their dignities, the guardian of their rights, which he

dignities with respect, and was very careful not to speak aloud of their decay.

Their decay, forsooth! The people still made laws and bestowed offices; the imperial senate had more prerogatives than ever the Republican one had possessed. It governed half the Empire, and received ambassadors from foreign princes. It had the public treasury in its keeping; its decrees were laws,¹ as in the time of patrician omnipotence, and great criminals were withdrawn from the judgment of the people and brought under its jurisdiction.² It decreed triumphs, and more than thirty generals had already obtained them in ten years. It was the source of all legality, even in the case of the emperor, who held his powers from it, and through it obtained their prolongation. It was the senate which dispensed legal prescriptions,³ and ratified conventions made by the prince with foreign kings and peoples; which in time to come was to confirm the emperors chosen by the soldiers, appoint some itself, or, if need arose, tear up their wills even should the signature be that of Tiberius. More than this, it made gods; we shall see it decreeing Olympus or the Gemoniæ Scalæ to the dead prince. What was wanting to it, then? Assuredly,

¹ *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 4, and *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 9.)

² The senate usually tried attempts against the State or the prince, also extortioners and senators and their children who were accused of any crime. To enter the senate, the number of which was restored to 600 members (Dion, liv. 13), a man must be at least twenty-five years of age (Dion, lii. 20); he must be neither mutilated nor infirm (*id.*, liv. 26); he must possess 1,200,000 sesterces (Suet., *Octav.*, 41); under Trajan, 4,000,000 (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 3); and must have been quæstor. The senate was convoked twice a month, on the Kalends and on the Ides, except in September and in October, the fever months at Rome, during which it was in recess and was replaced by a vacation assembly. The prince could convoke it as often as he thought fit. (Dion, lv. 3; liv. 3.) The consuls and prætors retained their right of convocation; the tribunes at length lost theirs. (Dion, lxxviii. 37.) The presidency belonged to him who had convoked the assembly. When the prince was not president he could always bring forward proposals, *jus tertie relationis* (Vopis., *Prob.*, 12); 400 members formed a quorum, but as the senators neglected their illusory duties it became necessary in the year 2 B.C. to lower this number. Two years later Augustus was further obliged to punish the absent by fines. (Dion, liv. 35; lv. 3.) From the year 59 scribes, under the superintendence of a senator, kept a register of the acts of the senate, *Acta diurna*. Octavius forbade their publication. (Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 36, and the extract given by Aulus Gellius (xiv. 7), from a treatise by a Varro on the keeping of order in the senate.) Expulsion from the senate rendered a man incapable of being a judge or witness by virtue of the *Julian Law, repetundarum*. (*Digest*, i. 9, fr. 2.) By the *lectio senatus* which he exercised in virtue of the *ensoria potestas*, the emperor summoned to the senate *inter questorios, tribunicios* or *prætorios* whom he would (the twenty questors became twenty new senators every year), and by his right of initiative he made this great instrument of the imperial administration work as he desired.

³ Dion, liii. 18, 28; lvi. 32; lx. 23.

neither rights nor titles, nor even liberty of discussion, for more than once Augustus fled from the Curia to escape violent altercations.

Yet what a ridiculous contrast between the pomp of the forms and the emptiness of the reality! The sovereign people was no longer aught but a collection of beggars, who seemed to desire whatever he wished who fed, amused, and paid them; and the Conscript Fathers, the senators of Rome, spoke and voted as became the creatures of the prince, who daily begged of him the money wherewith to escape their creditors. They did not even possess beneath their laticlave that liberty of the poor man in his rags, to laugh openly at the solemn comedy played by Augustus and the Roman nobility.

III.—FRESH OFFICES, MILITARY, FINANCIAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION.

Before showing how Augustus justified his power by his services, we must see in what manner the higher administration of the Empire was modified in order to make it fit in with the new régime.

As there were apparently two powers in the State, the prince and the senate, so there were two orders of magistrates, those of the Roman people and those of the emperor. The former, after pretence of an election by the senate and people, annually filled the ancient Republican offices, with the exception of the censorship; the latter, appointed directly by the emperor, and subject to dismissal at his will, were invested for an undetermined period with new functions; and one of the rights of these functions was always, and this is characteristic, military authority.

In the year 25 Augustus made a regular magistracy of what had been only a confidential mission to Mæcenas and Agrippa. He appointed Messala prefect of the city, "to repress without delay turbulent slaves or citizens;"¹ and for the purpose of

¹ There had already been *prefecti urbis*, but under totally different conditions. The powers of the new prefect of the city extended to a distance of 100 miles from the walls of Rome. He received appeals in all civil suits tried at Rome as far as 100 miles round, and he at length

maintaining order he gave him three urban cohorts. This prefect, the representative of the emperor in his absence, held an authority at once military and civil, and like all the prince's officers, he was not subject to the yearly dismissal; Piso, the third prefect of the city, remained in office for twenty years, until his death.

This post, which was usually entrusted to the leading man among the senators, and was a fresh encroachment upon the consular authority, grew with the power from which it emanated; yet less rapidly than that of prætorian prefect, which began more humbly. In every Roman army the leader had a personal guard, *cohors prætoriana*, formed of his bravest soldiers. Augustus, transforming the custom into a regular institution, organized nine prætorian cohorts, each containing 1,000 men each, with a certain number of horse;¹ three remained at Rome, six in the various towns of Italy. These prætorians had double pay, a brilliant uniform, and probably the rank of centurion, for they bore the vine-stock. They were under the command of two knights, prætorian prefects, who had the power of life and death over their soldiers. Under Augustus the prætorian prefects were merely military leaders, but they gradually encroached upon the civil authority, and at length became the chief personages in the Empire after the emperor.

Below the prefect of the city were the *prefectus vigilum* [a prefect of police], who commanded the seven cohorts of night-watchmen, with the commission to secure the safety of the city,



Mæcenas.²

acquired almost the whole of the criminal jurisdiction, with the right of banishing from Italy, etc. He decided without juries, taking only the *opinion* of his counsel. (See in the *Digest*, i. 12, 1, the analysis of a rescript of Septimus Severus upon his prerogatives; *ibid.*, xxxvii. 15, fr. 1, § 2.)

¹ Each cohort had ten *turme* of cavalry, each numbering thirty-two men. From Vespasian's time there were ten cohorts. [This organization was similar to that of our regiments of Guards or Household Brigade.—*Ed.*]

² From a fine amethyst in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2077 in the Catalogue. The name of the celebrated engraver Dioscorides, which is seen behind the head, makes this engraved gem very valuable. (See above, p. 674, the same man when younger.)

and stop fires, and the *præfectus annonæ*,¹ who had the care of victualling Rome. The *vigiles*, who were drawn from among the freedmen, obtained the rights of citizenship after three years' service.

"In order to make a great number of citizens participators in the administration of the Republic," says Suetonius, naïvely, "Augustus created new offices, such as the superintendence of public works, roads, and aqueducts, of the bed of the Tiber, of the distributions of wheat to the people. He increased the number of prætors, and would have liked to have two colleagues given him instead of one, when he was consul; but this he did not obtain, everyone exclaiming that his majesty was already greatly impaired by the fact of his sharing with another an honour which he had the right to enjoy alone." Suetonius might have also enumerated the numerous officers of procurator created by Augustus for the financial administration of the Empire, the grades in the twenty-five legions promised to zeal and devotion, and in Rome itself that army of petty municipal officers whose importance he raised, 1,064 *vicomagistri*. Claudius went still further; he instituted "the imaginary service," that is to say, officials with no duties to perform. Such was the spirit of the new government: to weaken offices by splitting them up; to increase the number of functions in order to attach to the prince's cause those who accepted them and to surround with an outward show of respect the ancient Republican magistracies, as the illustrious dead are covered with a magnificent pall. We must also observe, however, in these innovations the sincere desire shown to ameliorate the public administration. These numerous disciplined agents who received a fixed stipend in order that more might be required of them, answered better to the needs of the times and rendered the maintenance of order more easy.

Augustus, who called himself a simple citizen of Rome, could

¹ The *præfectus annonæ* saw that the wheat from the corn-producing provinces, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, arrived at the appointed times, and that monopolists did not artificially raise the price of it. The *præfectus frumenti dandi* superintended the public distributions, and prevented those from sharing in them who had no right thereto. There were also the *præfecti ærarii*, *alvei Tiberis*, *aquarum*, the *curatores ædium sacrarum monumentorumque publicorum tuendorum*, *viarum*, *riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis*, etc. (Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 6, and the collections of inscriptions.)

not have ministered like a king; his friends gave him the help of their experience. We know them already: Agrippa, Mæcenas, Valerius Messala, Statilius Taurus, Sallust, the adopted son of the historian, and a few old *consulares*. The great number of questions to be studied compelled him at length to distribute the principal matters regularly among his friends. Thus he set over each province a *consularis*, who was its representative, as it were, at Rome, and who received all the appeals coming from it. This council [or cabinet] was organized by degrees. Suetonius, Dion, and Zonaras speak of fifteen members, and afterwards



Sallust the Historian.¹

twenty, who were changed every six months, and chosen by lot. The lot, I imagine, was neither so blind nor so free as to introduce any independent councillor. The consuls in office, who formed a higher tribunal for Italy and the senatorial provinces,² and a functionary from each order, were summoned to it. This council, from which arose the imperial consistory, and which in case of need became

¹ Marble bust found at Rome, near the *porta Salaria*, with the name of C. SAL. C. (Caius Sallustius Crispus) inscribed on the pedestal. (H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des marbres du Musée Campana*, No. 62.) The friends of Augustus and grand-nephew and adopted son of the historian had inherited his fortune; he possessed rich copper mines in the country of the Centrones in the Cottian Alps. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 2.)

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 4; Dion, liii. 21; Suet., *Octav.*, 35.

a high court of justice,¹ was reorganized in the year 13 A.D. It was then composed of twenty members chosen for one year, of the consuls in office and the consuls-elect, of the princes of the imperial family, and all whom the emperor chose to invite; its decisions had the force of *senatus-consulta*.²

Hitherto, at least, the government had seemed to be exercised from the midst of the senate; it was now transported to the palace of the prince; Augustus could carry on the administration of the Empire in his bed.³

In his eagerness to organize everything, he wished to bring the study of law itself under discipline, and to make an official magistracy of what had always been a free profession. He created a college of *prudentes* who gave answers to all questions in the prince's name. The judges whom he chose to institute himself were obliged to accept the decisions of these *jurisconsulti* when they were unanimous. A judicial law regulated the procedure.⁴

These rights conferred on the prince, and this administration in which he enveloped Roman society would have been useless

¹ In the year 4 B.C., in order to decide a dispute between Archelaus and Herod Antipas, Augustus caused an account to be laid before him of the extent of their father's States and the amount of his revenues. He read the letters of Varus, governor of Syria, and of Sabinus, his steward in Judæa; then he assembled a great council of the principal men of the Empire, at which C. Cæsar, the son of Agrippa and Julia, whom he had adopted, held the chief place, and asked each to give his opinion upon the matter under discussion. (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 4, and *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 9.) He again assembled his friends and the principal men of Rome to know whether the Jews should be allowed to unite with Syria or Archelaus should reign. (*Id.*, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 8.)

² Dion, lvi. 28. This council was itself very ancient; the governors of the province (Cic., *Verr.*, ii. 29) and even simple judges (Val. Max., viii. 2) gave their decisions according to the opinion of those who assisted them. Mention is made of the imperial council under Nero (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 62, and Suet., *Nero*, 15), under Vespasian (Suet., *Vesp.*, 17), under Trajan (Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 22; vi. 22 and 31), etc. The upper Empire had thus a sort of council of State to elaborate laws, which was at the same time a court of justice, but its members had neither an official and permanent nomination nor regular sessions, nor any particular place for their deliberations. Like our courts of appeal, they did not make, but determine the sense of, the law "*ut major juris auctoritas haberetur*." (*Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 47.)

³ Dion, lvi. 28. Three of the members of this council, men of consular rank, were entrusted with a sort of ministry of foreign affairs. The envoys of kings and allied nations addressed themselves to these alone, except in important cases, in which the senate or the prince decided. The freedmen and slaves of the prince were kept in the background, but some of them already held posts which afterwards became very important; *a libellis, ab epistulis latinis, ab epist. græcis*, etc. (Cf. Hirschfeld, *Röm. Verwaltungsgesch.*, p. 202.)

⁴ In the year 25. (Paulus, in the *Digest*, xxii. 5, fr. 4, and xlvi. 2, fr. 3.) *Quibus permissum est condere jura*. (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 7.) *Sæpe . . . judicium decurias recognovit*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 29.) Pomponius, in the *Digest*, i. 2, fr. 2, § 47, and Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 7. Later on the prince formed a privy council for juridical and disputed matters, the *auditorium*.

but for the army; this he made permanent after having purged it, too, and subjected it to severe discipline. Then, with a skill in which Agrippa's advice is evident, Augustus laid down the principle of massing the troops, avoiding detachments and small garrisons, in which discipline and military spirit are lost. He had twenty-five legions recruited from outside Italy, and especially by voluntary enlistment; these he posted along the frontiers.¹ Facing the Barbarians were 300,000 men stationed in permanent camps (*castra stativa*), living ramparts against which the wild waves of the invasion long swept in vain.

Flotillas were attached to the legions of the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates, and four fleets, at Ravenna, Frejus, Misenum and in the Euxine, kept order on the seas, a thing which the senate had never done with regularity. Then was seen the strange spectacle of an Empire of 60,000,000 souls armed only on its frontiers, and ruled in the interior without a single soldier;² a wonder which was no doubt due in a great measure to the impossibility of a successful revolt, but also, and especially, to

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5, and Dion, lv. 23. They each contained about 6,000 foot and a small number of horse, which rose at length, in the time of Vegetius (*de Re mil.*, ii. 6), to 7,260, with an almost equal number of auxiliaries (*cohortes auxiliares*), who retained their national dress and arms. (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 89.) The pay of a legionary was ten *ases* (five-eighths of a denarius) a day, or 225 denarii a year: *denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc, vestem, arma, tentoria redimi*. The State, then, only provided wheat free of cost. The prætorians (9,000 foot and some horse), who received double (Dion, liii. 11), and whose pay was raised by Tiberius to 720 denarii, were recruited, like the urban cohorts, in Italy (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5); the legions were drawn from the provinces and often from amongst the soldiers of the auxiliary cohorts, who by legionary service won the right of citizenship. Besides the cohorts formed of provincials, there were thirty-two of volunteers (*coh. ital. civ. rom. voluntar.*), either Italians or Roman citizens settled in the provinces who preferred to live on military pay rather than by work. The ancient method of recruiting, *legere milites*, still continued, for Tiberius was ordered to visit the slave factories of Italy in order to find those who were hiding there, *sacramenti metu*. (Suet., *Tib.*, 8); but recourse was rarely had to it, for to keep the twenty-five legions up to full strength very few soldiers were needed each year, and a great number of volunteers was always forthcoming. (See in the *Digest*, xlix. 16, 4, § 10, and below, chapter lxx.) The legion was commanded by a *legatus*, an ex-prætor, who had under his orders ten tribunes, heads of the ten cohorts of the legion, the *præfectus castrorum*, a kind of chief of the staff, who came next after the tribunes, and the *præfectus equitum*. The cohort was divided into six centuries, each commanded by a centurion; the cavalry into twenty-two *turme*, under a decurion. Besides the legions and their auxiliaries stationed along the frontiers, some native corps were left in certain localities. Thus the Helvetii guarded one fortress of their country with their own soldiers; the Ræti had a militia in their province (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 67, 68); a cohort of Ligures kept watch over the country round Frejus, *vetus loci auxilium* (Tac., *ibid.*, ii. 14), etc. But these were only unimportant exceptions.

² [Nearly the same thing may now be seen in the great Republic of the United States, except that its frontier enemies are quite insignificant.—*Ed.*]

the gratitude of its subjects towards a government which at first exercised only a high and salutary protection, without any annoying intervention in the administration of local interests.

These soldiers (after 5 A.D.) had to serve twenty years in the legions, sixteen in the guards. The State took the best part of their life; accordingly, the prince promised not to abandon those who should merit the *honesta missio*.¹ To reward discharged soldiers was an old Republican custom; the innumerable colonies



Sacrifice in honour of Cæsar and Augustus at Ravenna (Ecole des Beaux-Arts).

formerly founded by the senate had been of that character, and we have seen what evils the application of the principle had brought upon Italy. Augustus, unwilling that such commotions should again take place, substituted money for land; he gave the veterans of the legions 3,000 denarii, and those of the prætorian cohorts 5,000.

In deciding to keep a standing army and allot salaries to the State officials, and in accepting the duty of making military roads

¹ Dion, iv. 23. Augustus had not at first dared to impose so long a term of service; in the year 13 B.C. a regulation had only required sixteen years of the legionaries and twelve of the prætorians. (*Id.*, liv. 25.)

through the provinces, and helping the towns in works of public utility, Augustus was necessarily deciding upon an increase of taxation,¹ since revenues would be needed for new expenses. There were certainly some remnants of the *agri publici* left; the incomes from the mines and quarries; the customs-dues of the provinces, which amounted to one-eighth of the value of objects of luxury and one-fortieth on the other articles; one-twentieth on manumissions, and above all the former tribute of the provinces, the tithes, the property-tax, and the poll or personal tax.² But all this was not enough; instead of overweighting the provincials, Augustus boldly asked the citizens for the funds he needed; and in this act is manifested the true character of the Empire which was at first a government of reparation and justice. The Republic, making the whole world subservient to the advantage of Rome, had exempted the citizens from taxation; Cæsar restored the custom-houses in Italy, and Augustus brought in financial measures which were very nearly equivalent, as regards the Italians, to the re-establishment of the ancient *tributum ex censu*. He laid a duty of one per cent. upon all articles, movable goods or fixtures, whether sold in the markets or by auction, even at Rome, and in the Italian peninsula.³ On sales of slaves the duty was two per cent.⁴ Six years after the commencement of our era, he created the tax of a twentieth payable by *cives* who, without being heirs by kindred, received an inheritance or legacy exceeding the value of 100,000 sesterces.⁵

This arrangement, which respected the rights of nature and of poverty, was just in its principles and excellent in its effects, for it placed impediments in the way of an unwholesome industry. At Rome many wealthy men avoided marriage and lived surrounded by a crowd among which might sometimes be seen prætors and consulares, who, in order to get themselves remembered in a will,

¹ See in vol. ii. p. 182 *sqq.*

² M. L. Renier (*Inscr. de Colonia Julia Zarai*) thinks that in Africa the entrance-dues were not so high. Marquardt (*Handbuch*, vol. ii. p. 267 *sqq.*) gives a certain number of these different tariffs.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 78: *Centesimam rerum venalium*. (Cf. Suet., *Calig.*, 16.)

⁴ Dion, iv. 31. This duty afterwards rose to 4 per cent. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 31.)

⁵ Dion, iv. 35; Suet., *Octav.*, 49; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42; Pliny, *Panegyrr.*, 37. Our less humane legislation imposes the same dues on the inheritance of the poor as on that of the rich.

paid assiduous court to some morose old man. It was well that the law should reach these vultures, as Martial calls them, and that the State should intervene between the inheritance and these strangers, and take a portion of their illegitimate gains to be used in the public interest. The frequency of such legacies and testamentary succession rendered the State's share a very considerable one. It is not improbable that, thanks to this tax and to Roman manners, all the property of the citizens passed through the treasury in a few generations. Thus the *vicesima hereditatum et legatorum* became the principal source from which the *ararium militare* was replenished.

It is impossible to arrive at even an approximate valuation of the revenues of the Empire; perhaps they amounted from £12,000,000 to £16,000,000.¹ This was a very small budget, but as all communal and provincial expenditure was borne by towns and provinces, the Empire had only to pay for an administration which was still very simple, and not a very numerous army.² Thus Tiberius found means to amass more than £16,000,000 or £20,000,000.³

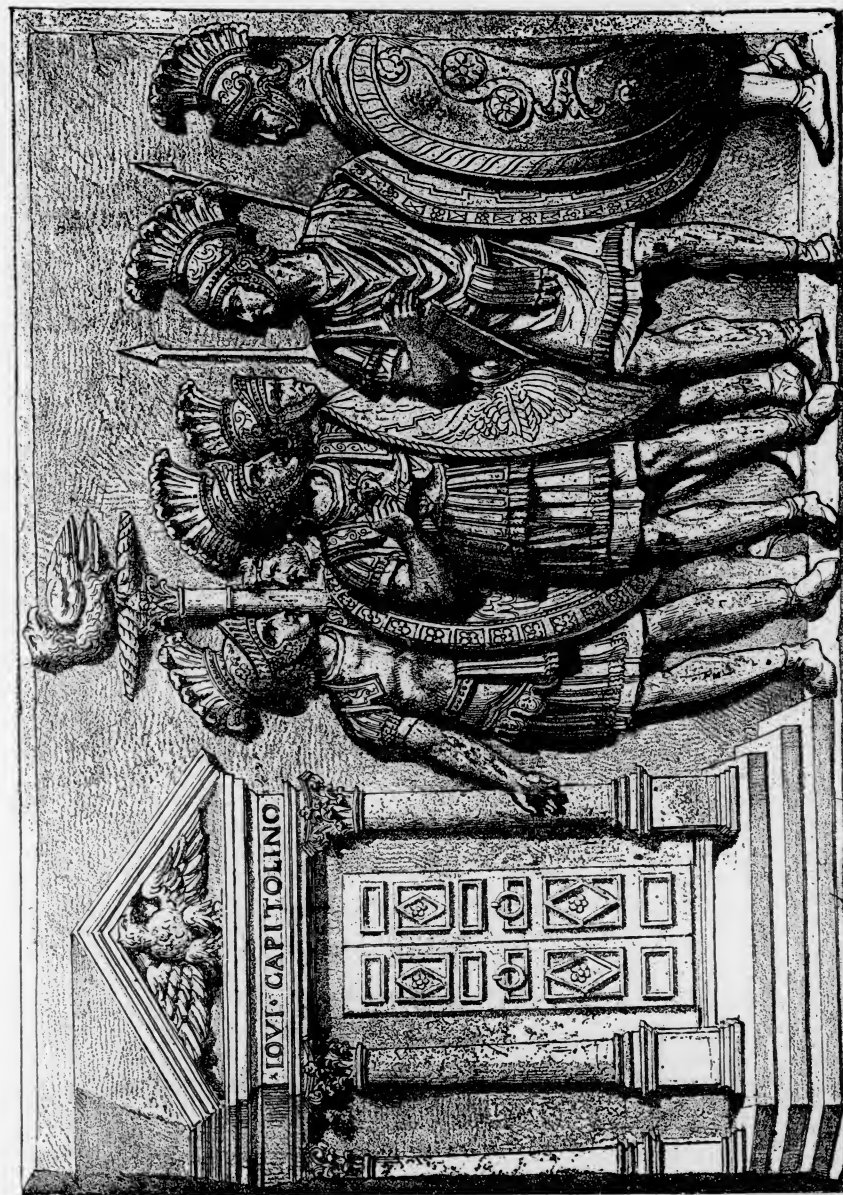
In civil courts there still existed the ancient distinction between instance *in jure* before the magistrate who drew up the legal formula applicable to the case, and instance *in judicio*, where the point of fact was decided upon by the centumvirs, the *recuperatores*,⁴ the judge whom the magistrate had deputed, or the arbitrator

¹ This amount even will appear exaggerated if we call to mind that in 61 Pompey declared that by his conquests he had raised the public revenue from 50,000,000 to 85,000,000 denarii. (See above, p. 48, note 1.) In chapter lxvii., § 2, we shall speak of the different funds among which all these revenues were divided.

² The embellishments of Rome were generally made by private individuals, and the wheat, which was sold at a low price to the people, was furnished by the corn-producing provinces.

³ Suetonius (*Calig.*, 37) says 2,700,000,000 sesterces, and Dion (lix. 2) 2,300,000,000.

⁴ The origin of the *recuperatores* is obscure. They seem to have had the charge of suits in which the parties were of different stations, as citizens and peregrini, patrons and freedmen, etc. (Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 46), or of those which required a prompt decision. They were proposed by the parties, who had a reciprocal right of challenge. Civil affairs, those which concerned *quiritary property* and questions bearing thereupon, *wardships*, *successions*, *testaments*, etc., were decided by the centumvirs, 120 judges chosen by lot for each affair from among the 4,000 senators, knights, and duenaries annually inscribed in the *album judicum*. The centumvirs were divided into four sections, each of forty-five members, convoked by the *decemviri stlitibus judicandis*. On the importance of the questions brought before the court of centumvirs, see Cicero. (*de Orat.*, i. 33.) Under the Empire judicial eloquence took refuge there. (Pliny, *Epist.*, *passim*.) The number of 4,000 jurors is given by Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 7.)



Pretorian Guards (from a bas-relief in the Louvre).

whom both parties had accepted. In the first centuries of the Empire, then, the Romans retained a course of civil proceedings, which in certain points recalls our modern juries. But instances *extra ordinem*, that is, in which the magistrate, freed from the ancient rules, himself conducted the inquiry, and pronounced the sentence, grew so numerous as to invade all suits. Diocletian made this exceptional form a general rule, and competency ceased to be determined by the nature of the interests to be decided upon.

In criminal proceedings the judicial organization underwent serious changes. A share of the civil and criminal jurisdiction was assigned to the three prefects of the *vigiles*, the *annona*, and the city;¹ to the senate the cognizance of crimes committed by its members, by public functionaries, or persons of consideration in the State; and to the emperor the right of deciding in all serious cases brought before him on appeal or reserved by him.² Accordingly the *questiones perpetuae* by degrees fell into desuetude, and criminal justice, instead of being administered by jury, that institution of free States, was dealt out by the agents and instruments of the prince. Thus when tyranny made its appearance, it found hateful instruments ready which enabled it to conceal its vengeance beneath the mask of law.

To sum up, behind the official government, wholly Republican in form, which sat in grave and idle state in its curule chairs,³ was the real governor,⁴ scarcely ever visible in the Curia or Forum, but who noiselessly and without display, carried on all the business of the Empire.

The prætorians and a guard of German and Batavian horse secured his inviolability; the prefect of the city watched on his behalf over the maintenance of order in Rome, with the 4,500 men of the three urban cohorts, having a care that the *præfectus annonæ* should keep the public granaries always filled, and that the *præfectus vigilum* maintained security in the streets. Though prætors annually chosen by lot administered the public treasury (*ærarium*) in the name of the State, the prince made the senate

¹ See above, p. 716, note 1.

² The emperor judged with the assistance of a council, or sent the affair either to the senate or to a *jux* (Pliny, *Epist.*, vii. 6), and afterwards to the prefects of the *prætorium*.

³ The senate had only twenty regular sittings every year. (Dion, iv. 27.)

⁴ Appian (*Præf.*, 6) says of the emperors from Cæsar onwards: *Εἰσι δὲ ἑργὴν πάντα βασιλεῖς.*

open it to him; so that the army, justice, religion, the law, the finances, the officials, all the resources, and all the living forces of the Empire were in his hands.

He had constituted himself the soul of that great body, that he might regulate all its movements according to his will; and in order to bind the whole Empire by the religion of the oath, every year on the first of January, the senate, the people, the legions, and the provincials swore fidelity to him.

This was the government. Let us see how it worked.

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 190 in the Catalogue.



Augustus crowned with Oak and Olive.¹

CHAPTER LXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS AT ROME AND IN ITALY.

I.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION.

BY a kind of monarchical instinct, which in the mind of Constantine was to become a settled principle of social organization, Augustus tried to introduce divisions and ranks into the State, in order to restore subordination and discipline. He saw that the man who stood alone above all had to fear from all, and therefore in order to guard the approaches to power, he placed between himself and the multitude a host of men arranged in gradations in such a manner that this hierarchy, pressing with all its weight upon the masses beneath, kept the populace and agitators quiet.

What remained of the old patrician nobility held the first rank in the city, with the privilege of exclusively filling certain religious offices; below them came the senatorial nobility, half hereditary; still lower the monied nobility or the equestrian order: three aristocracies one above another.

The senate consisted, firstly, of 600 titular senators, whose names had been inscribed on the yearly official list; secondly, of the twenty quaestors annually in office, to whom their position opened the Curia, and the ex-quaestors who had not yet become titular, by replacing deceased senators.¹ The titular alone were really senators: the others were called, "those who are authorized to speak before the senate," *quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licet*. We see that Augustus took into the high assembly the prospective

¹ Velleius Paterculus says: *Designatus quaestor, necdum senator æquatus senatoribus*. (ii. 111.) Augustus must have made a *lex annalis*, such as the Republic had had. Dion, says Mæcenas, proposed it to him (lvi. 20), and we know that a man only attained the quaestorship at twenty-five and the prætorship at thirty. (Cf. Capitolinus, *Marc Anton.*, 5.)

great officials of the Empire, in order to animate the whole administration with one spirit. Even among the titular senators there existed old distinctions, indeed; a man's seat was determined by the office he had held. These were various degrees of nobility, as it were; a prætorian was not the equal of a consularis, and those who had only received the insignia ranked below the men who had exercised the charges themselves. We know, too, that to enter the Curia it was necessary to possess the senatorial census, and that no mutilated person was admitted;¹ an arrangement which would be very strange amongst a nation of soldiers, had it not been inspired by a religious idea which has passed into the discipline of the Catholic clergy.²

The sons of senators formed an intermediate class between the senatorial and equestrian orders. They shared in some of the honorary prerogatives of their fathers; from the age of seventeen they wore the laticlave and the black buskin, were present at the sittings of the senate,³ and when their term of military service was completed, obtained one of the offices of the vigintivirate at Rome.⁴ These duties initiated them into public affairs, and facilitated the obtaining of the quæstorship, and so to the senate.⁵ There existed, then, with respect to this body, a sort of hereditary right not unlike what Augustus proposed himself in connection with the supreme power; neither of them openly avowed, but pointed out as a necessary condition of stability.⁶ In the second

¹ Dion, liv. 26: . . . χωρὶς ἢ εἰ τις ἀνάπνεος ᾖν.

² [Has it not rather come to us from the Mosaic Law?—Ed.]

³ Suet., *Octav.*, 38. See in the *Digest* (i. 9) how much the juriconsulti occupied themselves about them; they even continued the title and privileges of a senator's son to the child conceived before his father's expulsion from the senate. (*Ibid.*, Ulp., 7; *ad legem Juliam et Papiam*.)

⁴ *Triumviri capitales, triumviri monetales, quattuorviri viarum curandarum and decemviri stlitibus judicandis*. It was necessary to be at least twenty-two years of age to attain it. (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 83.)

⁵ Claudius thus regulated the military promotion of knights: *cohors, ala, tribunatus legionis*. (Suet., *Claud.*, 25.) A cohort, which numbered 600 men, corresponded nearly to one of our battalions. The knights, therefore, started with a very considerable command, but this command was often rather nominal than real. At the age of twenty-five these *tribuni militum honores petaturi*, as Pliny calls them (*Epist.*, vi. 31), solicited the quæstorship (Orelli, No. 3714; *quæstor designatus annorum xxiii.*), then the ædileship and tribuneship, and at thirty the prætorship, whence it may be inferred that the offices of the vigintivirate were not so much a magistracy, *honos*, as what is called in the *Digest* (l. 16, 239, § 3) a *munus*, or personal obligation. Upon the vigintivirate, see Dion (liv. 26) and L. Renier. (*Mél. d'Épigr.*, p. 203-214.)

⁶ Below them came the former senators, who for some reason or another had quitted the senate. (Dion, liv. 14.)

century the senatorial families came to form an hereditary nobility, *ordo senatorum*;¹ from this time forward the Conscript Fathers, their wives and children, were withdrawn from the dominion of ordinary justice and were only subject to the jurisdiction of the senate.²

One privilege accorded to the sons of senators had serious consequences. As they attained the legionary tribunate and the prefecture of cavalry merely by right of rank, promotion by birth often replaced promotion for service, and the evil at length became so great that Hadrian, one of the restorers of Roman discipline, was obliged to declare that he would appoint no more beardless tribunes: *nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret*. Moreover as it would have been imprudent to let these beardless youths fulfil the duties of their office, it was necessary to associate old centurions with them: these doing all the real duty, *tribuni minores*; the former having all the honours, *tribuni majores*.³

The Roman legions then suffered from the evil which made havoc with modern armies in the last century, when a child in its cradle received a colonel's epaulets, and officers of good birth barred the way against officers of fortune.

Augustus established distinctions in the equestrian order.



Young Roman in toga (Villa Albani).

¹ Tacitus already speaks of consular families (*Ann.*, vi. 49; xiii. 12), and Philostratus likewise. (*Vita Apoll.*, iv. 45.)

² Dion, lii. 31, 32; Suet., *Calig.*, 2; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 44; Pliny, *Epist.*, ix. 13.

³ *Tribunus major per epistolam sacram imperatoris judicio destinatur, minor tribunus provenit ex labore*. (Vegetius, ii. 7.) This author belonged to the fourth century, but the evil had its origin in the institutions of the first emperor, and we have just seen that Hadrian affirmed it a century after Augustus.

Knights of noble origin and who had the senatorial census formed a separate class, that of the *illustres*, which was the nursery, as it were, for the senate. When that assembly did not provide candidates for the plebeian tribunate, they were taken from amongst the *illustres*. The prefecture of the prætorium and that of Egypt, and the control of several provinces, were reserved for them, as well as the superintendence of provisions, the command of the nightwatch, the higher ranks in the army, and almost all



Caius.



Lucius.

The Grandsons of Augustus.¹

the newly created posts, which enriched a man, whereas the senatorial offices ruined him. The latter compelled him to give games and festivals; the former ensured a salary of one, two, or four hundred thousand sesterces. Finally, at the head of the knights were the grandsons of Augustus, the *princes of the Roman youth*, and in their ranks the dearest friends of the emperor, Mæcenas and Sallust. In the army they no longer formed the cavalry of the legions, which was principally furnished by the allies; but the six companies of horse guards, *equites equo publico*, were kept at Rome for solemn occasions; the emperor reviewed

¹ Caius and Lucius Cæsar. (From two cameos in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 204 and 205 in the Catalogue.)

them every year and placed in them the most distinguished of the young nobility. This honour of "the public horse" was afterwards bestowed even upon children,¹ and those who possessed it had seats at the theatre in a different place apart from the other knights, *cuneus juniorum*. As for the crowd of monied men, the veteran who obtained the gold ring as a reward for his services, the provincial whom the emperor created knight and who came and settled at Rome, these took charge of the civil courts, which employed four thousand judges or jurors.

Thus the senators deliberated upon great public affairs; the principal knights undertook almost the whole administration of the Empire; and these formed the twofold aristocracy upon which Augustus rested his power in the interior; an aristocracy, not of birth, in spite of some appearances of hereditary descent, but of money, for in order to enter the senate or the equestrian order, or to obtain an office, a settled and considerable fortune was necessary;² an aristocracy which he augmented at will, for as our kings granted letters of nobility, so he sent the decorations of consul, prætor, tribune or quæstor to citizens who had not held these offices, or gave the gold ring to men whom he wished to raise to the rank of knights.³

At official receptions the senators had the privilege of embracing the emperor; the prince contented himself with saluting the *illustrious* knights by name when he wished to be gracious to them.

After the knights came the burghers of Rome, who held a place midway between the equestrian order and the *plebs urbana*. The privilege of furnishing a fourth decuria of judges, that of the *duccenarii*,⁴ and the thousand posts of local inspectors which he

¹ We find in inscriptions *equites equo publico* who died at the age of sixteen and even five. (Cf. Orelli, 305(2)-3, and L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.*, 1825-26.)

² Dion, liv. 17. Men were sometimes mistaken about their fortunes or found the office too great a burden, for I see that in the year 19 an ædile resigned his office on account of poverty. (*Id.*, liv. 10.)

³ *Insignia consularia*, etc., or *inter consulares, prætorios* . . . *referre*. Cæsar had already done so. (Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 76: Dion, xliii. 47.) He likewise bestowed the *triumphalia ornamenta*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 38.)

⁴ Possessing 200,000 sesterces. This fourth class of judges was organized in the year 17 n.c., and judged *de levioribus summis*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 32.) They had the right to wear an iron ring (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 7); a paltry distinction, indeed, but one which flattered because it gave rank.

reserved for them,¹ constituted them a distinct class. I imagine they were few in number, however, for they must have had a tendency to rise higher and obtain the gold ring, or else sink lower and share with the proletaries the monthly gratuities.

When Cæsar took a census of those who were fed at the



Nymph of Diana found in the Gardens of Sallust.

expense of the treasury, he found they numbered three hundred and twenty thousand; he struck off one half, and for the remainder ordered that every year the prætor should replace deceased pensioners by lot from among the poor not yet inscribed on the list.²

The disorders which followed his death and the increase of want raised the number to the original amount, and it was only in the second half of his reign that

Augustus dared to lower it again to about two hundred thousand.³ His colonies in Italy and the provinces facilitated this reduction; in order to render it lasting, he encouraged work, strove against the selfish fashion of setting slaves free, and showed himself very grudging of the rights of citizenship. Thus we see, then, that beneath the real Roman society there were two hundred thousand

¹ There were 265 quarters (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 9), and four or five inspectors for each quarter, chosen annually doubtless by the *curator regionis* from amongst the inhabitants, *e plebe cujusque ricinie electi*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 30.) Augustus granted them the right of wearing on certain days the *prætecta*, and of having two *viatores*. (Dion, iv. 8.) In his will Tiberius left them a special legacy. (Suet., *Tiber.*, 76.)

² Dion, xliii. 21; Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 41.

³ In the year 2 n.c. Three years previously the poor still numbered 320,000. (Dion, iv. 10.)

[salaried] beggars [not to speak of applicants for the dole], a formidable threat to the public peace. But being rid of its demagogue tribunes and held in check by the prætorians of the *imperator*, the *plebs urbana* confined itself to begging and made no more disturbances.

Augustus had kept up the ancient republican offices; in reality, as titles which served to classify men. In order that this classification might be a strict one, he revived the ancient precedents concerning the hierarchy of magistracies, and consecrated them by the very exceptions which he granted.¹ When he demanded a solemn *senatus-consultum* granting his grandson a dispensation from the *lex annalis*, no man would be so bold as to dare to exempt himself from it. Everywhere and in everything his administration tended to multiply the differences of social condition, either of persons or of cities and countries. For instance, he divided Rome into fourteen districts, and these districts, by their administrations and by the prerogatives of their inhabitants,² were placed above the *suburban* districts, and these in turn were more favoured than the rest of Italy,³ which again was looked upon by provincials as a privileged land.

Even in the right of citizenship Octavius made differences: the new man did not hold the freedom of the city by the same title as the man who was born to it,⁴ and the provincial who

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 29. Numerous inscriptions give in the clearest manner the law of advancement in public offices, *cursus honorum*. For no person forgot to have the record of his services engraved on his tomb, in the order in which his functions had succeeded each other. In order to exclude from high offices those who were not very rich, he added to the obligations imposed by Sylla on the prætors that of giving the games which the ædiles formerly celebrated. The consuls, and under Claudius the quæstors, were also compelled to furnish the people with games. (Dion, lix. 14; ix. 27; Suet., *Claud.*, 4; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22.)

² It was necessary to reside at Rome in order to obtain an office; distributions were only made to the *plebs urbana*. Rome paid less dearly for salt than the rest of Italy. (Livy, xxix. 37.)

³ All the region within 100 miles of Rome was placed under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the city and was exempt from the payment in kind imposed upon the rest of Italy. (Godefroy, book ix., *Cod. Theod. de Annona*, ii. 1, and Savigny, *Steuerverf.*, p. 22.) Certain freedmen could not settle in the *suburban* district. (Suet., *Octav.*, 40, and Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 27: *Si contra fecerint ipsi bonaque eorum publice venire jubentur*.) "He did not make Italy quite equal to Rome," said Suetonius. (*Octav.*, 46.) The *lex Papia Poppæa* furnished a new proof of this inequality. The *jus trium liberorum* was allowed in Rome to him who had three children; to obtain it in Italy it was necessary to have four; in the provinces, five. The prohibition contained in the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, forbidding the husband to alienate the *prædium dotale*, only applied to Italian property. (*Inst.*, II. viii., *proam.*)

⁴ With respect to wills, for instance. The foreigner who had not obtained the *jus cognationis* as well as the *jus civitatis* paid a tax of one-twentieth even when he inherited from his father. This distinction was only abolished by Nerva and Trajan. (Pliny, *Paneg.*, 37.)

was decorated with the toga was neither in right nor dignity the equal of the Quirite of Rome. Hitherto there had been several steps to mount in reaching the *jus civitatis*; Augustus added a fresh one: no Egyptian could become a citizen of Rome without previously being a citizen of Alexandria.¹ Add to this the great and permanent distinction which he established between Quirites and soldiers, of whom he made two separate peoples, that he might make use of the one to control the other.

Thus from the lowest ranks of the masses to the very top the classes were clearly defined; nor were they less so among the provincials, from the *dedititius* to the *civis*, and even lower still, from servitude to freedom. There was the slave whom manumission before a magistrate made eligible for the citizenship; the slave who could only obtain the new *Latinity* created by the law *Junia Norbana*; and lastly the slave who was forbidden to come within a hundred miles of Rome and whom Gaius places in the lowest stage of freedom.² "Not satisfied," says Suetonius, "with having raised a vast number of obstacles between slavery and mere liberty, and placed a still greater number between slavery and the enjoyment of political rights, he had regulated the conditions, the differences and the number of manumissions."³

It was at the theatre that the Roman people was best to be seen; there it was with its pontiffs, its vestals and its senate. Before the time of Augustus the greatest confusion reigned there, all sat down wherever they could;⁴ but he introduced order, *ordinavit*: that is the leading idea of his whole reign. In the front row sat the magistrates, then the senators and their sons; behind these were the fourteen benches of the knights. The people were separated from the soldiers; the married plebeians

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 4, 5, 22.

² *Pessima libertas*. (*Inst.*, i. 68.) He could never become a Roman or Latin citizen. The law *Ælia Sentia* passed in the year 4 B.C. (Dion, iv. 13), relegated him to the rank of the *peregrini dedititii*. (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 13-15.) The *Latini Juniani* (law of the year 19 B.C.) merely enjoyed liberty; accordingly on their death they were considered as having never issued from slavery, and their old master resumed his rights over their property. (Gaius, *ibid.*, and the *Inst.*, i. 5, 3.)

³ The law *Furia Caninia* (8 A.D.) limited the number of testamentary freedmen, and the law *Ælia Sentia* forbade a master of less than twenty years of age to liberate a slave, *preter quam si causam apud consilium probaverit*. (Ulp., i. 13.)

⁴ *Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 44.)

from the unmarried. Women had a place set apart and the ragged proletaries were relegated to the worst places.

Dress marked a man's rank; Augustus strictly maintained the differences. He forbade the Greek mantle and drove out of the Forum those who had not the toga, for as his poet-laureate said: "It is by the toga that the royal nation is recognized." Horace is right in two senses: the toga was the sign of national sovereignty, and by its amplitude and the elegance of its folds it was one of the most majestic garments that man has ever worn, especially when the purple border contrasted with its pure whiteness. Seen on the cold figures which that nation has left us of itself, it contributes to maintain the fame of Roman gravity.¹ But strip it off the shoulders of the crowd which encumbered the Rome of Augustus, and you would find a vain and pitiful society in which each sought eagerly after some distinction, or set his pride upon obtaining something glittering, or at least something which ranked apart.

These tendencies became evident even in the penal law. The Twelve Tables awarded the same punishment for the same offences, whoever the guilty party might be, provided he was a citizen;² the new legislation separated the great from the small, those whom, even while it struck at them, it called honourable men, *honesti*, from those whom it only mentioned with disdain, *humiles*, men of no account; and it fixed two categories of punishments, the most rigorous for the poor. We do not know at what period this insulting distinction was established, but it was the inevitable outcome of the state of society whose laws and traditions acknowledged the higher origin of the patrician, the absolute power of the father of a family in his household, the unlimited authority of a master over his slaves, the strict rights of a patron over his freedmen, and which consequently could never have known equality. Such an organization of city and family left the poor man no place save in the clientship of the arrogant rich whom Martial calls kings; and Cicero and Sallust are only expressing the thoughts of these latter when they speak of "the starveling crowd, depraved in manners, inflated in hopes, and whose inmost

¹ We have given many specimens in these volumes, e.g. ii. 292.

² Livy still said: *Lex est surda, inexorabilis . . . nec causis nec personis variat*.

thoughts are envy." The ancient political law expelled the *cerarii* from the *comitium* and the army; the new one placed them in an inferior position judicially. Augustus determined the classes whose testimony should not be accepted in a court of justice,¹ and one of his juriconsults Labeo declared that it was not lawful for a *humilis* to bear witness against an *honestior*; we have seen how the triumvirs began that legislation which decreed different punishments for the same offence, according to the social position of the guilty party.² In the paintings of the little commonplace city of Pompeii, many grotesque scenes occur, for there were ancestors of Pulcinello dwelling there who loved a coarse kind of pleasantries; but not one representation of popular life is found, for they despised it.

The language, which had hitherto been severe in its sober elegance, became overloaded and turgid. The oriental emphasis which for two centuries past had been spoiling the tongue of Demosthenes and Plato, soon began to act upon that of Cicero and Virgil. Common words no longer sufficed; the senators assumed or received the qualification of *Most Eminent*;³ the members of the equestrian order became the *Right Honourable*; and their service in the army was called the *distinguished service*. Soon, with the progress of servility, everything became *Right Reverend*, even in the palace of the obscene Cæsars. Some laughed at all this; Augustus even heard the favourite of Mæcenæ scoff at these classifications which were made by fortune, not merit. But the Romans accepted them, and the use of exaggerated superlatives has passed to their descendants: from the Alps to the Channel of Malta *Eccellenza* has long reigned.

¹ *Digest*, xxii. 5, 3, § 5.

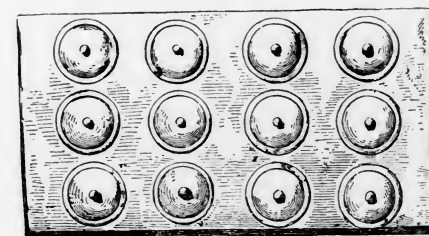
² See my paper on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores* in the collection of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, vol. xxix. part i.

³ *Clarissimus*. We find this title already used under Claudius. (Cf. Orelli, No. 3115.) It was applied to the wives and children of senators. (*Id.*, 3764; Renier, *Inscr. d'Algér.*, 1825, 1827, etc.)

II.—MEANS EMPLOYED FOR ENSURING ORDER AND COMFORT.

This people, outwardly so carefully classed, still required corn to feed it, games to amuse it, and an active police to keep watch in its stead against the Tiber and robbers, fire and plague, and all the ills to which its carelessness left it so greatly exposed.

Augustus took care not to leave these requirements unsupplied. Accordingly his great business in Rome, after strengthening his power, was to guarantee the means of subsistence for the immense population which encumbered the city. He would willingly have avoided doing so, and have sent this inconvenient crowd out into the country; but the distributions were a legacy of the Republic:



No. 1



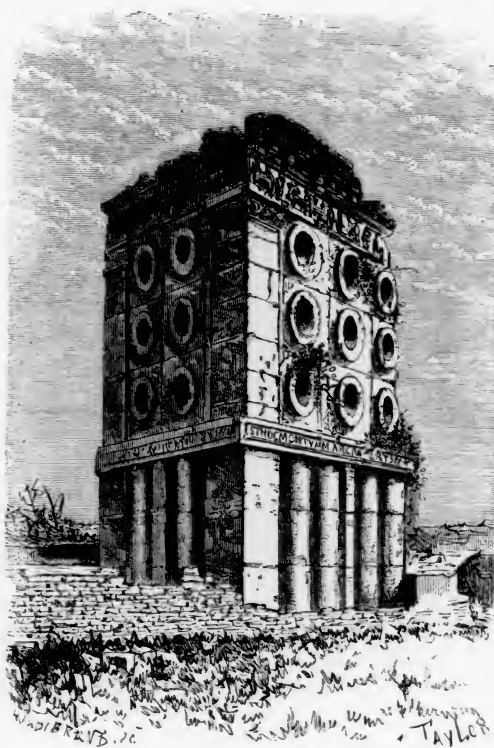
No. 2.

Frumentary Tesserae or checks for bread.¹

and we have seen that an idea of right attached to them which the Gracchi and even Cato had recognized and Cæsar respected. Augustus made the *frumentationes* an imperial institution under the direction of the *præfectus annonæ*, who tried all cases, civil or criminal, relating to trade in grain. At first all, rich and poor alike, had been admitted to the enjoyment of an advantage won by all. Later on the senators and knights had been excluded; Augustus drew up the frumentary law settling the quantity of wheat to be supplied by the provinces for the consumption of the palace, the soldiers and the citizens settled in Rome (*annona militaris* and *annona civica*); two hundred thousand out of a population doubtless exceeding one million five hundred thousand

¹ From two specimens found in the excavations; No. 1, a tessera of older pattern, a tablet upon which is stamped the number of measures to be received; No. 2, a tessera of more recent date, a hollow ball with the quantity obtained written upon it. Upon the *frumentationes*, see vol. ii. p. 425.

souls.¹ The *annona* was now only a relief granted to necessitous persons and all those who, without being actually in want, were



Tomb of the baker Eurysaces.³

far from well-off. The quantity of wheat given, a bushel and a half a month, that is to say, scarcely the ration assigned to a slave or a prisoner, was not sufficient to support a family.² As this assistance did not free those who received it from the necessity of seeking other means of support, it cannot be said that, thanks to the *annona*, a whole people lived without doing anything.

This wheat cost the State nothing, since it was furnished by the frumentary provinces, which were obliged to forward the

grain to the ports of embarkation. Thence the vessels of the maritime cities transported it to Rome,⁴ so that the treasury had nothing to

¹ In the year 5 of our era a gratuity of sixty denarii each was given to 320,000 men of the plebs. Many plebeians then were not included in the usual distributions.

² The *modius* being equivalent to 1 gallon, 7.36 pints; 5 *modii* = 1 bushel, 1 gallon, 4.8 pints, which gave about 92 lbs. of bread; owing to the imperfections of the processes of grinding and bread making, the wheat scarcely yielded its weight in bread (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 120), whereas with us 100 lbs. of flour give at least 130 lbs. of bread. Now with 92 lbs. of bread a family could not be supported, and Dion is right in saying (lv. 26); 'ὅς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν.'

³ Tomb of the baker Eurysaces, found in 1833 during the demolition of a tower in Rome, with an inscription which seems to belong to the time of Augustus. The tomb is made of old kneading-troughs. (Orelli, No. 7267, and *Annales de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1833, p. 231.)

⁴ Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 14. Thus the Jews were obliged to carry to Sidon the fourth part of the crops. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 109, 6; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 51.)

pay but the cost of storage and keeping in the granaries of the city. Though it was said that taxation in kind was in the case of the frumentary provinces less heavy than the taxation in money,¹ which but for it, would have been increased by the sum represented by the wheat furnished, it must be allowed that these distributions caused the State an annual expenditure of thirty-three shillings for each person, or £360,000 in all.² With every reason we do the same thing under better forms and in larger proportions. At Paris in 1876 the *bureaux de bienfaisance* succoured 114,000 persons, who received on an average, 51 francs 11 centimes each; and 180,000 other citizens, or a number almost equal to that of the persons inscribed on the list of the *annona*, earning less than four hundred francs, were exempted from the payment of the personal dues and those on movable property, which the city paid for them, without the character of the individuals being taken into consideration at Paris any more than at Rome. Official assistance costs thrice as much in our capital as it cost in the capital of the Empire;³ but what with us bears the fine name of charity is called corruption when Rome is in question.

In times of famine Augustus doubled the ration; often, indeed, he arranged surprises for the people. In his eleventh consulship he twelve times gave them wheat bought at his own cost; and at each important event of his life, he made distributions of money which sometimes amounted to as much as four hundred sesterces a head, and the sum total to £5,320,000: His edicts had forbidden candidates to scatter money amongst the tribes;⁴ from this it was concluded that he had reserved to himself the

¹ The value of the wheat delivered by Egypt was about 2,500 talents.

² According to the *Verrine Orations* (iii. 75) the *modius*, which in commerce was worth one denarius (Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. polit.*, vol. i. p. 108), only cost the State three sesterces. As each person on the lists received sixty every year, the annual expense was 180 sesterces, or £1 13s. for each recipient, one sesterce, $\frac{1}{16}$ of the aureus, being equal to 24d. (Levasseur, *De la Valeur des Monnaies romaines*, p. 28 and 29), which makes the total expenditure $33 \times 200,000 = 6,600,000$ s. = £360,000. It would be £480,000 if, allowing for the cost of warehousing, we accept the trade price for the State corn, four sesterces instead of three.

³ In 1873 the *Assistance publique* in Paris expended 12,420,000 francs out of its own revenues, and it received from the city a subvention of 14,474,977 francs; the city also paid the treasury 4,520,370 francs in redemption of the 180,000 dues on persons and movables.

⁴ Dion, liv. 13-17. The penalty incurred by such canvassing was exclusion from all magistracies for five years.

right of bribing the whole Roman people. In that case it must be confessed that the people did not value themselves at a very high price: less than ten shillings each per annum.¹ One day after a gladiatorial display they yielded to him who had given it the privilege of electing one of the prætors every year.² This was still better than selling their birthright for a mess of pottage.



Augustus crowned with Wheat.³

What declamations men would spare themselves if they were better acquainted with the state of ancient society, wherein these liberalitys, which were of common occurrence, were an honour to those who bestowed and those who received. In former times the patron had been under obligations to secure his client a piece of ground; now he secured him a piece of bread, the *sportula*. Every morning the poor man came to the door of a noble or wealthy house and held out his provision-basket and his hand; into the one the distributing slave disdainfully dropped the remnants of the feast, and into the other some small coin. Augustus, having become the universal patron, owed the Roman people the *sportula* and gave it.

¹ According to the *Monum. Ancy.* (No. 15) he distributed among the inhabitants of Rome in ready money 375,000,000 sesterces and 31,200,000 denarii, or 500,000,000 sesterces, which make a sum of £4,000,000. The average number of recipients was about 250,000, which makes a sum of £25 received by each citizen in forty-four years, or 10s. a year.

² Dion, li. 23.

³ As a member of the college of *Fratres Arvales*, and in memory of his care in securing the means of subsistence to the people. (Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, Hall of Busts, No. 281.)

In this society the rich had also the duty of amusing the poor; the nobles had never failed to do so; Augustus followed their example. The spectacles were of two kinds: the *ludi* or scenic representations and races in the circus, which recurred on fixed days; and the *munera*, or combats either of gladiators or wild beasts. He regulated the cost and number of those given by magistrates and private individuals; but he himself gave many. "I have made 10,000 gladiators fight in the arena," he says in his will, "and I have caused 3,500 wild beasts to be hunted there." In a single one of these hunts 260 lions were slain. On another occasion he caused a broad canal to be dug along the Tiber, and thirty galleys, of three or four banks of oars, with a greater number of small vessels, divided into two fleets, and manned by 3,000 men, not counting the sailors, furnished the multitude with the representation of a naval combat.



M. V. Agrippa.¹

Treating the people like a great child, whom it was necessary at any price to divert, he had curiosities sent from all parts of the Empire, a rhinoceros, a snake fifty cubits long, or a monstrous tiger. Thirty-six crocodiles came from Egypt all at once, and he made the Flaminian circus into a lake for them. "Even when it was not a festival day," says his biographer, "if anything reached him which had not yet been seen at Rome, he caused it to be at once shown in all parts of the city." During Agrippa's ædileship, in the year 38, the games had lasted two whole months,² and Varro exclaims: "At Rome life is nothing but a surfeit of pleasure every day."³

¹ From the Capitol, Hall of Philosophers, No. 16.

² Fifty-nine days, probably taken from the whole year. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 7.)

³ *De Re rust.*, iii. 2.

The people did not understand any contempt of their pleasures, they liked their leaders to take part in their amusements. Caesar had nearly lost his popularity through occupying himself with business during the performance. Augustus carefully avoided committing the like error. He remained whole days at the games. If any public necessity obliged him to absent himself, he asked permission,¹ and appointed someone to take his place.

He protected actors, deprived the magistrates of the right of causing them to be beaten with rods, and interested himself in the quarrels of the mimes. "It is to your interest, Caesar," said Pylades to him, "that the people should occupy themselves with Bathyllus and me."² Augustus did not need the advice of the mime to make him leave the Roman people those circus passions and that liberty in theatrical matters which alone it never lost. Rather would he have excited them still more, "for," says Suetonius, "all those, without exception, who devoted their ingenuity to public performances appeared to him worthy of attention. He increased the privileges of athletes and suppressed the ancient law which placed comedians, outside the theatre, in strict dependence upon the authorities."³

There was another way in which he paid court to the multitude. These men of the south were all artists and poets. Deprived of necessities, they demanded fêtes, and provided that their city was beautiful, they never noticed that their hovels were filthy. In fact, these hovels were not their dwellings. In that happy climate where the days are fair and the nights so soft, they lived *sub dio*, and the porticoes, temples, triumphal arches, and statues really belonged to them, since they ceaselessly enjoyed them. Augustus promoted this taste also. Caesar had set him the example, he continued his great works. For himself he built upon the Palatine a dwelling which was the beginning of that series of palaces with which the emperors covered the Royal Hill,⁴ and since the Republic still existed, or at least was said to

¹ *Petita venia*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 45.)

² Dion, liv. 17; Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii. 7; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 77.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 45.

⁴ I avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the able director of the excavations on the Palatine, Senator Pietro Rosa, who has done so much for archæology by his discoveries, and who intends to give us back the whole of Augustus's house, a portion of which

do so, he obliged his friends and the chief senators to follow the republican customs, and help with their fortunes in decorating the city.¹ The Field of Mars, round which most of the buildings were grouped, formed a new city, wholly monumental, which for houses had temples, theatres, and porticoes.

Agrippa, as skilful in these labours of peace as in those of war, built, says Suetonius, an infinite number of beautiful edifices. One of them, the Pantheon (*Santa Maria Rotonda*), still exists, and bears on its front these words: *M. Agrippa L. F. cos. tertium fecit*. It was not, as has been thought from the name afterwards bestowed upon it, consecrated to all the deities of Olympus. In the interior, facing the entrance, stood no doubt the statue of Jupiter the Avenger, who had exacted from all Caesar's murderers the expiation of their crime. To the right and left of the God of Vengeance were the deities and heroes of the predestined race: Mars and Venus, Æneas and Iulus, Romulus, the founder of patrician Rome, and Caesar, the founder of imperial Rome. Octavius refused to take his seat amongst the immortals, and discreetly placed his statue outside near the door; on the other side he placed that of Agrippa.

Inclined by his practical genius towards useful enterprises, Agrippa, during his ædileship, led to Rome the *Aqua Virgo*, a fountain said to have been discovered and pointed out to the parched Roman soldiers by a young maiden; to this very day, after the lapse of 1,800 years, it still supplies half of Rome with clear, fresh water (the fountain of Trevi). He built the *Diribitorium*, the largest edifice that ever existed under one roof;² he repaired the ancient canals, established 700 drinking troughs, 105 playing fountains, 130 reservoirs, 170 free baths, and upon these erections he placed 300 statues and 400 marble columns; and all this in one year."³ At his death he bequeathed to the

is still under the gardens of the Villa Mills. A very pleasant visit may be paid to the Palatine with M. Boissier's *Promenades archéologiques* (p. 51-110) for a guide.

¹ *Principes viros sæpe hortatus est, ut . . . monumentis . . . urbem adornarent*. (Suet., *Octav.*, 29.) A temple built by a private individual had to be kept up by his posterity. (See chapter lxx. § 2.)

² This edifice was used for the inspection of votes, the payment of troops, and the distribution of gratuities amongst the people. (Dion, lv. 8; Suet., *Claud.*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 40.)

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, § 9.

prince 240 slave engineers, whom he had trained, and whom Augustus presented to the State for the completion and maintenance of the works of his great minister.

Augustus also boasted of having "repaired the aqueducts, which were falling into ruins, and doubled the volume of the *Aqua Marcia*, by leading a new spring into the conduit which carried it to Rome." He restrained the Tiber for some time from periodically devastating the lower quarters of the city by widening and deepening its bed, which had long been obstructed and narrowed by ruined buildings.¹ He instituted a special commission of *curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis*.

To secure Rome against disorder and fire, he divided the city into fourteen districts, and each district into quarters. The surveillance of the districts was entrusted to annual magistrates, under the superior authority of the city prefect,² that of the quarters to inspectors chosen from among the inhabitants themselves (*vico-magistri*).

Seven cohorts of night watchmen, sub-divided into seven posts, one for every two districts, were placed under the orders of a prefect of the equestrian order, and charged with the duty of preventing and arresting fires.³ These *vigiles*, all freedmen,⁴ could obtain after three years' service the *tessera frumentaria*, and with it the full citizenship. As for maintenance of order during the day, it was looked after by the three urban cohorts, to whom the prætorians could lend a strong helping hand in case of need. When Augustus gave games in the Campus Martius, and all the people flocked thither, he caused the deserted city to be guarded by soldiers, lest robbers should plunder the empty houses of the inhabitants, a precaution which speaks volumes as to the state to which society had been brought by twenty years of civil war.

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 30, and de Rossi, *Piante di Roma*, p. 30.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 30.

³ The *præfectus vigilum* exercised criminal jurisdiction over incendiaries and robbers. Grave cases were reserved for the prefect of the city.

⁴ In the year 23 he had given 600 slaves to the curule-ædiles for service in cases of fire (Dion, liv. 2); in A.D. 5 he organized the corps of *vigiles*, who were at first drawn from the classes of servile origin. Later on they were taken from anywhere. (Dion, liv. 26.) These night-guards each carried a bell to summon each other with. (*Id.*, liv. 4.) All the cities followed the example of Rome, and had public slaves to maintain order, attend to the roads, and discharge the lower offices of the administration.

The true remedy against want is the labour of the poor, not the alms of the wealthy. But on this subject there existed many prejudices and inveterate habits. Ancient Rome had known only one method of enriching herself—war; since new Rome wished to keep the temple of Janus shut, she must seek some other means of escaping want. The emperors of the later ages thought they had discovered it in the organization of labour into hereditary corporations. Augustus was more clear-sighted; he contented himself with encouraging it. The building by which the face of the city was changed, furnished the proletaries with occupation, and the prince's efforts to raise agriculture again restored a little life here and there to the country districts. The immense commerce, too, carried on between Rome and the rest of the world induced many of those who had long lived by fraud and mendicancy to return to legitimate industry. "By moderating the excess of the distributions of wheat," says Suetonius, "he reconciled the interests of the people with those of the farmers and merchants."¹ We may add that he had a vague conception of the modern idea of credit when he lent capital without interest to any man who could give security for double the amount.²

Another means of furnishing hands for commerce and agriculture was the diminution of enforced leisure; he suppressed thirty holidays.³

We know how much Augustus was aided in this task by Virgil, who again inserted in the most perfect of his poems the speech put into the mouth of Octavius in the very first eclogue:

Pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri; submitte tauros....

His *Georgics* are a magnificent eulogium upon agricultural labour. Horace, too, celebrates the fruitfulness which again reigned in

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 42.

² *Ibid.*, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 32. He only suppressed *honorary* festivals, that is, those instituted by private individuals; during the others it was forbidden to work. When the king of the sacrifices and the flamens went out on that day they were preceded by heralds who enjoined the people not to violate the sanctity of the day by doing any work with their hands. Any man disobeying was punished by a fine. (Fest., *s.v. Præcia*, and Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 16.) Columella (iii. 12, 9) reckons forty-five days of *festal* or of *rain*; *quibus non aratur*, and Tertullian (*de Idol.*, 14) says that among the pagans the feast-days did not reach the number of the fifty days of rejoicing among the Christians.

the country; and to second the prince in this work, Varro, at the age of eighty, wrote the precepts of agriculture.

III.—RELIGIOUS REFORM.

When Roman society grew calmer, Augustus tried to render it nobler; and in order to make use, after so many agitations, of all the conservative elements, he became a professor of morals and religion. He ordered collections of sentences from old authors to be made, and sent them to the provincial magistrates. In the senate speeches [Homilies] were read by his orders which had been delivered in the times of the ancient severity of manners,¹ or else new harangues upon pure morality, and he forbade judges to enter the house of a citizen during their year of office—petty measures which did no good.² Nevertheless, he boasted in his will of having revived ancient manners. "By new laws," said he, "I have again brought into honour the long-forgotten examples of our ancestors, and by my edicts I have set forth for the imitation of all men the virtues of our sires."

The reformer of morals desired to be a religious reformer also, and strengthen among the people the beliefs which he himself did not hold. Faith in the great gods of the nobles, artists and poets, was fading away, but the gods of the lower classes were still trusted; and with its legends, its unclean train of impostors from Eastern lands where religious charlatans, half deceived, half deceivers, ever swarm, Roman paganism still remained a power. Livy may assert that even the people no longer believed in the signs sent by the gods,³ and Propertius that the spider covered the temples with its web and that weeds hide the neglected gods;⁴ but men still visited the altars, and especially occupied themselves with omens. The pretended revelations of auspices and prodigies, of oracles and stars, well suited these men, whom an unwholesome curiosity urged to ask the future will of the gods, instead of

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 89.

² We have seen (p. 736) that he also defined the categories of men whose evidence should not be accepted in a court of justice; that was of more use.

³ *Nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credunt.* (xliii. 13.)

⁴ ii. 6. Cf. S. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, vii. 9.

constraining that future by their own energy. Moreover religion only, since no serious science yet existed, accounted for the natural phenomena; it alone dimly answered the questions which man is ever asking about his end, and the greatest sceptic in the midst of his pleasures felt its influence as soon as danger appeared. Did not Horace institute an annual sacrifice in gratitude to the gods who had preserved him from the fall of a cursed tree? Thus, spiritualized by some, appearing coarse to others, but mixed up with their whole existence, the pagan religion continued to exist.

This people had moreover allowed themselves to be fettered by numberless rites to a form of worship made up of ritual, and surrounded their gods with that pompous devotion which the Romans of all ages have loved. The magistrates encouraged it through policy, the learned from curiosity, philosophers in contempt for the vulgar, and *jurisconsulti* that they might find therein a sanction for their laws. Cæsar, who denied a future life, had written a book upon auspices; Varro, who believed only in the soul of the world, nevertheless related in a great work all the stories of Olympus; and Cicero, so pious in his public speeches, scoffs in his books at the gods and their presages, and even at the famous lots of Præneste: "What magistrate," says he, "what man of sense resorts to them?"

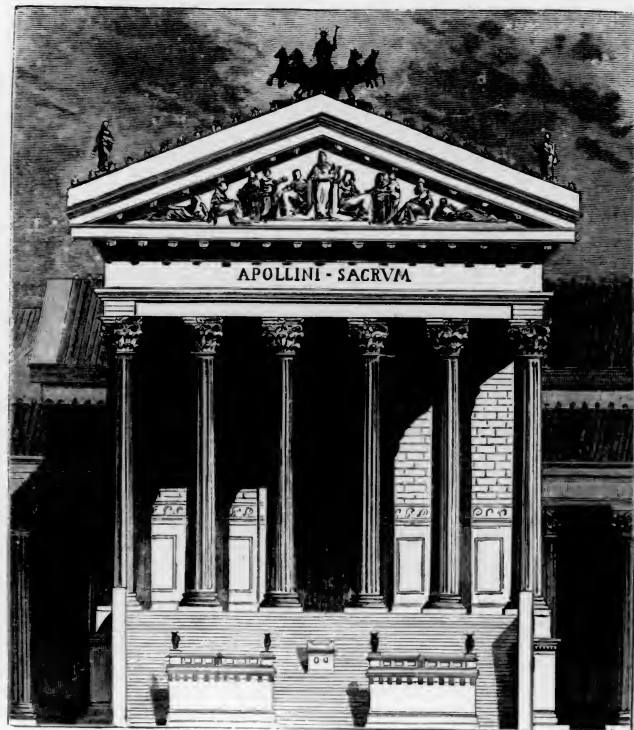
In the eyes of these great men religion was a useful thing, but not a necessary one, for they thought, like Socrates, that there was very little connection between religion and morals, and even with Aristotle that these two ideas were absolutely separate.

Augustus protected religion as expedient. Even before assuming the high pontificate in 18 B.C. he purified its sources by making a selection from the oracles current among the public. More than two thousand volumes of predictions in Greek and Latin were burnt. The Sibylline Books, the only gospel known to the Romans, were submitted to a strict revision, and then enclosed in two golden caskets, which were placed beneath the statue of Apollo Palatinus. The practice of co-optation introduced into the sacerdotal colleges priests whose life jarred with their office, it was therefore replaced by imperial nomination.¹ He

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 19; *Hist.*, i. 77; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 8. We have seen above that he was

reconstituted the college of the Fratres Arvales and made himself head of it, as he already was of the other religious corporations.

The magicians, several times expelled from Rome under the Republic, had again entered it and were thriving there, as is the case with every profession which speculates upon human vice



W. Taylor

Temple of Apollo Palatinus.¹

and folly. Augustus forbade them on pain of death to predict future events, as these predictions were not usually favourable to the policy of the time being, and he prohibited within the pomerium the exercise of the Egyptian worship or the Jewish ceremonies, two religions over which he had no hold.

a member of the four great sacerdotal colleges. He also caused himself to be enrolled in the colleges of the Titian priests and the Fetiales.

¹ As restored by Clerget. (*Ecole des Beaux-Arts.*)

He assumed the title of founder or restorer of temples,¹ made all who approached him glorify the gods, and even enlisted in this crusade Ovid, who while he wrote the *Fasti* to celebrate the ancient worship, was astonished at having reached that point, after his success as the poet of Love.² Finally he restored



Temple of Mars the Avenger and Forum of Augustus at Rome.³

ancient ceremonies with restrictions which had formerly, in a society naturally chaste, been useless, but were now most necessary amongst a corrupt people. He restored the ancient temples and raised others to the beneficent and pacific gods: to Ceres, to Concord, to Fortune the restorer and Fortune the saviour, to

¹ See in chapter lxi., *ad finem*, the enumeration he made of the temples rebuilt by him. (*Monument d'Ancyre*, § xix.)

² *Fast.*, ii. 8:—

. . . . *Sacra cano*
Ecquis ad hæc illinc crederet esse viam?
Hæc mea militia est.

³ Restored by Uchard. (*Ecole des Beaux-Arts.*)
VOL. III.

Jupiter Liberator, who had delivered Rome from anarchy, and to Peace, that long neglected goddess, who received two altars from him upon condition of converting the whole world to her worship. Mars, now the guardian of oaths, was no longer to fight save for the punishment of perjurers: he was Mars the



Peristyle of the Temple of Mars the Avenger (Present State).

Avenger.¹ By this transformation of the homicidal god Augustus wished to convey the idea that war, henceforth submitted to only as a necessity, would no longer be an appeal to force, but to the justice of heaven. He believed, or was anxious to make others believe, that Apollo had protected him on the great day

¹ This temple, raised in the midst of the Forum by Augustus, was specially consecrated to the vengeance of Cæsar. Another, built upon the Capitol and shown upon medals as round in form, received the recovered standards of Crassus.

of Actium; he built a rich temple to him upon the Palatine, with gates of carved ivory, wherein the god was shown avenging himself on his foes.¹ An idea of a totally opposite nature also secured a temple for Jupiter the Thunderer, whose bolt had one day struck beside the prince's litter and killed a slave close by.

Among the ancient gods those who were guardians of the State and the family, Vesta and the Lares were the most honoured, especially the latter, familiar and simple deities, dear to the lower people whose whole religion they constituted. Jupiter, Apollo and Diana were gods too great for them, suitable for senators and reserved for those who ascended to the Capitol. The poor people who never left their quarters required those gods of the street-corner and the hearth, the small coin of divinity, beings less imposing and more easy of access, such as the people always make for themselves. Every day the head of the household surrounded by his children and by his slaves offered his morning prayer before the Lares; he invoked them again before sitting down to his frugal table, and in the middle of the meal, amidst religious silence, he threw a little bread and salt upon the hearth: this was the communion with the propitious gods.²

Augustus replaced (8 B.C.) the images of the Lares at the crossways (*compita*), and desired that twice a year, in spring and summer, on the feast of the *Compitalia*, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood should come and deck them with flowers.

¹ There remains of this temple nought but the description given by Propertius. (ii. 31.) On its ivory gates were represented the Gauls being hurled from Parnassus by the servitors of the god and the Niobids falling beneath arrows. A library was annexed to the temple.

² The Lares were the souls of the dead, who, previous to the Twelve Tables, were buried in the house. (Serv., *ad Æn.*, vi. 152.) Hence the domestic worship paid to them. Their image was frequently associated with that of the Penates, who in these latter times were represented dancing and holding in one hand the drinking-horn, *rhyton*, in the other the food-dish, in token of the abundance and joy they maintained in the house. (See vol. i. p. 85.) In their origin the Penates and Lares differed; the former were only the guardians of the *penus*, that is, of the provisions kept in reserve in the *cella penaria*. This *cella*, which none could enter save in a state of purity, *castus* (Colum., *de Re rust.*, xii. 4), was the temple of the Penates; for their altar they had the hearth upon which were cast the first fruits of the repast. There was only one family Lar in each house; the name of the Penates, on the other hand, is always in the plural. (See vol. i. p. 19, two Penates on a coin.) In the time of Augustus they were no longer distinguished from one another (Marquardt, *Handbuch*, vol. iii. p. 122, note 4), just as the Genii were no longer distinguished from the Lares. (Censor., *de Die Nat.*, 3, from a book by Granius Flaccus addressed to Cæsar.)

To ensure the perpetuity of this worship, he organized a priesthood for it: the two hundred and sixty-five *vici* of Rome



The Genius of Augustus.²

had each four priests elected annually by the people of the neighbourhood. This priesthood stood below the pontifical colleges of the old aristocratic religion, and constituted a new clergy, wholly plebeian in character, set apart for the popular religion. The household Lar was the ancestor of the family or the member who had brought it most honour. We shall presently see by what chain of ideas the emperor became the Lar *par excellence* and took his place near the others, on the hearth of each house as well as at the altars of the *compita*.¹ "Rome has now," says Ovid, "a thousand gods Lares and the *Genius* of the prince

who has given them to us: each quarter adores three deities."³ This association won for the modest divinities of the crossways

¹ A senatus-consultum made this worship obligatory. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. § 3.)

² Statue in the Vatican. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 2.)

³ *Fasti*, v. 128 sqq. These deities, whom Ovid saw at Rome associated with the worship of the Genius of Augustus, were the two Lares who protected two streets crossing one another. This worship of the Lares of the crossways was very ancient; but it had been served by *collegia compitalicia*, very ill composed, according to Cicero, *ex omni face urbis ac servitio concitata*, which having on more than one occasion been the instruments of disorder, had been suppressed by the senate in 64. Clodius had re-established them; six years later Cæsar again abolished them. Augustus reorganized them in such a way as to leave nothing to be feared from them.

the imperial title, *Laribus Augustis*, and for the officiating whose duty it was to watch over the *ædícula*, offer sacrifices and celebrate games there, the surname of *Augustales*.[?]

"Augustus augmented the number of priests, and increased their dignity and even their privileges; one of the Vestals having died, he protested before several citizens who refused to submit their children to the chances of the drawing of lots, that if one of his grand-daughters had attained the required age he would himself have offered her."¹

There is another worship, that of national glory. In order to rekindle dying patriotism, Augustus fearlessly accepted it all. "He honoured almost equally with the immortal gods," says his biographer, "the great men who had raised Roman power so high; he restored the monuments which they had raised, leaving their glorious inscriptions thereon; and he set up their statues in the triumphal dress, under the two porticoes of his Forum, in order, as he said in an edict, that their example might serve to judge himself and all the princes his successors. Even Pompey's statue was placed in front of his theatre, under an arcade of marble." These illustrious dead formed a guard of honour for him, and it seemed as though all the republican glories came naturally to group themselves round the imperial glory. I know not whether he overthrew the figures of Brutus or raised those of Cicero, but he always respected the memory of the one and the genius of the other.²

His ancient foes and their sons met with a kind reception from him. He gave the consulship and his niece's hand to a son of Antony, and he begged Piso, one of the most violent enemies of Cæsar and the triumvirs, to accept the consulship.³ On one occasion he even defended Cato against some clumsy courtiers: "Know," said he, "that he who opposes revolutions

¹ In A.D. 5 he was obliged to order that the daughters of freedmen should be received among the Vestals. (Suet., *Octav.*, 31.) Under Tiberius (*Tac., Ann.*, iv. 16) the empress's place at the theatre was on the bench of the Vestals.

² Under this portico he had also placed the *tituli provinciarum*, which led to the idea of making statues of captive provinces; we have already given some.

³ *Piso . . . petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere.* (*Tac., Ann.*, ii. 43.) As for Julius Antonius, he became one of Julia's lovers, and when she was exiled he killed himself to avoid chastisement.

in the State is an honest man and a good citizen."¹ There is more policy than magnanimity in these words.

But the masses troubled themselves very little about the secret calculations of a policy which pleased them; they applauded this public homage rendered to the gods and heroes of the eternal city, and they listened with complaisant curiosity to the splendid wits who seconded the prince's efforts, and employed all the charms of eloquence and poetry to induce the Romans to imitate their ancestors. Livy relating in his majestic language their glorious history, and Virgil showing the powers of the sky and earth gathered round their cradle, were like pontiffs of the past seated on the ruins of the old temple, to summon the people thither still for the accomplishment of pious rites and the worship of ancient virtues.

Have we any right to say that these lessons were useless and that the admiration for these great writers produced no result? Men loved letters too much not to be influenced by artists in language. Since the Forum had lost its agitations and the senate its liberty, the activity of all men's minds had turned towards the worship of the Muses. As there were no longer any orators to hear, they listened to the poets. Everyone wrote, even Pollio, even Augustus himself, who composed tragedies, but with more wisdom than Richelieu, abstained from having them played. The booksellers could not supply the demand: *recitations* or *public readings* increased, and the emperor did not disdain to be present at them.² Libraries were opened; Asinius Pollio had founded the first in a monument to which he gave the fair name of *Atrium Libertatis*, the sanctuary of moral liberty, and placed there the busts of great men beside their works, "that their image might be found in the spot where their immortal soul still seemed to speak."³ Augustus opened another in the temple of Apollo, built beside his house, and with a liberality of spirit which does him honour, admitted the poems of Catullus and Bibaculus into it, notwithstanding their satirical verses against the family of the Cæsars. It was very necessary, indeed, to allow reading, since

¹ Macrob., *Sat.*, II. iv. 18.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 29 and 89.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 2.

the new institutions no longer allowed speaking. Octavia founded a third library in memory of her son.

Morality can no more be created by fine verses than by police regulations; there are, however, qualities which depend upon a man's dress and the rank he bears, and it is no inconsiderable thing to compel the observation of social propriety. Respect for one's self and for others, if not virtue itself, at least suggests it: Augustus would not suffer the scandalous spectacle of senators fighting in the arena; he forbade them and their sons to wed the daughters of freedmen or comedians, and all citizens were prohibited from contracting marriages with women of loose character.¹ He compelled the knights to maintain the dignity of the angusticlave, and would not allow them to go upon the stage. By diligently pursuing military exercises in the Campus Martius a man gained his favour, and on the other hand he inflicted disgrace on those who were too usurious. The whole people was more than once reprimanded by him, and in order to stop the impure sources whence they arose, he set a limit to the number of manumissions² and decreed that a slave who had been condemned to torture should be thenceforth ineligible for citizenship.³

He would fain have returned to those fair days when it was the rich man's duty to aid the poor with his word and his knowledge at the tribunal of the prætor. He forbade judges to pay visits, and advocates to receive anything from their clients under pain of restoring fourfold.⁴ In this Labeo was undoubtedly of the same opinion as Augustus, but neither of them succeeded.

Women did not possess in Rome the influence which our manners accord them.⁵ Usually they lived in seclusion, far from

¹ Ulp., *Regul. lib.*, tit. i. and ii., *e lege Julia*. Yet this same law did away with the old prohibition forbidding marriages between people free by birth and by manumission. (*Ibid.*, and *Digest*, xxiii. 2, 22, and 44.)

² Not more than 100 slaves at once could be set free by will. It was forbidden to compel the freedman to swear to remain single, that his property might revert after his death to his former patron, a prospect which induced many masters to set their slaves free. (Dion, xlvii. 14; the laws *Furia Caninia* and *Ælia Sentia de manumissionibus*, 8 and 9 A.D.)

³ Suetonius (*Octav.*, 40): *parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit*. Dion would even lead us to think (lii. 18) that he revised the right formerly conceded.

⁴ Dion, liv. 18.

⁵ The juriconsults said: *Major dignitas est in sexu virili*. (Ulpian in the *Digest*, i. 9, *proam.*) We already find, however, something similar to the formula of the Middle Ages—

the society of men and from those occupations which Christianity has given them: almsgiving, charity, the care of children, and the consolation of the afflicted. Thus those who dared to leave the protecting shadow of the gynæceum, finding no beaten track, no place for them in the broad daylight, wavered and fell at the very first step. And the number of these was great, for ancient chastity was lost like ancient poverty. Augustus, who had an interest in throwing a veil over Roman corruption, did not overlook this side in his reforms. He desired that the women of the imperial household should set the example of a modest and industrious life. He long wore only stuffs spun by his wife, his sister and his daughter. He punished seduction by the confiscation of a portion of the man's property, by corporal punishment or by banishment; adultery, by allowing the outraged husband or father who surprised the guilty to put them to the sword, and by declaring that women convicted of this crime should never be allowed to contract a marriage with a man of free birth.¹ On the other hand he gave the faithful wife a guarantee for her property, by forbidding the husband to alienate the dowry,² and another for her liberty by freeing the mother of a family from the harassing guardianship of the Agnates.³

I would not venture to say that Augustus hoped to lead the matrons back to the virtues of Lucretia and of Tanaquil the spinster; but he at least attempted to restore to them a little of that modesty of which the circus had deprived them. He forbade

"The mother ennobles." The women of Delphi, Pontus, and the *Iliensis Colonia*, when they married a man of another city, conferred on their children the title of citizens of their native city (*Digest*, l. tit. i. § 2, and tit. ii. fr. 9), and the juriconsults recognized the ability of the son of a slave father and a free mother to attain the decurionship.

¹ The punishment of death for adultery was introduced by Constantine. (*Cod.*, ix. 9, 30.) Paulus (*Sent. lib.*, II. xxvi. 14) only speaks of the confiscation of part of a man's goods and the banishment of the two guilty ones to two different islands. Augustus accepted concubinage, however, but introduced regulations to diminish the disorders attendant upon it. He gave it a definite juridical character, and fixed certain legal relations between the two connected parties and their children. (*Digest*, xxv. 7; *Cod.*, v. 26.) [The law noticed in the text is far in advance of ours, which permits a divorced adulteress to exhibit her crime permanently by marrying her paramour.—*Ed.*]

² Except by the special consent of the woman. She could not even allow a mortgage to be laid upon the *dotale prædium*, or immovable property, situated in Italy. (*Inst.*, ii. 8, *pr.* and 18; Cf. Ulp., *Reg. lib.*, 13, *e lege Julia de adulteriis*.) This law, passed in the year 17 B.C., is the basis of all the dowry regulations.

³ Marezoll, *Droit privé*, § 166. Free-born women having three children and freedwomen who had four were exempt from guardianship. He regulated the system.

them entrance to those games in which athletes contended, and at gladiatorial combats he relegated them to the highest benches in the amphitheatre. He did still more for them by making marriage more honourable and attaching privileges to lawful and fruitful unions. Here there comes in one of the most important acts of his internal administration, the famous law *Papia Poppæa*, the greatest monument of Roman legislation since the Twelve Tables.

In the tempest which for a century past had raged in the Republic, the institutions alone had survived destruction. A shameless cynicism had ruined private morals.¹ In many Roman houses there were no longer fathers, sons, wives, in the true sense. Marriage had become an inconvenience and was abandoned, and in order to escape its obligations men lived in celibacy, or, what was still worse, had yearly divorces. Matrons, it was said, reckoned the years by their husbands, and not by the consuls. Such a state of morals endangered not only the family, but society itself. In order to compel the class of citizens to recruit itself from within and not from the foul sink of slavery, Augustus resumed and developed the measures of his adoptive father;² in the year 18 he proposed the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*. The evil was so deeply rooted and so universal that those very Romans who had no strength left to defend their liberty found enough to shield their vices; the comitia with one voice rejected the proposal, and the prince had to wait twenty years before he got it accepted (4 A.D.). Four years later, braving the violent outcries which it raised and a threatened tumult of knights in the open theatre, he reproduced the measure in a law called *Papia Poppæa*, which formed a new code, as it were, wherein were regulated not only marriage, but divorce, dowry, deeds of gift between husband and wife, inheritances, legacies, etc. A critical and unprejudiced judge has remarked of these laws: "They include so wide a range of subjects, they bear upon so many things, that they form the finest part of the civil law of the Romans."³

¹ See the fine *Ode* of Horace, iii. 6. A rich citizen, celebrated for his infamous morals, having been assassinated by his slaves, Augustus refused to institute a prosecution. (*Senec. Quest. Nat.*, i. 16.)

² Dion, xliii. 25.

³ Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21. The opposition which these laws encountered is

The law, looking upon marriage as a debt due to the State, divided the citizens into two classes, those who had children (*patres*) and those who had none (*cælibes vel orbi*). On the former it conferred privileges and honours; on the latter it inflicted a diminution of them, calculated to punish the unmarried man more heavily than the childless citizen (*orbus*), who in marrying had at least given proof of submission to the law. The penalty was skilfully attached to one of the strongest passions of that society; as the legislator had set hardly any limits to the power of bequeathing by will,¹ legacy-hunting was one of the constant employments of the citizens. The prince closed or dried up this source of fortune to those who failed to observe the provisions of his law, by declaring that the unmarried man² should be incapable of receiving anything from a stranger; that the citizen whose marriage remained without fruit should have a right to only one-half of what was bequeathed to him, and that he should not leave his wife by will more than a tenth of his heritage, nor receive more of hers. This property, of which the law deprived citizens who had not the charge of a family, it conferred upon those heirs or legatees who gave children to the State.³ If they too had no posterity, the Roman people, as the common father, was substituted for them, and the fiscus received the legacies.⁴ All citizens were invited by rich rewards to denounce infractions of this regulation.⁵

certain; the dates given are not, with the exception of that of the consulship of Papius Mutilus and Poppæus Secundus, in the year 9 of our era.

¹ It was an honour, too, to say nothing of the profit, to be remembered in a will. We have seen how Cicero (*Phil.*, ii. 32) boasted of having thus received 20,000,000 sesterces, or nearly £160,000. Augustus himself received very considerable legacies every year. (Suet., *Octav.*, 101.) "But when the inheritance of someone who had children fell to him he immediately restored it to the latter if they were adults, and if they were not he gave it back later on, together with all the interest." (Dion, lvi. 32.)

² The following were looked upon as celibates,—the man unmarried at the age of twenty-five, the woman at twenty, the man who married after sixty, and the woman after fifty. To avoid the law men married children. Augustus annulled all betrothals not accomplished at the end of two years. Now as the Roman law did not allow girls under twelve to be married, it was necessary to affiancé children of at least ten years old. (Dion, liv. 16.)

³ Fathers often found another advantage in the system of trustees, which as regulated by Augustus allowed an inheritance to fall to persons formerly incapable of receiving one. The citizens possessing the *jus trium liberorum* took advantage of it to the exclusion of the unmarried. The consuls were invested with this new jurisdiction. (*Inst.*, ii. 23, § 1.)

⁴ Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. § 206 and 236. The right pertaining to heirs having children to claim lapsed property, *jus caduca vindicandi*, was so fully recognized that Ulpian reckons this right among the means of acquiring quiritary property. (*Reg. lib.*, xix. 17.)

⁵ More than a quarter of the disputed property was attributed to the *delator*, for Nero won

To these positive benefits were joined the prerogatives formerly accorded to age, a better place at the theatre, and everywhere and in all things pre-eminence over citizens of the same rank. A numerous family secured preference in the pursuit and exercise of honours; the consul who had most children took the fasces first and had his choice of the provinces; just as the most fruitful wife won for the senator the right of heading the list of the senate, and of giving his opinion first. For fathers of families the time required for attaining the magistracies was shortened, for every child made it a year less,¹ and three children at Rome exempted a man from personal charges, freed him from guardianship, and secured him a double share in the distributions. The Vestals officially had the *jus trium liberorum*, and the soldiers, who were also debarred from marriage, obtained it from Claudius.² This right, then, became a fresh condition added to those already existing in society and marking its ranks; it was a much-envied privilege which was not always sought after by legal means, but was extorted from the easy prodigality of the emperors, though the good princes were very sparing of it. Augustus long refused it to Livia; he only granted it to her after the death of Drusus, together with the other honours decreed to the empress to draw her mind from the loss of her son. We shall see that even the gods were made subject to the *Poppæan law*.

In the year 17 B.C., on the third day of the secular [centenary] games, that solemnity which no man could see twice,³ choirs of boys and young maidens sang in the Capitol:

Chorus of Boys: "Let thine arrows rest, O Apollo, and hearken favourably to the petitions of the children of Rome."

Chorus of Maidens: "O, queen of the night, goddess of the crescent of fire, give ear to the prayer of the virgins."

Both together: "If Rome is your work, O ye mighty gods!

a momentary popularity when *præmia delatorum Papiæ legis ad quartas redegit*. (Suet., *Nero*, 10.)

¹ When divorce on the death of either husband or wife dissolved the union, Augustus granted in the first case only eighteen months, and in the second only two years, to contract another. (Suet., *Octav.*, 34; Ulp., *Reg. lib.*, xiv.) Concerning the efficacy of these laws, it may be remarked that neither Virgil, Horace, Propertius, nor Tibullus married.

² *Tὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα*. (Dion, lx. 24.)

³ After Augustus they were celebrated by Claudius, Domitian, and Septimus Severus (Zos., i. 4) apparently every fifty years.

give to its youth a docile heart and pure manners, to its old men sweet repose, to the people of Romulus the Empire of the world, a numerous offspring and every glory. Grant that the illustrious scion of Venus and Anchises who now sacrifices spotless bulls to you may bear sway over the whole universe, terrible to the foe who resists, merciful to the vanquished."

Chorus of Boys: "Already the Parthian trembles before his arm, dreaded by land and sea. Already the Seythian and Indian, erewhile so proud, come and intreat his commands."

Chorus of Maidens: "Peace, good faith, honour and ancient modesty, and virtue so long forgotten, reappear amongst us; happy abundance comes back to us with her fruitful horn."¹

Shall we believe then that the emperor succeeded in making his people religious and moral by virtue of laws? The law has



Horace.²

nothing to do with these things. It cannot penetrate to the depths of men's consciences, eradicate vice, and purify the soul. Yet, as it controls external actions, it sometimes reaches through them the passions which produce them. The man who for forty-four years made Roman society feel the pressure of an honest will, certainly restored a degree of order, propriety, and outward dignity. He forced his fellow-citizens to

respect themselves by laws which after doing some good at Rome, effected much more in the provinces, where they were better obeyed.³

¹ Horace, *Carmen Seculare*. [But compare the hypocritical side of the picture in his *Epist.* (i. 16, 57-62.)—*Ed.*]

² HORATIVVS; bust of Horace; behind the head, and cut into the medal, a palm. Bronze coin called a *contorniated medallion*.

³ Examples of these laws made for the citizens and adopted by the provincials are found in Gaius (i. 47), Ulpian (xi. 20), *Digest* (xxx. fr. 41, § 6), *Cod.* (vii. 9, 3; vii. 71, 4). Thus the *lex Julia de ambitu* was almost useless at Rome, where there were merely illusory elections; it was very necessary in the municipia, where the elections were serious and caused agitations. Rome was not the whole Empire, and the corruption which, thanks to such accumulated riches, reigned there was not possible everywhere else. But everywhere where there were citizens the Julian laws were applied, and in the towns deprived of the rights of citizenship the local laws tended towards the Roman ones by frequently borrowing from either the ancient legislation (Ulp., xi. 18; Gaius, i. 183, 185; iii. 122) or from the imperial constitutions (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 71, 72) the edicts of governors (Gaius, i. 6) or the *senatus-consulta*. (Pliny, *ibid.*, x. 77.)

IV.—REFORMS IN ITALY.

All that the emperor did for the maintenance of order in the Capitol had its counterpart in Italy, which was accustomed to copy Rome and its institutions. The peninsula did not form a provincial government, for it furnished neither money nor soldiers, since it was not subject to the land-tax, and the frontier legions were not recruited there;¹ moreover, as all the inhabitants had the right of Roman citizenship, no Roman magistrate could exercise the *jus necis* of the military *imperium* there. Augustus divided it into eleven regions, probably in order to centralize the results of the municipal census, and facilitate the collection of the indirect taxes, and the administration of the public domain, and of the *subseciva* or colonial lands not yet assigned.² Was this service allotted to the four quæstors who in the time of the Republic resided respectively at Ostia, at Cales, in Cisalpine Gaul, and perhaps at Rimini, and those whom on Dion's testimony³ Augustus instituted for Italy? We do not know, but it must have been provided for in some way or other.

In order to prevent brigandage, Augustus disarmed the population. No arms might be retained save for the chase or for travelling.⁴ The robber-bands were recruited from ruined peasants, military colonists tired of an agricultural life, and especially slaves who, after having served for some time in the army, concealing their origin, took the first opportunity of escaping to the mountains. Augustus made a strict examination of his legions before sending them to the frontiers, and all the slaves found in the ranks were restored to their masters or crucified.⁵ As for the veterans, he distributed them among twenty-eight Italian colonies, where he

¹ We have not a single inscription mentioning an Italian legionary. The peninsula only furnished recruits for the prætorian and urban cohorts, those of the *vigiles*, and the volunteer cohorts.

² See Desjardins, *Les xi régions d'Auguste*, in the *Revue historique*, vol. i. p. 184. The list of the *subseciva* was drawn up in the *libri beneficiorum*. (Cf. *Gromatici Veteres*, vol. i. 202 and 295.)

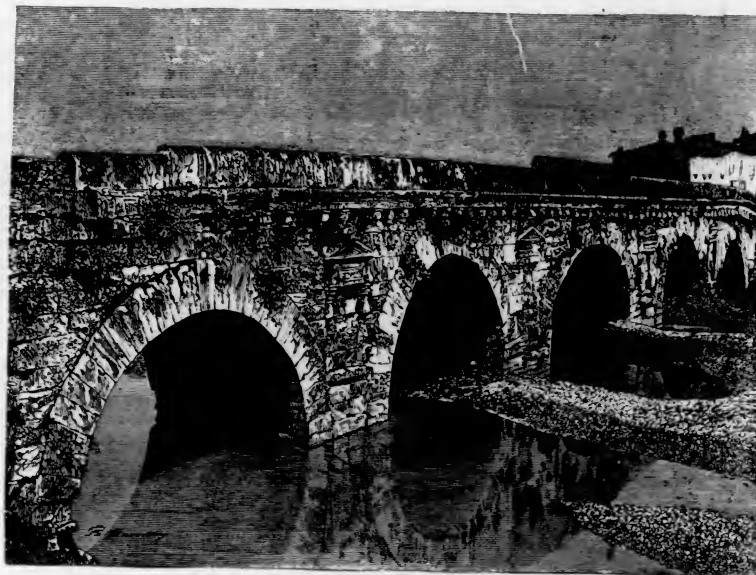
³ *Iv.* 4.

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 6, 1.

⁵ App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 131. In the *Monument of Ancyra* Augustus says that after his victory over Sextus he restored to their masters, *ad supplicium sumendum*, 30,000 fugitive slaves, and according to Paulus Orosius (vi. 18) he crucified 6,000 slaves who had no masters.

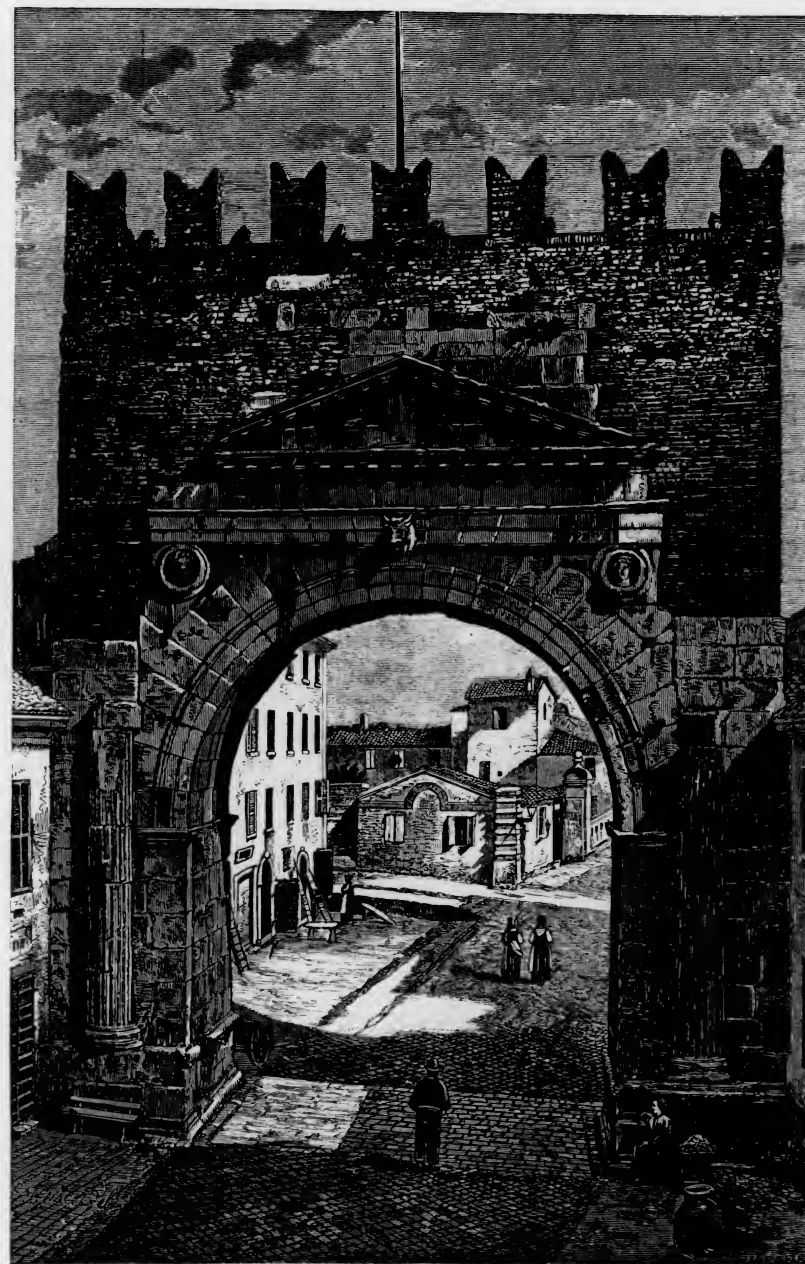
did not forget them; five times he bestowed considerable gratuities upon them, in order to retain them there.

Before his time the foundation of a colony had been a calamity for the town where it was established, the inhabitants being compelled to share their houses and fields with the proud and turbulent new-comers, if indeed the colonists did not take everything. Augustus made it his boast that he bought the lands which he gave to his soldiers in the years 30 and 14 B.C. "I have paid," said he, "for fields situated in Italy 600,000,000 sesterces, and



Bridge of Augustus at Rimini (Present State).

260,000,000 for those given in the provinces. I was the first and the only one to do so of all those who have founded colonies." And he had reason to pride himself upon it, for by this measure he prevented the renewal of those frightful disorders endemic in Italy since Sylla's time. In order to render Rome more easy of access, he repaired the Flaminian Way at his own expense as far as Ariminum (Rimini), and desired that every citizen who received the honour of a triumph should follow his example and employ in paving a road the money which fell to him as his share of the spoil.



Arch of Augustus at Rimini.

The Italians took advantage of the restoration of order to clear their fields and set to work with the hope, which they had not felt for fifty years, of at length enjoying the fruit of their labour. Brundisium and Puteoli, the two great ports of Italy, the one for travellers, the other for merchants, and Ostia, through which Rome was supplied with provisions, grew visibly. Octavius had burnt Perusia, Augustus rebuilt and adorned it. Rimini still retains the marble bridge which he built, and a triumphal arch raised in his honour by the inhabitants. Veii, colonized by him, rose again; amid its ruins has been found proof of this returning prosperity; two colossal heads of Augustus and Tiberius, a statue of the latter prince, and some magnificent columns which now decorate a square in Rome and [the church of] *St. Paul Without the walls*.¹ Cære became wealthier than it had ever been;² the Tuscan

Mirror of Perusia.²

Maremma returned to life, and populous cities sprang from the rubbish heaps beneath which Sylla had buried them. Arezzo sent throughout Italy its red pottery, so much sought after for table use, and Tertullian reproved the Tuscans for inundating Rome with images of their gods. The robber bands, being hunted down by the imperial troops, no longer infested the roads, merchandise circulated in safety, and everywhere there was displayed that ardour for the

¹ "At Tarquinii, Vulci, Cosa, Volsinii, Clusium, and Rosellæ are found evident proofs that the Empire and peace had repaired the ravages of the Civil wars. Vetulonia was rebuilt; Crotona, Fiesulæ, Volaterræ, Arezzo also preserve memorials of their material prosperity during the two first centuries of our era." (Noël des Vergers, *L'Etrurie*, vol. ii. p. 379.)

² Peleus pursuing Thetis. (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. 386.)

³ A beautiful statue of Claudius was found there, the pedestal of which bore the representation of the twelve Etruscan tribes.

work of reparation which in all ages is manifested after a social crisis.

Augustus did not restore to the Italian husbandmen their greatest market, that of Rome, which was supplied by the frumentary provinces; and the premiums granted to the importation of foreign corn kept bread cheap, in spite of circumstances which should have raised the price to the advantage of Italian producers. But the *annona* was a charge included in the heritage of the Republic; the prince could not repudiate it without renouncing that inheritance.

The religious reform which he had effected at Rome spread throughout Italy; the worship of the gods Lares gave rise to a



Voting of the Italians on a bas-relief found in the Forum.¹

new order of citizens there, which we again meet in the provinces. The most important innovation concerned the voting of the cities. All the Italians possessed the right of citizenship, a poor advantage, since they could only exercise that right by making a journey to Rome, the only place where votes were received each day of the comitia. Augustus, who allowed a semblance of freedom to exist in the election, wished to secure a means of counter-balancing the suffrages of the Roman plebs in case of need by those of the

¹ The Italians are bringing their tablets to the magistrates, whose duty it was to collect at Rome the results of the voting taken in the cities.

cities of Italy. He authorized the decurions to send in writing their reports of the voting for the elections to the great Roman magistracies.¹ As the decurions, who numbered 100 in each city, had been indirectly chosen by the popular assembly,² the right which they received from Augustus constituted a kind of suffrage of two degrees, not without some similarity to that which appoints our own senators and our consular judges.

This attempted organization of universal suffrage in Italy, combined with the provincial representation of which we shall speak later on, might have led to the most happy results, by binding the various parts of the Empire together by free institutions. But this solution of the political problem was only seen for an instant, and speedily forgotten; the emperor either did not know how to develop these fruitful germs, or let them perish.

¹ Suetonius (*Octav.*, 46), who cites this measure, would lead us to believe that only the decurions of the twenty-eight colonies founded by Augustus profited thereby; those of the municipia certainly obtained the same privilege, since he asserts that the prince desired "to make Italy almost equal to Rome in rights and honours."

² Entrance was obtained into the Curia by the exercise of a magistracy, and it was the public assembly which appointed the magistrates; but it was necessary to retain the ex-magistrates upon the *Album* of the Curia, which was drawn up every five years by the *quinquennales*.



Red Pottery of Arezzo (Louvre Museum).

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HISTORY OF ROME

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AUGUSTUS.

Marble Statue found in 1863 at Livia's Villa (from the Vatican Gallery).

HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

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CHAPTER LXVII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS IN THE PROVINCES.

I.—DIVISION OF THE PROVINCES BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE SENATE. NEW CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

IT was the design of Augustus to introduce throughout the Empire the order which he caused to prevail in Rome, by organizing the provinces in such a manner as to stifle internal dissensions and to prevent attacks from without. To this end measures of two kinds were necessary, some military, others administrative. We will first examine the latter.

We have already seen what the Roman administration of the provinces¹ was designed to be, and what in reality it became in the hands of that violent and rapacious aristocracy which perished at Pharsalia and Philippi, or suffered itself to be made captive by the favours of Julius and Octavius. The younger Gracchus, Sylla, and Caesar had exhibited towards the provincials a good-will which proved idle, because the two former had not been able to organize in Rome a power strong enough to impose upon all a respect for the laws, and because the latter had not had time to do it. But Augustus had now created this power, and the provincials hailed its advent with acclamations. Their legal condition, however, was not changed; the old formulas were all preserved. That which the provinces were, on the morrow of the conquest, they still remained under Trajan and the Antonines; Strabo, Appian, Pliny—all our witnesses attest this.² Only there ceased to be the periodical pillage of the governors, and there was added a security by which commerce and industry profited.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 163 sq.

² Strabo says (xiv. p. 646) that the kingdom of Pergamus preserved in his time the organization which had been given it by Aquilius 150 years before, and Appian (*Præf.*, 13), that the Romans after the downfall of Carthage: *Δεῦν καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα*. In the time of Pliny the Younger, Pompey's law, or *formula provinciarum*, was still in force in Bithynia. (*Epist.*, x. 114.)

Under the Republic law and fact were opposed; the Empire brought them into harmony. As in Rome, so in the provinces, Augustus introduced hardly any innovations, and yet this did not hinder him from accomplishing in both a salutary revolution.

In the last days of the Republic its territories were divided into fourteen provinces, governed by persons who had occupied the consul's or prætor's office: the two Gauls, the two Spains, Illyria with Dalmatia, Macedon with Achaia, Asia, Bithynia with Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, the Cyrenaica with Crete, Africa with Numidia, Sicily, and Sardinia with Corsica. The ex-consuls were as a rule sent into provinces where the presence of the legions was necessary; the ex-prætors into the others. But this rule varied according to peace or war, and even according to the caprice of the nobles.

Augustus preserved the principle of this division. Under the Empire provinces were of two kinds: those lying upon the Mediterranean Sea, where not even a cohort was now needed to secure obedience; behind this tranquil zone the barbarous and warlike regions along the ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube, and those countries which were incessantly menaced by dangerous neighbours, as were the shores of the Euphrates and the valley of the Nile.¹ In these armies were indispensable, and for their command a governor with absolute military authority. But the armies and their generals obeyed the commander-in-chief, the *imperator*; hence it was needful to leave to the emperor those provinces where the legions were stationed and where the country was, so to speak, in a state of perpetual siege. In these provinces there was labour and peril;² there was also glory and strength, both of which Augustus desired (27 B.C.).

This division into provinces prætorian, or belonging to the emperor, and proconsular, or belonging to the senate and people, was not immutable. More than once the two powers made an exchange, but the principle was always maintained that only the

¹ The senate possessed at first, according to Dion, Africa with Numidia, Bætica, Asia, Greece or Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Crete with the Cyrenaica, Bithynia with Pontus and Corsica; the emperor had the rest—Tarracoenensis, Narbonensis, Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt, and the new provinces which were formed in Spain, Gaul, the Alps, and along the Danube.

² Ἀντὶς δὲ τοῖς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῖς κινδύνους ἔχον. (Dion, liii. 12.)

peaceful regions should belong to the senate. Thus Cyprus and Narbonensis, originally imperial provinces, reverted to the people, who in turn gave up Dalmatia, whither disturbances had summoned the legions. In the same way Tiberius took from the senate Macedon and Achaia, and Claudius restored them. In fact, this partition was but an empty form. The senate which at Rome in the senate-house remained mute in the presence of the emperor, could scarcely be expected to speak very loud in the provinces where it was supposed to rule. Should war break out, or a revolt, the *imperator* at once intervened; if a proconsul died in office the emperor filled the place with one of his procurators,¹ and sometimes even in less urgent cases. Augustus, in virtue of his proconsular power, issued edicts by which all the governors were bound, those of the senate as well as his own, and in his numerous journeys visited all the provinces along his road whether they were imperial or not.

The provinces belonging to the people were the finest and their governors the most important. Chosen by lot, according to custom, from among the ex-consuls and ex-prætors of at least five years' standing,² they all were called proconsuls, even those who had been only prætors; they had twelve lictors with axes and rods,³ the senatorial robe, and a salary which permitted them to display royal luxury;⁴ finally, the right to assume all the insignia of their dignity as soon as they had passed the pomærium, but without the sword or the military cloak.⁵

The imperial governors seemed of much less consequence. They, even when ex-consuls,⁶ were called only proprætors, and but

¹ . . . *proc. provincie Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncti proc. rexit*, probably under Vespasian. (Orelli, 3651.)

² This was the rule established by Pompey in 52 B.C. (Dion, liii. 13.) The lot having fallen badly, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἔρχον, the prince took care to designate in advance those who should be presented to take their chance. (*Ibid.*, 14.)

³ Twelve in Asia and in Africa, and six in the other provinces, called the prætorian.

⁴ The proconsuls of Asia and Africa each received, at the beginning of the third century, 1,000,000 sesterces (Dion, lxxviii. 23); the procurators only 200,000, 100,000, or even 60,000. (Dion, liii. 15; Jul. Capit., *Pert.*, 2; Tac., *Agric.*, 42; Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 42; Treb. Pol., *Claud.*, 15; *Prob.*, 4.)

⁵ *Digest*, i. 16, 1. The proconsular province of Africa being, however, a frontier province, the governor who took charge of it for the senate had, under Augustus and Tiberius, a legion and an auxiliary corps, but by a special permission of the emperor, which, under Claudius, was withdrawn. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 48; Dion, lix. 20.)

⁶ Augustus selected them from among the ex-consuls (*legatus Aug. consularis pro prætore*)

five lictors preceded them, and even these only when the governor was in his province. The Roman people, therefore, saw their own magistrates set off with all the exterior signs of power, a numerous train, and old Republic display, while those of the emperor appeared the agents of humble and inferior authority.

The people and the senate had reason to be content. But this agent who went away alone and quietly with the instructions of the prince,¹ on reaching his province assumed the sword and the war cloak. While the proconsul was occupied with public entertainments or in listening to the rhetoricians, the *proprætor*, at the head of his legions, was fighting or treating with kings. The authority of both was absolute in civil and criminal cases over all in the province, whether provincials or Roman citizens, an appeal always being allowed the citizen to the authority at Rome.² But the *proprætor* was subject only to the emperor, the proconsul both to the emperor and senate. The latter, except by special command, had no authority whatever over the soldiers who passed through his province or sojourned there; the former, invested with the military imperium, had the power of life and death over them.³ The latter had but a year in his province; the former was allowed to remain there three years, often five, ten, or even more, at the will of the master who sent him thither.⁴ How much care was taken to enhance before the public eye the importance of the senate's officers and to make the



Magistrate
invested with
the Imperium.⁵

when they were to take command of several legions, and from among the ex-prætors when they were to command but one (*leg. Aug. pro prætore*).

¹ Dion, liii. 15; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 64. Most of the questions which they were to determine had been foreseen and settled. The proconsuls likewise received instructions from the prince.

² *Plenissimam jurisdictionem proc. habet.* (*Digest*, i. 16, 7.) In respect to the importance attached to the title of citizen in the provinces, see in the Acts of the Apostles the history of St. Paul's imprisonment at Jerusalem. Under Trajan mention is again made of a *civis Romanus* who, being accused of a capital crime, was sent to Rome. (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 97.)

³ *Jus gladii.* (*Digest*, i. 17, 6, § 8.)

⁴ In twenty-one years there were under Tiberius only two procurators in Judæa, Gratus and Pilate. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4 and 5.) Appian says also (*Iber.*, 102): *Στρατηγὸς ἐπιτίμειν ἱθαῖους . . . ἡ βουλὴ . . . βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.* Tiberius, however, left Silanus, proconsul in Africa, seven years in office.

⁵ Reverse of a coin of Brutus, representing the consul preceded by the *accensus* or orderly attached to magistrates in possession of the imperium, and escorted by his lictors, the axe above the rods. (Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, at the word *Accensus*.)

officers of the emperor inconspicuous—to give the latter power without honours, and to the former the empty show of dignity which consoles and satisfies a vain ambition!

Whether appointed by the senate or the emperor, the governors of provinces were invested, subject to the differences just indicated, with all political, military, and judicial powers. In the imperial provinces we shall note the absence of the *quæstor*; ¹ this ancient title, honoured by so many illustrious names, was here replaced by the more modest name of the *procurator*. The procurators, selected from the equestrian order, even from the class of freedmen or of provincials,² were sent into the senatorial provinces to take charge of the private property of the prince (*fiscus*) and into the imperial to fulfil all the functions which the senate assigned to its quæstors, with the single exception of judicial authority, the procurators having in the early period jurisdiction only over the slaves.³ The ruler, whose stewards they were, will not leave them long, however, in this inferior position; Claudius gave orders that their decisions in regard to contributions should have equal force with his own.⁴ There was a procurator in each great district or province, sometimes one only for two or three contiguous provinces, for as yet there is nothing fixed in these divisions.⁵ "The emperor and the senate," says Strabo, "divide their provinces, now in one way, now in another, and modify the administration of them according to circumstances." They were too ignorant of the principles of a good administration and of the needs of the countries that were to be governed to establish invariable rules, which would, moreover, have been only an embarrassment to a power unwilling to endure them.⁶

¹ Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 6.

² Gessius Florus, procurator of Judæa, was a native of Clazomenæ. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 9.) Another, Tiberius Alexander, was an apostate Jew. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 4.) The freedmen only attained to the inferior procuratorships; we never find them among the *procuratores præsides*.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 15: *Jus in servitia et in pecuniis familiares.*

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60; Suet., *Claud.*, 12; Ulp., in the *Digest*, i. 19, *Proem.* It is probable also that from that time on, this office gave the rank of knight. (Tac., *Agric.*, 4.)

⁵ In the ancient kingdom of Judæa, Samaria and Galilee had, at one time, each its procurator. (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 54.)

⁶ [Considering the extraordinary contrasts of national feeling and of previous political training among the subject states, a system of invariable rules would probably have worked as

The procurators of the provinces were sometimes invested with political powers; the Roman administration in Judæa, for instance, had no higher agents. They were in reality governors, although Judæa was but a fragment of Syria. Pontius Pilate, Cumanus, Felix, pronounced sentence as the highest local authority. They were subject, however, to the governor of Syria, who could displace them and cite them before the emperor. By the creation of these new functionaries a change commenced which was to end only with the separation of the civil and military powers under Constantine.

Beneath these magistrates came officers of all grades, and inferior agents—præfects, tribunes, scribes, criers, public slaves, lictors, etc. We must not forget the cohort, the friends and pupils of the governor, who formed his council or his court of justice, and to whom he sometimes intrusted the most important commissions.¹ Centurions and veterans, sent to the allied nations or to native chiefs, represented the name of Rome and watched over her interests. We find such in Frisia and Batavia, at Byzantium and in Africa.²

The *Verrine Orations* have shown us what the old governor of a province could be. With the Empire their condition changed.³ In the earlier time the province saw a new master arrive every year, eager to return to the pleasures of Rome, hastening to make his fortune and repair his establishment at the expense of those whom he came to govern. But now the Empire being one man's domain, this property will be managed better, no doubt from a spirit of justice, but, above all, from interested motives. Next to a wise selection and a close supervision, the best chance of a good administration rested in a long tenure of office, and to

badly as the modern craze of imposing parliaments and constitutional governments on all kinds of untrained societies.—*Ed.*]

¹ Vitellius, after deposing Pontius Pilate, gave Judæa into the charge of Marcellus, one of his friends: τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.) There were also *assessores*, men who sat beside the magistrate and gave advice as experts. Alexander Severus gave them a regular salary. (Lampr., *Alex. Sev.*, 45.)

² Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 72; *Hist.*, iv. 14; Pliny, *Epist.*, x.; L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 2715 and 4033.

³ Later it was forbidden to send any man as an officer into his native province, for the purpose of avoiding acts of partiality; it was also forbidden to levy anything, even for the public treasury, beyond the fixed sum. (Dion, liii. 15; lvii. 10; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6.)

retain its officials as long as possible became one of the general maxims of the imperial administration.

The fixed salary which provided for their needs set free the subjects from the exactions of which they had been made the victims under pretext of supplies to be furnished to the prætor, and instead of passing a few months only in a province whose chief cities they scarcely knew by name, we see them now residents in the country long enough to understand its needs and acquire habits which caused them to cease regarding the province as a place of exile.¹ The proconsuls of the Republic left their wives in Rome, those of the Empire took theirs with them; Augustus favoured this custom, and Alexander Severus went further, requiring a temporary union from every unmarried governor. The principle was that the former were regarded as going, in a sense, into an enemy's country, and that it was fitting that a married woman should be kept at a distance from camps, while the latter went among his fellow-citizens and with the purpose of a long residence. The governor was no longer in camp in his province; his affections were there, his domestic hearth, and his Penates, which his wife, like Rachel, had brought with her, hidden in her bosom.

This is not to say that the governors were suddenly transformed into able and upright men; we only believe that the earlier excesses became difficult in that too conspicuous crimes drew upon themselves prompt punishment,² that too great a fortune

¹ Dion, iv. 28: Ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6: *Quem plerique iisdem negotiis insensuerent.* Cf. p. 4, n. 4. This was recognized as so necessary that in the year 5 A.D., disturbances having broken out in many places, it was declared that the governors of senatorial provinces, henceforth to be elected, not chosen by lot, should remain in office two years. Many upright men under the Republic had refused these positions, being unwilling to pillage the provinces. Atticus would never accept one, Cicero went into Cilicia with reluctance, and Quintus complains bitterly of being obliged to remain a third year in Asia.

² Dion says that the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians in the year 6 was caused by the exactions of the governor; this is possible, but any administration, however gentle, must have appeared insupportable to these barbarians, who with difficulty submitted to the payment of tribute and to the surrender of their sons for military service. In respect to Varus, whom Velleius Paterculus accused of going into Syria poor and returning thence rich, we may remark that the poverty of this man, who had some time before been consul, and who was connected by marriage with the imperial family, could not have been very serious; that, secondly, he remained nine years in his province, while under the earlier system Syria would have been thrice or four times plundered; finally, that Varus, after his defeat, might with impunity be accused by any man and on any point. In the case of the freedman Licinius in Gaul, his extortions show that Augustus could not prevent everything; but the confiscation which overtook him

might have tempted the avidity of the prince, that, in fact, moderation and prudence were recommended to the governors by their own interest. Augustus, in spite of his mildness, gave the example of salutary severity. We shall read of the fate of Gallus and Lollius, two friends of the prince, who by their exactions incurred his displeasure, and in consequence took their own lives. Nor had he any indulgence for the people about him, and the freedmen who, under his successors, became so powerful, were retained by him in obscurity and the fulfilment of their duties. "His secretary," says Suetonius, "having accepted 500 denarii to communicate the contents of a letter, he caused the man's legs to be broken; the preceptor and the slaves of Caius Caesar having taken advantage of the prince's illness to commit acts of rapacity and tyranny in his province, the emperor ordered them to be thrown into the water with stones round their necks." His conception of the Empire was the same as the senate's: the most vigorous political centralization, but much political liberty; a sovereign will at Rome for the general vitality of the Empire, and independence in the provinces for the administration of local affairs. The provincial cities kept for three centuries more their religion, their special customs or laws, their own magistrates, their public assemblies, their revenues, and possessions, and to see them thus administer their affairs in their own way, they might have been regarded as small, independent states, to which nothing was lacking save the right to disturb the public peace and tear each other to pieces by continual wars, as in the time of their liberty.

Julius Caesar had sent 80,000 citizens into colonies beyond the sea; Augustus continued this system, less in obedience to a principle of government than as an expedient for fulfilling the promises made to his veterans. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (No. 28) Augustus enumerates the military colonies founded by him in the provinces; this had the effect of increasing there the number of persons whose rights the governors were bound to respect.

proves also that such conduct was dangerous, or, at least, profitless. Achaia and Macedon being dissatisfied with the senate's administration, *onera deprecantes*, nothing better is proposed than to transfer them to the emperor's share. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 76.)

II.—FINANCIAL REFORMS.

In the government of the provinces Augustus instituted two important innovations, one political, the other religious, both very practical.

Twenty years of civil wars, of pillage, and of monstrous exactions had destroyed the wealth existing in the Roman world, and the cessation of industry, agriculture, and commerce had prevented its renewal. At a thousand points throughout Italy the rural population had been dispossessed, and the land, which had many times changed owners, no longer yielded its fair produce. Destitution was extreme; the whole world was reduced to beggary, even the senators; in Asia, the most opulent of the provinces, bankruptcy was universal, and Augustus was obliged to decree a revolutionary measure, namely, the abolition of debts.¹ The taxes no longer came in; at the same time the needs of the public treasury increased. To prevent the governors from pillaging the provinces, Augustus had allotted to them a salary, and to give the Empire security had organized a standing army of 300,000 men. We have no means of ascertaining the expense of the administration, but the annual cost of an army like this may be estimated at £8,000,000.²

How could this money be obtained? It was impossible to think of seriously increasing the taxes in the exhausted provinces. But one method was left, and that was to husband more prudently the resources of the State. Under the Republic the contributions of the people had been moderate, but unequally distributed and levied in an arbitrary manner—two evils which Julius Caesar and then Augustus had sought to remedy. We shall not assert that the Empire proposed to equalize taxes, but it at least sought to ascertain the quota of taxable property in order to distribute the burden more equitably. The ordnance survey of land commenced by Julius was completed by Augustus. Four geometers went over the entire Empire and measured the land. Zenodorus completed the measurement of the eastern portions in thirteen years, five

¹ Χρεῶν ἀφεσις. (Dion Chrysost., p. 601 b.)

² See, on this subject, chap. lxxi. § 3.

months, and nine days; Theodotus, of the northern, in nineteen years, eight months, and ten days; Polycleetus, of the southern, in twenty-four years, one month, and ten days; and Didymus, of the western, in sixteen years and three months.¹ The results of their labours, brought together at Rome, were arranged in order by Balbus, who, after having prepared a register of the measurements of all the countries and of all the cities, wrote out the agrarian regulations imposed upon all the provinces.² Agrippa presided for a long time over this vast work; he prepared from it a map of the world, which he caused to be engraved under a portico,³ so that each senator designated to the government of a province might examine in advance its resources and extent in what may be called the Registrar-general's office for the Empire. "He receives," says Vegetius, "a description of his province, with indication of distances in miles, of the condition of roads and by-ways, mountains and rivers."⁴ The lands were divided into different classes, according to their products and fertility, and each class taxed in proportion to its yield;⁵ and the agriculturist, knowing what his debt to the State would be, might improve his land without the fear that he was labouring only for the advantage of the publican.⁶

This register furnished an excellent basis for taxation, and the census decreed by Caesar to be made every five years (by his *lex Julia municipalis*) in the Italian peninsula, rendered its allotment easy. The work could not assume the religious, political, and military character of the ancient census, which ended with the lustration of the whole people and the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*; but it supplied information indispensable in a State where the individual was eligible according to his property for

¹ In respect to this vast operation, see Ritschl, *Die Vermehrung des röm. Reichs.*, and De Rossi, *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, p. 28.

² Front., *de Col. ap. Goes.*, p. 109.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3. Peutinger's map seems to have been an edition or a rude imitation of this map of Agrippa, with some after-touches.

⁴ Veget., *de Re milit.*, iii. 6.

⁵ In Pannonia the division was as follows: *arvi primi, arvi secundi, prati, silvæ glandifloræ, silvæ vulgares, pascua.* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de limit. Const.*, p. 205, 9.)

⁶ *Augusti temporibus, orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum suscepit quantitate solvenda.* (Cassiod., *Variar.*, iii. 52; Cf. Isidorus, *Orig.*, v. 36.)

imperial and municipal offices, and even in the matter of penalties for crimes. Throughout Italy the lists made up by the duumvirs every fifth year, *quinquennales*, were sent to Rome, and Augustus, desirous of maintaining the old customs, performed there the ancient ceremonies, although these were in reality but the concluding act of a work of pure statistics.

The same order was established in the provinces. Augustus divided them into financial districts, each placed under the care of an *adjutor ad censum*, who made up the list of the tax-payers of his district, or received the lists from the *quinquennales*, and then, after verifying them, transmitted all these documents to the *censor* of the province, *legatus Aug. ad census accipiendos*. This high functionary of senatorial rank prepared a summary of these papers for whichever of the emperor's secretaries had charge of the general enrolment, *a censibus*,¹ and upon examination of these lists the emperor fixed the sum total of the tax, increasing or diminishing it according to the needs of the exchequer or the appeals for relief from the populations.

These agents, paid by government and closely watched,² levied only the direct taxes—the land-tax and capitation; a different system was pursued in respect to the indirect contributions, which were still farmed out to the publicans,³ who, however, were not able in this controlled service to renew the scandalous abuses of former days.⁴ The Republic, and after it the Empire, received along its frontier by land and sea the *portorium* upon all articles of daily use that were carried in or out. Besides this, every province or group of provinces had its line of custom-houses. Spain,

¹ Borghesi, *Opera*, v. 7 et sq.; L. Renier, *Mél. d'Épigr.*, p. 47-72; *Digest*, l. 15, 4, 1; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6518.

² *Lex Julia de residuis.* (*Digest*, xlviii. 13, 2.) *Si quis fiscalem pecuniam . . . in suos usus converterit, in quadruplum condemnatur.* (Paulus, v. 27, 1.) *Qui nova vectigalia exercent, lege Julia tenentur.* (*Digest*, xlviii. 6, 12.)

³ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6; xlii. 50; and *Digest*, *passim*. They acted under the supervision of the imperial procurators . . . *procuratores quatuor publicorum Africae.* (Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6648 and 6649.)

⁴ It had been stipulated with certain cities that Roman citizens should be exempt from these dues; but there is no trace of such exemption later than the time of the Republic (Livy, xxxviii. 44), and I do not believe that the measure was general, for it would have ruined the cities. The military posts were beyond the line of the customs. (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, 2.) The tariff of Zraia has for title: *Lex portus post discessum cohortis instituta*. This tariff, established after the departure of the cohort, was very low; it has been regarded as an imperial impost, but was probably nothing more than a municipal toll.

Narbonensis, the three Gauls, Italy, Sicily, and the others formed each a territory where traders entered and travelled only on payment of dues; and, finally, in the interior of the provinces, there were tolls on roads and bridges, and on entering cities dues for the benefit of the State or of the cities themselves. An article of food, therefore, transported any considerable distance, paid *portorium* several times—a custom ruinous to trade, but very profitable to the treasury, kept up in France as late as the last century. The dead man, on his way to his last dwelling, who had to pass a toll-house, must pay the *portorium*.¹ The tax was two per cent. *ad valorem* in Spain; two and a half in the three Gauls, Asia, Bithynia, and Illyricum; five in Sicily; twenty-five in the ports of the Red Sea for commodities brought from Arabia and India, which, as mere luxuries, paid a sumptuary tax.

The *vicesima hereditatum* caused all the landed property of the citizens to pass in the course of a few generations through the hands of the State.² With this multiplicity of tolls and the customs and city-dues, there must have been levied in much less time upon trade a sum equal to the value of the whole annual traffic of the Empire, and as this traffic was immense, the *portorium* furnished to the State an enormous revenue. These two taxes alone—that upon inheritances and that upon traffic—are sufficient to explain how economical princes were able to accumulate wealth such as that left by Tiberius.³

Each time that territory was added to the Empire a census was made in that region of persons and property. Thus it happened in Judæa, in the year 7 A.D., when that country, after the death of Archelaus, was added to the Syrian province, and in the year 27, in Gallia Comata, where civil war had until that time prevented the undertaking of this work of peace. The same thing was done by Claudius and Trajan after the conquest of Britain

¹ *Digest*, xi. 7, 37. The emperor, the officers of the palace, treasury agents, and soldiers were excused from the *portorium*; private individuals also had exemption for objects designed for personal use and for *instrumenta itineris*, carts, and beasts of burden. The exportation of certain articles was prohibited—corn, oil, wine, weapons, and iron, to the end that neither food nor arms should be furnished to the barbarians.

² See vol. iii. p. 722.

³ Pliny (vi. 26) says that commodities from India were sold for 100 times their cost. The excess of the demand over the supply raised the price, but the duty also largely contributed to it.

and in Dacia. These transactions, which furnished authentic data in respect to the population and the amount of taxable property,¹ were repeated at long intervals of time, at least, we know of but five in Gaul from Augustus to Domitian. They served to verify the results of the quinquennial census, and to establish the number of persons belonging to the privileged class of *cives romani*.

We have seen² that, instead of overburdening the provinces to meet the new expenses of the army and the government, Augustus had constrained the citizens to bear their share of the public costs. The contributions that he required from them supplied the military treasury, so that he made an equitable division, the citizens in part paying the army, which the inhabitants of the corn-growing regions supplied with food, while the provincials paid the expenses of the provincial government.

Each province had its *tabularium*, where the records of the census were kept,³ and a treasury of its own, *fiscus*, where the quæstor in the proconsular and the procurator in the imperial provinces deposited the sums obtained by taxation. What was not expended in the province for keeping up the army, for the payment of salaries, and for the public works ordered or subsidized by the central power, was sent to Rome, and divided, according to the nature of the tax, between the two public treasuries, civil and military, and the three imperial treasuries, the *fiscus*, the *patrimonium Cæsaris*, and the emperor's private purse. Thus to the *Ærarium Saturni* went the revenues from the public domain and the senatorial provinces, the tax paid upon enfranchisements, the *bona caduca* and *vacantia*; to the *Ærarium militare*, the duties upon inheritances and upon sales; to the *Fiscus*, the receipts of the imperial provinces; to the *Patrimonium*, the revenues arising from what are called in modern times Crown lands; to the *Res privata*, the income of the prince's personal fortune, of which he could dispose at pleasure: in twenty years Augustus received in various legacies 1,400,000,000 sesterces.⁴

¹ Suidas, s.v. Ἀπογραφὴ and Αἰγιστος. . . . τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν.

² Vol. iii. p. 721. The taxes of the provinces remained moderate. Cicero says that Asia scarcely paid her expenses, and, according to Strabo (ii. 5, 8), the Romans disdained the conquest of Britain because they found τὰ τέλη (the customs) more profitable than would be ὁ φόρος (the tribute), deduction being made of the necessary expense of the garrison required in the country.

³ Orelli, 155, 2348, and 3662.

⁴ The emperor's private domain was, at his accession, incorporated into the imperial domain

The financial administration of the Republic had been detestable; that organized by Augustus was destined to be a great benefit to the subjects of the Empire until the time when, in its extremity, the government made use of that administration, as of a suction-pump, to draw to itself all the wealth of its subjects.

Another reform is connected with this. The honest measure brought forward in 84 B.C. by Marius Gratidianus had not been carried out.¹ Sylla's *lex testamentaria* had made it obligatory to receive the public money at its nominal value, whatever might be its metallic composition.² Hence plated denarii were very largely in circulation even in the time of Julius Cæsar, who had, however, issued an excellent gold coin, the *aureus*.³ Augustus withdrew the debased coin, and made the right of coining gold and silver a Crown right, limited to the imperial mints of Rome and a few of the great cities of the provinces. As he had shared with the senate the administration of the provinces, so now he shared with them the monetary privilege, keeping, however, the best part of it in reserving for himself the mintage of the precious metals.⁴ The senate had only the right of coining bronze. As to the municipal coinage, it was very soon suppressed, at least in the western provinces.⁵ The various populations, therefore, had, for their dealings with each other a facility never before known, since the same coinage was now employed from one end of the Empire to the other.

A *senatus-consultum* had authorized Julius Cæsar to have his head upon the *aurei*; Augustus and his successors perpetuated this

(Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 10), which, under the Empire, as in ancient France, was inalienable. The Thracian Chersonesus, the property of Agrippa, fell to the Crown at his death, and made part of the *patrimonium Cæsaris* as late as the reign of Trajan. (Marquardt, *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*, ii. 248.)

¹ See vol. ii. p. 609.

² Paulus, *Sent.*, v. 25. Aristotle justly defined money an article of merchandise. Paulus and the Roman lawyers saw in it only a means of determining the prices of things. From this incorrect conception arose all the monetary misfortunes of the Empire and of the Middle Ages, when it was believed that it was possible to give to coined money whatever value government might please to assign it.

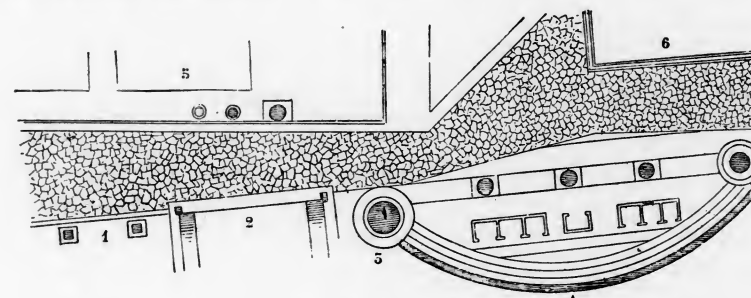
³ See vol. iii. p. 394.

⁴ This reform belongs to the year 15 B.C. The government being concentrated in the prince's household, it was his slaves who coined the imperial money, *familia monetalis* or *monetaria*. (Orelli, 1711 and 3226; *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 239 and 298.)

⁵ In Gaul, Sicily, and Africa towards the close of the reign of Augustus, or at the beginning of that of Tiberius, and in Spain during the reign of Caligula. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, i. 2 et sq.)

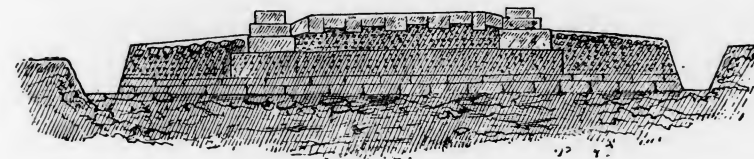
custom, which has given us the magnificent monetary series in which is preserved the authentic likeness of each emperor.

The labours of registration had facilitated two other operations of extreme importance. The Empire being thus explored and



Plan of a Roman Road.¹

measured, it became easy to lay out through it those high-roads regarded by the Romans as reins of government, which, with their



Section of a Roman Road.

code of civil law, are the great originality of this people. The senate had traced military roads throughout Italy, had boldly struck a great highway through the mountains of Epirus and Macedon, and united Spain with Italy by a coast-road along the Mediterranean Sea; Augustus laid out those of Cisalpine Gaul and the Iberian peninsula. The example was everywhere followed; from the main arteries ramifications in infinite number were thrown off, binding together cities and peoples.² The Republic had laid

¹ This plan, copied from Canina (*Via Appia*, p. 264), represents a portion of one of the roads passing the Forum: on one side, the Julian basilica (No. 1), the arch of Tiberius (No. 2), the Golden Milestone (No. 3), and the Rostra (No. 4); on the other, the temple of Saturn (No. 5) and the temple of Concord (No. 6). For the explanation of the section, see p. 17, note.

² [This is not specific enough. As in England now all railway lines communicate easily and rapidly with the main lines from London, so the by-roads were, so to speak, ribs from the vertebra of the great roads leading from Rome. Good cross-ways would have made military combinations among revolting provinces possible, and were therefore discouraged.—Ed.]

bridges, suffered civilization to pass onward, and following these roads as so many conductors to penetrate into the most solitary retreats, into the very midst of populations which she was destined to conquer more completely than armies could do.

It is a curious fact that the Romans had, as we have, time-tables giving the distances from point to point along the road. Three silver vases, found in 1852 in the *Aquæ Apollinares* (Bagni di Vicarello), under the waters of a mineral spring into which they may have been thrown as offerings, bear engraved the names of cities through which the traveller passes in going from Gades to Rome, with the distance from each to each in miles.

III.—RELIGIOUS REFORM.

In the reign of Augustus occurred a phenomenon unique in history—the formation, in a civilized country, of a State religion, which, introduced without violence, accepted without anger, and practised without interior revolt, yet affords no ground to accuse the conscience of the people accepting it of disgraceful subserviency.

Augustus, like all his contemporaries, was superstitious, but he was not devout; Suetonius represents him as extremely irreverent towards the greatest of the gods. Religion was an instrument in the hands of this skilful player. We have seen his attempts to revive the dead gods of Olympus and to restore their former honours to the Lares.¹ In this restoration he did not merely seek to revive the early faith in the protecting Genii of the hearth and the cross-roads; he found therein the means of establishing a religious tie between Rome and her subjects of the western provinces, whose forms of worship differed much from the Italian rites. The great gods of those nations could not be assimilated with the gods of Rome, as had been done in the case of the Hellenized East. It was otherwise with the Lares, nameless deities, without definite form or determined attributes, save the

15), and these journals were read with avidity in the provinces. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 22: *Diurna Romani populi per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur.*)

¹ See vol. iii. p. 766.

power of defending their worshippers. These gods answered to that idea of divine protection which underlies all forms of worship, and wherever a local or domestic divinity was found, he could without violence be called the Lar of the family, the village, or the town. It was an admirable stroke of policy to recognize them as the divine brethren of the Lares of Rome. Augustus paid honour to their altars; the Romans, like the native of the country, offered the customary libations and sacrifices, and these provincial Lares added to their name that of the prince who had opened to them the imperial pantheon. They were called the Lares Augusti,¹ a word of twofold significance, which may be regarded either as a memorial of the emperor or as an attestation of the august character of the Lares: *Augusto sacrum deo Borvoni et Candido*.

A new order of priests was required for this religion, at once old and new. By reason of the expense which the worship involved, in its sacrifices, sacred banquets, and games, its priests were selected from among the rich plebeians, and since almost all men of free birth had already their place in the Curia, it was chiefly the freedmen in easy circumstances, by birth excluded from the colonial senate, who filled this annual priesthood. The Augustales in office, *seviri*, with their colleagues who had served previously, later formed in the provincial city a class by themselves, intermediate between the common people and the municipal senate.²

By this adroit combination the inhabitants of Pannonia and the western provinces, whose forms of worship estranged them from the Latin and Greek races, saw their ancient divinities associated with those of their masters, and the priests of the old religion were thrown into the shade by the new clergy. This form of worship extended everywhere, and long preserved its hold upon

¹ The decree of the senate referred to on next page seems to have conferred upon them this appellation.

² Orelli-Henzen, No. 3939: . . . *Decuriones, Augustales et plebs*. At Narbonne the *seviri* were originally three knights and three freedmen. (Orelli-Henzen, No. 2489.) Greece, Asia, and Africa, all whose religious institutions had been long since accepted by the Romans, had no colleges of Augustales, this priesthood existing only in Gaul, Spain, Illyria, and colonies beyond the sea—at Philippi, for example. (Heuzey, *Hist. de Macéd.*, p. 37.) Italy had these priests for its Lares, and some of Trajan's colonies established them in Dacia. (L. Renier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxix. part i. pp. 68–70.)

the popular mind. In 392 Theodosius, proscribing pagan rites, as his predecessors had proscribed Christian ceremonies, declared it treason any longer to worship the Genii, Lares, and Penates.¹

After the battle of Actium, when it became evident that the Roman world was henceforth to have but one master, the senate decreed that the Genius of Augustus should be worshipped in the same places as the Lares.² This law was not only obligatory in Rome, but throughout the provinces, where the emperor took his place among the local divinities. In the department of the Allier have been found two bronze busts representing Augustus and Livia, which were the Lares of a small Gallic building.³ This is proved past doubt by the inscription they bear: *V. S. L. M.* (*Votum solvit libens merito*).



Livia (Bronze in the Louvre).

We thus behold Augustus admitted among the domestic gods of his subjects, the master of the world entering every house for the purpose of dispensing favours from on high. He was also associated with the great national divinities.

¹ *Cod. Theod.*, XVI. x. xii.: *Larem igne, mero Genium, nidore Penates*.

² *Dion*, li. 19.

³ They are now in the Louvre. [We know that the Egyptian kings were gods during their life, and that the king of Persia called himself "Brother of the Sun."—*Ed.*]

For, above the Lares and the local gods—the lower classes of heaven—the western provinces had divinities who were the objects of a more general veneration. Augustus latinized their names, put side by side that of the corresponding Roman divinity, and gave out to all the world that the two were but one; for example, Jupiter-Taranis, Pluto-Teutates, Mars-Camulus, Diana-Arduinna, Minerva-Belisama, and the like, so that conquerors and conquered might alike, without conscientious scruples, worship side by side at the same altars. But these foreign gods, subjects of Rome like their people, were forced to admit among themselves the supreme divinity of the State, the Genius of the emperor. In the ruins of the immense temple which the Arverni built



Augustus (Bronze in the Louvre), p. 20.

on the summit of Puy-de-Dôme, and the Alemanni destroyed in the reign of Valerian,¹ the following votive offering was found: *Num. Aug. et deo Mercurio Dumati*.

The religious organization of the Empire is but imperfectly understood. Numerous inscriptions, however, which show the existence in the cities of a perpetual flamen,² reveal the intention

¹ Gregory of Tours, i. 30.

² A citizen of Lyons gave great sums of money, *ob honorem perpetui pontificatus*. (Orelli-Henzen, No. 4020.) The perpetuity was in the title, not in the office, which was annual.

of establishing a sort of religious discipline. This flamen, who must have previously filled all the municipal offices, *omnibus honoribus functus*, played the same part in his city, it is evident,



Diana of Ephesus (Vatican Mus.).²

as that of the pontifex maximus at Rome, the same, too, that the Christian bishop filled later in the episcopal cities. Pledged to the worship of the local divinities, and also to that of the gods of the Empire, this functionary regulated the ritual and sealed the religious alliance of Rome with her subjects.

We discern the same idea of religious discipline in a singular institution which is described in the *Digest*.¹ Augustus decided that only the Tarpeian Jupiter among the Roman gods should enjoy the honour and profit of the *jus trium liberorum*; but he granted the same right to seven provincial divinities—the Didymæan Apollo, the Gallic Mars, the Minerva

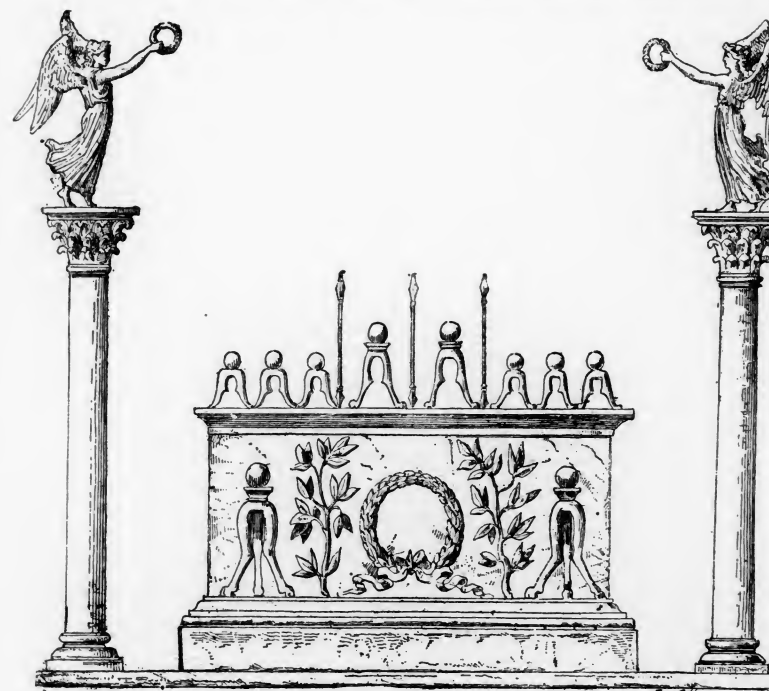
of Ilion, the Hercules of Gades, Diana of the Ephesians, the Mother of the Gods, worshipped at Smyrna, and the Celestial

¹ Ulp., *Libri singularis Regularum*, xxii. 6. The governors were all expressly charged to protect the domains of the temples and their immunities. (Aggen. Urbicas, *ap. Goes.*, 74.)

² The Diana of the Greek Olympus is a shy, graceful virgin, goddess of the night, loving the woods, and for ever pursuing her game with the golden bow, a symbol of the crescent moon. Like the Athene of Athens, she had never been willing to know the joys of maternity. The Diana of Ephesus, on the contrary, the old Asiatic goddess, symbolizes the fecundity of nature; her body is covered with breasts, *πολέμαστος*; upon the cover which wraps her like a mummy are designed oxen, lions, etc.; she is the power of life. (Strabo, xiv. 614; Pausan., iv. 31, 6.) Statues like the above are common in the museums of Italy.

Virgin of Carthage. Legacies from the pious could be received only in the temples of these divinities, who by this decree were particularly pointed out to public devotion.

The religious system of the Empire expands, therefore, and at the same time concentrates. It expands by the worship of the Lares, it concentrates by this recognition of the superiority of



Altar of Rome and of Augustus at Lyons.¹

a small number of national divinities. But a step further was taken: monarchy existed upon earth; it was established also in heaven by the institution in all the provinces, both eastern and western, of an official religion whose source was the emperor. In the year 12 B.C., upon the invitation of Drusus, the deputies of the three Merovingian provinces assembled at Lyons, decided there should be erected at the public expense, at the junction of the

¹ Restoration by Monfalcon. (*Hist. Mon. de la Ville de Lyon*, vol. i. *ad fin.*)

Saone and the Rhone,¹ an altar dedicated to Rome and to Augustus, and that around the colossal statue of the emperor or of the Eternal City² should be erected sixty lesser statues, representing the sixty Gallic cities, whose names were to be engraved on the altar of the gods.³ The work being finished, a noble Eduan, client of the Julian house, elected by the assembly and assisted by the other priest of the Augustal worship, celebrated the inauguration of the temple.⁴ Every year, on the first day of August, the deputies of the *Comatæ* provinces, surrounded by an immense concourse, presented themselves here and offered sacrifices and burnt incense to the new gods of Gaul.

We know, without being able to give details, that the same thing occurred at Narbonne, at Tarragona, and at Merida, and we are justified in saying, on the authority of Tacitus and Suetonius, also confirmed by very numerous medals and inscriptions, that all the provinces erected altars to Rome and to the Augusti.⁵ Every year deputies elected by the states assembled in their capital cities, there to celebrate the grand *fête* of the Empire. The one having charge of the temple was called in the West, *sacerdos ad aram*, or the *flamen provinciarum*; in the East, *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς*, a title

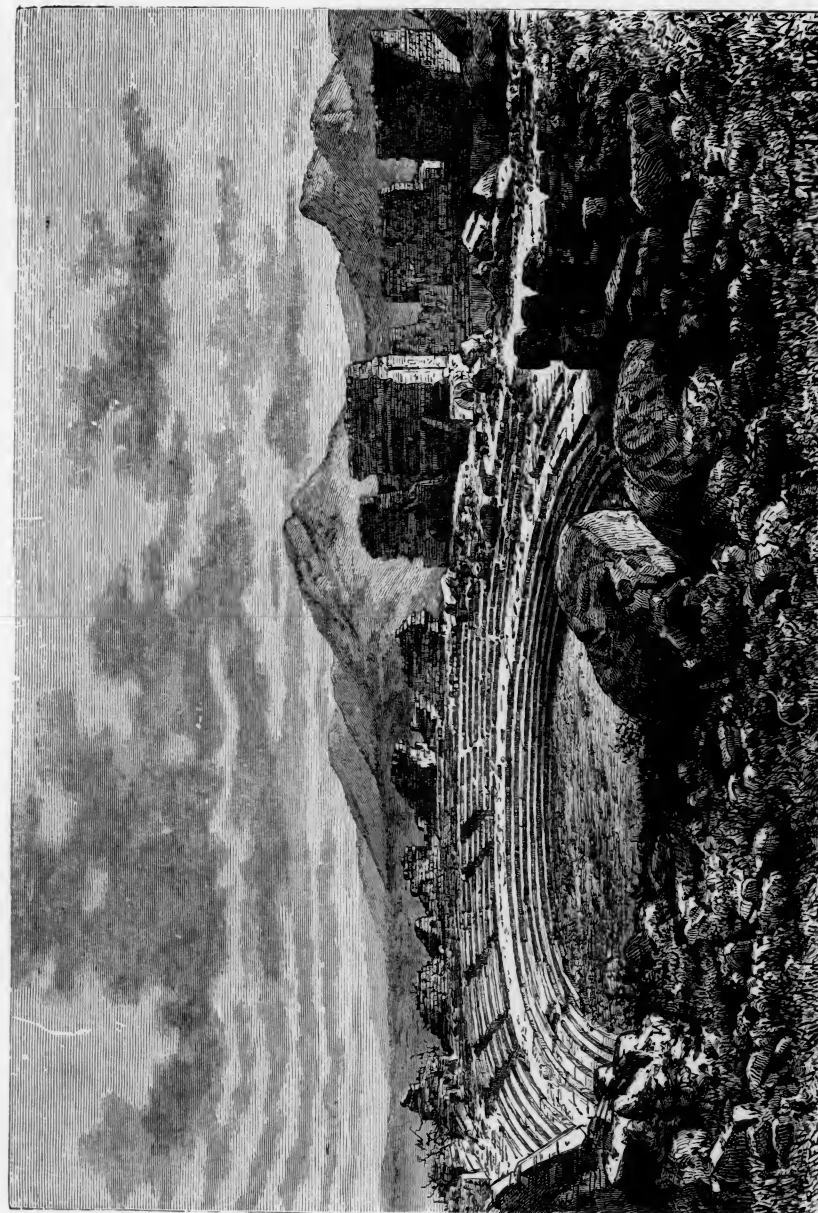
¹ The point of junction of these rivers has often changed; it must have been originally at the Place des Terreaux; in the sixteenth century it was south of Ainay; at the present time it is half a league distant, at La Mulatière. Excavations made in 1858 near the Place des Terreaux, in the former Jardin des Plantes, have brought to light the ruins of an amphitheatre and a mass of fragments which must have made part of a magnificent monument. Two enormous granite columns which adorned the altar of Augustus are in the church of Ainay. Monfalcon (*Hist. Mon. de Lyon*, vol. i. p. 46) is of opinion that they are very nearly in the place where they were originally erected.

² The text of Strabo (iv. 3, 2), corrupt in this place, leaves it uncertain whether the statue was of Rome or of the emperor. Before the battle of Actium there was already in Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people. (Dion, l. 8.)

³ Strabo says sixty tribes; Tacitus, sixty-four; Ptolemy, sixty-three. In Upper Pannonia the statues of the cities of the province were also placed around the *Ara Augusti*. (*C. I. L.*, 4192, 4193.)

⁴ 1st of August, 10 B.C. The same day Claudius, the future emperor, was born at Lyons. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxvii., and Suet., *Claud.*, 2.)

⁵ In speaking of the temple which the Spaniards erected to Augustus in the city of Tarragona, Tacitus says (*Ann.*, i. 78): *Datum in omnes provincias exemplum*. Suetonius (*Octav.*, 59) completes this idea: *Provinciarum pleraque super templa et aras, ludos quoque quinquennales pene oppidatim constituerunt*. We know there were temples of Rome and Augustus at Tarragona and Merida in Spain, at Tingis in Mauretania, at Pola in Istria, at Ephesus, Nicæa, Smyrna, Sardis, Cyme, Pergamos, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Ancyra, Milassa, Cæsarea in Palestine, and other cities. Ephesus and Nicæa had temples of Cæsar and Rome. *Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ . . . οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει γίνετο*. (Dion, li. 20.)



Roman Amphitheatre at Merida.

which the Greeks employed in speaking of the sovereign pontificate of the emperor, μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς. This high priest, the most important personage in his province,¹ had a kind of jurisdiction over the clergy of the province,² as the flamen in a city had over those of his own town, and this primacy fell as a legacy to the archbishop in the Christian church. All the provinces, therefore, had a religious centre where the same divinity was worshipped. The old gods, humbling their pride before these new divinities, gave up to them their own most stately ceremonies, their largest crowds of worshippers;³ and the adoration of Rome and the Augusti became the real religion of the Empire. The cities did the same as the provinces; each one had its *flamen Augusti*. In Cæsar's time the scribes of Osuna swore by Jupiter and the Penates, the Republican oath; in the time of Domitian, the duumvirs of Malaga swore by the Divinity of the dead emperors, the Genius of the living emperor, and by the Penates⁴—by the local divinities, that is, and by gods unknown to the Capitol before Augustus.

We have used the word clergy; it can be applied to the priests of the Augustal worship only with an important restriction. These priests, who are primarily citizens, are ex-magistrates, *omnibus honoribus functi*, members of the Curia, subject to the public authority which keeps the control of religious matters, the management of property devoted to the service of the temple, and of the funds obtained by collections made within the sacred edifice, *in sedes sacras*, and exacts the fines which may be devoted to defraying the expenses of the ritual. In the colony of Osuna, the duumvirs were the persons who decided how many feasts there should be in the year, and upon what days these, the

¹ This he was as late as 359. (Cf. *Code Theod.*, XII. i. 148.)

² Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Asie Min.*, n. 885; Perrot, *Explorat. archéol.*, p. 200. The letters of Julian, 49, 62, and 63, show this jurisdiction in the fourth century. [Eusebius (*H. E.*, viii. 14) says it was established by Maximin Daza, rival of Licinius. Maximin no doubt only revived an older institution. We know that in the earlier Empire the Roman college of pontiffs and that of the xv. *virī sacris faciundis* had the control of religious affairs. Pliny in his *Letters* shows that a tomb could not be moved, even in Bithynia, without the authority of the pontiffs at Rome, and an inscription from Puteoli shows us that the election of municipal priests must be ratified, at least in Italy, by the xv. *virī S F.* (Mommson, *I. R. N.*, 2558.) This was a consequence of the *Sen. Cons. de Bacch.* (Cf. ii. p. 251.)—*Ed.*]

³ See in Tertullian (*Apol.*, 35) a description of the feast of the Cæsars. The Christian orator shows, naturally enough, only the extravagances of the public joy.

⁴ *Lex Malacitana*, § 59; *Bronzes d'Osuna*, § 81.

sacrifices, and other solemnities should take place.¹ The flamen, therefore, was obliged to act in concert with the magistrates. During the entire duration of the heathen Empire, religious and political authority were blended, but in such wise that the former always remained subordinated to the latter. This was an essentially Roman principle of government, and later, determined the action of the emperors towards dissenters.

The religious revolution we have just described was not the work of a day; but it was very rapidly achieved, for Augustus obtained what is most necessary to a statesman, time—for forty-four years he was able to prosecute his designs. The Augustal worship, early established upon the banks of the Rhine, among the Ubii,² had already been carried, fifteen years before the beginning of the Christian era, into the regions between the Elbe and Oder.³ That it could go so far as this proves that it must have been very rapidly accepted in the old provinces.⁴

It does not appear that the people were at all opposed to these changes, which were made without violence, and were authorized by customs as well as by beliefs. The druidic priests, only, considered themselves persecuted, and so indeed they were, but in a peculiar way. Augustus divided Druidism into two parts; he accepted its gods, and rejected its priests. Against the latter he promulgated no decree, but in giving the Gauls the municipal organization of Italy, he took away from the Druids, without appearing to concern himself with them, their judicial power, which passed over to the duumvirs of the newly constituted states. By his new sacerdotal colleges he rendered the earlier useless, and in applying to Gaul the general laws of the Empire, which forbade secret associations and nocturnal assemblies, he obliged those who still wished to practise their religion of terror to hide it, while the official religion attracted to its new altars the crowd allured by its

¹ See Articles 64, 72, and 128 of the Law of Genetiva, with M. Giraud's commentary, *Nouveaux Bronzes d'Osuna*, chap. iv., v., and vi.

² The son of Segestes, a chief of the Cherusci, was *sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum*. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 30, 57.)

³ Dion, iv. 10.

⁴ Even the worship of the *divæ* was very early accepted by them. Less than a quarter of a century after Augustus, an Augustal priest at Avaricum consecrated a monument *pro salute Cesarum et populi Romani* to Minerva, and to *diva* Drusilla, after the death of Drusilla, therefore, and before that of Claudius, between 38 and 41 A.D. (*Revue archéol.*, December, 1879.)

brilliant and cheerful ceremonial. In the name of humanity, he prohibited the human sacrifices which early decrees of the senate had forbidden,¹ and permitted only slight libations of blood made by voluntary victims; in the name of ambition, he summoned to the worship of the gods of the Empire all those who desired to emerge from the obscurity of the province, when he established the rule that the observance of the old rites was incompatible with Roman citizenship, and that a man must speak Latin before he could be admitted to the legions, the public offices, or the honours of Rome.²

The druidic body was not persecuted in the least, and still it received a mortal blow;³ but their gods were saved by the ingenious combination that Augustus had effected between the religions of Gaul and of Rome.⁴ The old Gallic altars remained standing in the broad daylight of the cities, and the Romans beheld a grotesque pantheon of horned and three-headed gods, seated in the attitude of the Indian Buddha, strange objects that the Greeks would have regarded as monstrosities.

In 1711 there was discovered in Paris, under the choir of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, an altar consecrated to Tiberius by the boatmen of the Seine, *Nautæ Parisiaci*; beside Gallic gods, whose names had been changed to Jupiter and Vulcan, was Esus cutting the sacred mistletoe, the god Taurus, TARVOS TRICARANVS, and the god Cernunnos. Upon the altar of Rheims, between the classic Mercury and Apollo, is carved, in the place of honour, a horned god, seated cross-legged, dispensing from a leathern sack the

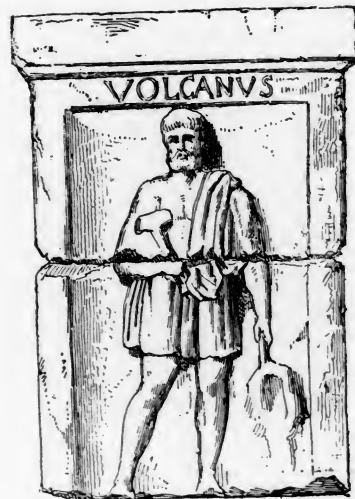
¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 5, in the year 97 B.C. It was in virtue of this law that Tiberius crucified the African priests who sacrificed children to their god Moloch. (Tertul., *Apol.*, 9.) Pliny, however, attests that in his time, for religious or political motives, men were buried alive (xxviii. 3). A similar execution took place under Julius Cæsar, probably as a religious expiation.

² Latin was the language of the army (Suet., *Tib.*, 71), of the government, and of affairs; Claudius deposed the Greek judges who could not speak Latin, and took from them their title of citizen. (Suet., *Claud.*, 16; Dion, xl. 17.) In the Hellenized East, which had an important literature, persons of consequence learned Latin [though so learned a man as Plutarch complains of the difficulties in understanding it], but they and the people preserved their own language. The populations of the western provinces, whose past did not protect them against the invasion of a higher civilization, became the pupils of Rome, and still speak her language.

³ I have discussed the question of the suppression of the Druids in the *Revue archéol.* of April, 1880.

⁴ Inscriptions have already brought to our knowledge fourteen goddesses and thirty-six gods of Gaul, whose names are given by Al. Bertrand in the *Revue archéol.* of June, 1880.

beech-nuts or acorns that an ox and a stag receive. The twisted



Vulcan.



Jupiter.



Esus.



The God Taurus.

Fragments of an Altar found under Notre Dame in Paris (Museum of Cluny).

collar (*tore*) around his neck shows his Gallic character. Still more

grotesque is the altar at Beaune, with its three-headed god, flanked by Apollo and a horned divinity with goat's feet. In other monuments the Roman element does not even appear. These three-headed objects are hideous, as in the altar of Beaune, or barbaric, like that at Rheims; but they rudely express a profound idea which the Celts brought from the East, where the Pelasgi also found it,¹ that of a Supreme God, one in essence and divided into three persons. Had the Armorican Abelard these Gallic *tricephale*

The God Cernunnos (Museum of Cluny).²

in mind when he conceived the Christian Trinity as a god with three heads?

The Greeks had preserved this Oriental tricephalic conception only for malevolent or infernal beings, Cerberus and the hydra of Lerna [also the triple Hecate], and the Romans, notwithstanding their Janus and their double-faced Hermes, were not more fond than the Greeks of these unnatural representations.³ Their influence

¹ See vol. i. p. 42.

² The lower part of this bas-relief is broken. The god, doubtless, was seated in the Buddhic attitude, the size of the head and bust making it probable that the legs were folded under him. Only four of these figures are given above. There are eleven others and one inscription cut upon the sixteen faces of four great blocks of stone.

³ The Hermes *bifrons* of the Romans do not represent one god in two persons, but rather two distinct personages. (See vol. i. p. 656, the Hermes representing Faunus and Tutanus.) The Hermes which gives us the bust of Metrodorus (vol. ii. p. 216) bears on the other side the figure of Epicurus.

brought the Gauls by slow degrees to abandon these monstrosities. But the extremely vital idea of a divine triad is preserved and re-appears in the statuette of Autun, which bears above the ears of the principal head two small heads which are scarcely in relief upon the skull. All these gods had horns, a sign of the divine power, which the Africans gave to Jupiter Ammon, and the people

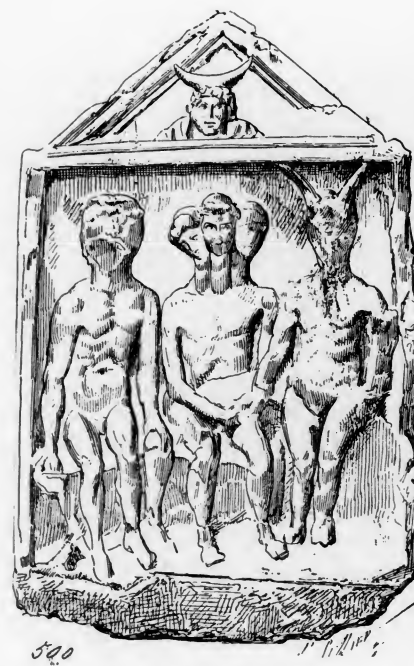
Altar at Rheims.¹

of the East to Alexander. They also wore the torc, another mysterious symbol of divine command and military authority. In the lap of the god at Autun is one of them, adorned by two marine monsters with ram's heads.

This religious reform, which had silently suppressed a national clergy and gathered into one the religious beliefs of all the

¹ Gallic triad. The three-headed god has divided; Esus-Jupiter is attended by his Roman family, Apollo and Mercury.

subjects of Rome, had been well conducted; but this worship of the Augusti amazes us, and the adorers of power appear to us ignoble indeed. We shall be less surprised and less severe if we remember that, in all ages, man, overwhelmed by the vastness of heaven, has been obliged to people that formidable solitude. In the Middle Ages it was virtue, or what was so



Altar of Beaune.



Tricephalus of Rheims.

esteemed, which led to heaven; among the ancients, virtue was strength, *vis*, and in the Greece of Homer, heroes were honoured as demi-gods. In the Egypt of the Pharaohs, "where all was god, save God himself," the kings called themselves children of the Sun, begotten by Ammon, and the people believed them. The Ptolemies went further, aspiring to be gods during their lifetime; they were so, and the evil spread through Syria, Asia Minor, and even Macedonian Greece. Rome long resisted this,

but the doctrine that the gods were but the upright kings of ancient times whom the gratitude of their subjects had apotheosized, had prepared the higher classes in Rome to accept without much resistance the divine character of the Cæsars, while the crowd



Gallic God in Buddhist Attitude (Statuette at Autun).¹

was already gained over to this innovation by the ideas which had long been familiar to them.

In Italy, the faith most deeply rooted in the popular heart and the most to be respected, the belief in the Manes, made the dead the protecting genii of the living. "The mind is a god," said Euripides, and Cicero repeats this.² All the rites performed around the tomb and at the domestic hearth, which formed the true popular religion, arose from this idea.

¹ The statuette is represented in front view and in profile, to show the little head over the ear, a last trace of the ancient *tricephaly*.

² *Animus divinus est* (Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 26), and he adds (*ibid.*, 27): *celestis et divinum ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est*.

In the imagination of these men, the *divi manes*, being purified by the funereal ceremonies,¹ and becoming the object of a private or public worship, a worship of memory, affection, and respect, silently peopled the depths of the earth and the serene regions of the sky, whence they protected those whom they had left. "Donata," says an inscription, "thou who wast pious and virtuous, save all thy kindred!"² And they were invoked as the Roman Catholic church invokes the saints: *Hic invocatur Fructuosus*.³ Every man had his Genius, and this belief had become so habitual to the Romans that they applied it everywhere. Numerous inscriptions show soldiers seriously paying homage to the Genius of their cohort or of their post, and tax-gatherers offering libations to the Genius of the internal revenue.⁴ Art took up the idea and ennobled it as it does all which it touches: in a painting recently found upon the Esquiline, the city of Lanuvium herself assists at the reconstruction of her walls.⁵ In the family this faith rose to the dignity of a filial sentiment. "The Genius," says Paulus the lawyer, "is son of the gods, and father of men," and elsewhere: *Genius meus nominatur qui me genuit*.⁶ Three centuries earlier Cicero had written: "We should regard the relatives whom we have lost as divine kings."⁷ The tomb was the altar where the dead was admitted to the number of the gods: *aram consecravit*, says a sepulchral inscription.⁸

¹ An inscription reads: . . . *opertis [i.e. rite sepultis] manibus, divina vis est*. (Wilmanns, 1225 c.)

² Léon Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 283; Cf. Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6206 and 7400: *Pete pro parentes tuos, Matronata*, says this latter inscription, with an error which an educated man would not have made, itself a proof how much hold this belief had upon the popular mind.

³ *C. I. L.*, ii. 5052.

⁴ *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1868, p. 109. In the camp at Lambese all worship was addressed to the Genius of the legion and the Genius of the camp, the eagle and the standard bearing the emperor's likeness. These were the gods that the legion carried with them wherever they went. As for Jupiter and the other divinities, both Roman and foreign, their altars were outside the camp. (Wilmanns, *Mém. sur Lambèse*, 1877, ap. *Commentat. philolog.*)

⁵ See the chromo-lithograph, vol. iii., facing p. 500.

⁶ An inscription in Narbonne reads: *Genio patrono*. (*Revue archéol.*, May, 1879.)

⁷ *De Leg.*, ii. 9 [also for details of the will of Epicteta, Cauer, *Del. Inscr. græc.*, p. 77 (1877), and K. F. Hermann, *Gott. Alt.*, § 16].

⁸ Orelli-Henzen, No. 5087. Another is thus expressed: *Dee domine Rufie Maternæ, aram et lucum consecravit Macronia Marcia et ei omnibus annis sacrificium instituit*. (Orelli, No. 4587.) Still another is in these words: *In hoc tumulo jacet corpus cujus spiritus inter deos receptus est*. (Orelli-Henzen, No. 7418.) Cf. also Wilmanns, 241.

This idea of paternity and protectorship, essential in the conception of the Genii,¹ was one of the religious elements of the Aryan race: the *Ferouer* of the Persians are the Genii of the Romans, and the Greek dead became divine in their Elysium. Upon her funereal monument Myrrhine has the figure of a god. It is easy to understand how a faith springing from the deepest religious consciousness of these nations should have naturally led devotees, hypocritical or sincere, to regard him whom the senate called the Father of the Country as the Genius of the Empire.



Funereal Monument of Myrrhine (Louvre).³

in honour of Augustus,² and Horace, Ovid, and Petronius prove

¹ *Genius deorum filius et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur.* (Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 69.) Censorinus (*de Die nat.* 3) thus defines the Genius: *Genius est deus cujus in tutela, ut quisque natus est, vivit. Hic, sive quod, ut genamur, curat, sive quod una genitur nobiscum, sive etiam quod nos genitos suscipit ac tuetur, certe a genendo Genius adpellatur.* Censorinus wrote in the third century of the Christian era. I have quoted a decree of Theodosius (p. 20) which shows the worship of Genii still flourishing in 392.

² Dion, li. 19, after the death of Antony.

³ Ravaisson, *Les Monuments funéraires des Grecs*, in the *Revue des religions*, vol. ii. p. 15. Upon this monument Myrrhine is of the same stature as Mercury, while the members of her

that this usage was rapidly established.¹ "At his evening meal the rejoicing peasant calls thee to his table; he pours for thee the wine from his cup, and addresses his prayer to thee and to the Lares." If we doubt the poet, we may read a curious inscription of the duumvirs of Florence, in the year 18 A.D., ordering wine and incense to be offered to the Genii of Augustus and Tiberius, and that they be invited to the feast celebrated in their honour by all the decurions.² It was believed that the prince from beyond the tomb watched over his people as a father over his children; and an inscription of the Arval brothers called him *parens publicus*.³

Another very early habit of mind arising from the incapacity of these men to conceive a god in his sovereign greatness, had led them to submit the divine beings to a most strange analysis. Each attribute became a distinct god. A



Tutela.⁴

family yet alive are of inferior stature. The illustrations in vol. ii., pp. 312 and 799, have already shown the custom of ancient artists of indicating the divine character of their personages by loftier stature.

¹ Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5, 35; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 635; Petronius, 60: *Augusto, patri patrie, feliciter.*

² Orelli, No. 686.

³ Orelli-Henzen, No. 7849. The Asiatics were so familiar with this belief, that under Augustus, the kings of the allies resolved to finish at the common expense the greatest temple in the world, that of Olympian Zeus, at Athens, and to consecrate it to the Genius of the emperor. (Suet., *Octav.*, 60.)

⁴ Silver figurine in the British Museum, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, pl. 11.

goddess, Tutela, even represented in a special and consequently more certain manner the protection which each god should give to his worshippers.¹ "The image of Tutela is in every house,"² says S. Jerome. What had been done in respect to the divine attributes was next done in respect to human qualities. Cicero speaks of cities where the virtues of Quintus, his brother, had been canonized and placed among the gods.³

With these habits of mind it was easy for the Romans, in thinking of the emperor, to make a distinction between the prince himself, who sometimes committed so many crimes and foolish acts, and that imperial intelligence, always the same under different names, thanks to which a hundred million persons during two centuries never witnessed a popular insurrection, nor saw the camp-fires of a foe.⁴ The happy inspiration which directed this policy was regarded as the divine element which must be worshipped. In the temples of the new faith, adoration was addressed therefore less to the prince than to the Genius of the Roman people, venerated under the double form of the Eternal City and the chief of the Empire—not the worship of a man, but the religion of the divinized State.⁵

The prince resided in a given place, but statues of him might be everywhere, and the image representing the Genius or *Numen Augusti* was an object of worship.⁶ "The statues of the

¹ Manilius, *Astronomica*, ii. 423-428:

... Restat . . . noscere tutelas . . .
Cum divina dedit (Natura) magnis virtutibus ora
Condidit et varias sacro sub nomine vires.

² Isaiah, 57.

³ . . . in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides. (*Ad Quint.*, i. 1.)

⁴ With the one exception of the bloody interlude of a civil war, lasting eighteen months, which followed upon the death of Nero.

⁵ We must distinguish between the provincial worship of Rome and of Augustus, and the altogether Roman worship rendered to the *divi*. Each apotheosized emperor had his flamen as Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus had long had, and were honoured collectively, each under his own name, by the college of *sodales Augustales*, composed of the chief personages of the Empire. In the provincial worship of Rome and Augustus, that is to say, of the State, the reigning emperor was honoured, but without his personal name. It has been already shown (p. 19) in what way the worship of the Lares Augusti united the local religions with the official faith. Not all the emperors became *divi*. Of the twelve Cæsars first in order, there were but five who obtained the *consecratio* from the senate; and according to the *Actæ* of the Arval brothers, up to the time of Commodus in 193 there had been but sixteen. See E. Desjardins, *Le Culte des divi*.

⁶ By the same process of analysis, the Greeks made a divinity of Rome itself, and after the

gods," says Melito, bishop of Sardes, "are less venerated than those of the Cæsars."¹ Tertullian is often angry with the pagan emperors, but for all that he places them very near God: *A deo secundi, solo deo minores*; and in the middle of the fourth century, in the presence of triumphant Christianity, Aurelius Victor wrote:² "Princes and the noblest of mortals, by the integrity of their lives, merit entrance into heaven and the glory of being venerated as equal to the gods."

The words "equal to the gods" are too strong. The personage proclaimed *divus* was by no means completely a god,³ any more than are the *divi* or saints of Christianity. But "he was more than man, a sort of incarnate and present divinity to whom were



Introduction of a Soul into Olympus.

due faithful worship and unlimited devotion."⁵ The heaven of the heathen world was very near to earth; all these ideas still further lessened the interval separating the domain of men from that of the gods; and "the road to Jupiter," as Pindar says, was easily traversed by princes many of whom seem to us to merit the severest judgment of history. Those who had been honoured on earth were honoured in the skies, unless the senate had caused them to be dragged to the Gemoniæ. . . . "We have given back his body to nature," said Tiberius, at the

defeat of Mithridates temples were consecrated in Asia to the city of Rome. (*Tacit., Ann.*, iv. 56.) Before the battle of Actium there was at Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people. (*Dion.*, l. 8.)

¹ *Spicileg. Solesm.*, ii. p. xli. Melito was a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.

² *De Caesaribus*, 38.

³ Referring to the apotheosis of Commodus, decreed by Septimius Severus, *Dion* (lxxv. 7) translates the Latin word *consecratio* which made a *divus*, by ἱεροκῆς ἐκιδὸν τιμῆς. The Pope, in the Roman Catholic church, is also called during his life-time *divus* or His Holiness. [The distinction between the official vicar of Christ and the often faulty person of the Pope has also its analogy in what has been said above.—*Ed.*]

⁴ Bas-relief on the cover of a sarcophagus in the Borghese Villa.

⁵ *Id.*, liii. 16: . . . Αἰγυσιος ὡς καὶ πλεῖον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπεκλήθη. Cf. *Vegetius*, ii. 5.

funeral of his adopted father; "let us now worship his soul as divine."¹

The worship that, according to these ideas, should be rendered at Rome to the dead Augustus, was paid in the provinces to Augustus yet alive, and no one was scandalized, for what these nations accorded to the illustrious pacificator of the world was no more than what the senate under the Republic had accorded to obscure proconsuls, authorizing these officials to permit the erecting to themselves of temples by the people of the provinces over which they ruled.² Cicero, who refused the honour for himself, resolved to build a shrine to his daughter, and a mere prætor had altars³ in Rome itself, as had also throughout the Roman territory the old kings of Latin legend, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus, the native gods of the country. We also apotheosize, but without having faith in what we do; for us it is a question of art, but for the ancients it was an article of creed, and even after the age of scepticism had begun most persons had faith in this. In the worship of the Cæsars, therefore, were blended old and dear habits of devotion to the gods giving security, abundance, and joy, the familiar Lar or protecting Genius, and the Penates. These divinities, originally distinct, were now but one: the Augustal Providence, *Σεβαστή πρόνοια*,⁴ and two words sum up its benefits: *Pax Romana*. All the emperors, even the insane ones, were in the eyes of the people the personification of this divinity, and for two centuries the provincial writers

¹ Dion, lvi. 41. Varro considered it suitable that cities should apotheosize their founders [as Greek cities had long since done.] (S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 4); Cicero esteemed this custom wise (*de Consol. fragm.*), and thought that virtuous men, *bonis studiis atque artibus expositos, leni quodam et facili lapsu ad deos, id est ad naturam sui similem pervolare.*

² Cicero, *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 9; *ad Att.*, v. 21. Concerning the temples erected in honour of Flaminius, see vol. ii. p. 33. In Cato's time, Smyrna consecrated a temple to the city of Rome. (Tacit., *Ann.*, iv. 56.) After the war with Perseus, Rhodes placed in her principal sanctuary the colossal statue of the Roman people. (Polyb., xxxi. 16.) Alexandria made Augustus, after his death, the protector of sailors. (Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, p. 784.) Athens honoured his grandson Caius Cæsar as a new god, and gave a priest to Drusus. (*C. I. G.*, 181, 264 and 311.) A contemporary of Augustus, Labeo, had a temple at Cyme. Cf. Egger, *Mem. of Ancient History*, p. 78; and in the *C. I. G.* an inscription from Olbia, 2087; from Paphos, 2629; from Aphrodisias, 2738; from Nisa, 2943, etc. See in *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. i. p. 466 (duod. ed.), a dissertation by the Abbé Mongault on the divine honours accorded in the time of the Republic.

See vol. ii. p. 609. . . . *Cui vicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui thure et vino supplicabat.* (Seneca, *de Ira*, iii. 18.) See, for other examples, *C. I. G.*, Nos. 311, 3514, etc.

⁴ Le Bas, *Inscr.*, iii. 858.

celebrated its praises with enthusiastic gratitude. *Vale, Roma*, says a Pompeian inscription; "Happiness to the Emperor Augustus," says another; and a third adds: "Our princes being preserved we are happy for eternity."¹ Making all due allowance for official flattery, there is still to be heard in these sentiments an echo of public opinion, which in times less prosperous is wont to pronounce a different utterance.

The Romans were too strict logicians not to develop from the new religion all the latent effects useful to their policy. The emperor being *divus*, to swear by his name, by his fortune, or by his Genius became an act which the law sanctioned and made binding. Any one who should violate an engagement thus made was beaten with rods, *Temere ne jurato*;² and this oath was required of all municipal magistrates.³ The emperor's statue had even a privilege which the Roman gods had not: the slave who succeeded in taking shelter beneath



Priestess of Isis.⁴

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. iv. 1074, 1745.

² *Digest*, xii. 2, 13, § 6. The senate had already given legal force to the oath, "by the fortune of Cæsar." (Dion. xlv. 6.)

³ On this point see p. 23. Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. v. 172, and *C. I. G.*, 1933.

⁴ Priestess of Isis with the lotus-flower upon her forehead, and holding in her hand a vase of lustral water. Statue in the Museum of the Capitol. [Note the beautiful draping of this figure, which is common in statues of Isis. The knotted ends belong to the mantle wrapping the figure.—Ed.]

it could not be torn thence;¹ and when a criminal was put to death in any place where this statue stood, it was customary to veil the sacred face.² Soon it became sacrilege to break this image, or



Mithra sacrificing a Bull.³

even so much as to retain upon the hand while attending to one's body the imperial head engraved upon a ring. The town of Cyzicus, which had rendered so great services to Rome in the

¹ Labeo, one of the lawyers of Augustus, speaks of the slave *qui ad statuam Cæsaris confugit*. (*Digest*, xxi. 14, § 12.) This right had been recognized since the year 42 B.C., in the *Heroon* or chapel of Cæsar. See vol. iii. p. 463. The Greeks had extended this right of asylum so far as to render the administration of justice impossible; the Romans, with their good sense in matters of government, seem to have allowed this right only in the case of the emperor's statue and only to the slave taking refuge beneath it. Dion (xlvii. 19) says this expressly: *ὑπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν*, except in the case of the asylum of Romulus, which they early rendered inaccessible.

² Dion, lx. 12.

³ Bas-relief in the Louvre. This is the most important monument remaining to us of the Persian worship of Mithra in the Roman Empire. Mithra, in his cavern, *spelæum*, sacrifices to Jupiter Sabazius, the bull, whose blood will give regeneration. Around the prostrate bull are a scorpion, a serpent, and a dog. To the right and left the Genius of the day with lighted torch, and of the night with torch extinguished. Overhead is the earth with its productions; higher still, Aurora about to disappear, and the sun ascending from the horizon. Upon the

affair of Mithridates, lost its liberty in consequence of neglecting this worship of Augustus.¹

When the emperor had his temples in all the provinces, his priests in every city, his offerings in the *lararium* of each man's house, it might well appear that the Roman world was encompassed with religious bonds of a strong and durable character. The efforts made by Augustus to bring under control the thing most uncontrollable—religious belief, are a very masterpiece of skill. How easily, nevertheless, will religious emotion break the meshes of this net thrown over the human conscience! Men in public life will be able to content themselves with this cold and formal devotion, which gives no answer to the wants of the soul. Women, children, old men, persons of simple minds, while paying to the emperor the worship demanded by gratitude, will seek hope and comfort at other altars. From the East, that inexhaustible factory of religions, will come mystic or sensual ardours that neither policy nor persecution can control. Isis and Serapis, the Great Mother and the Phrygian Sabazius are already in Rome; Mithra will soon be there, with his baptism of blood;² and already in Judæa was growing up to manhood He whose disciples will confound all this wisdom. It will have endured, however, for more than three centuries—a very short life for a religion, but very long for a political institution. The official religion of Augustus, made up of old and new elements adroitly combined, was, in fact, only a great administrative measure.

IV.—THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY.

The principal machinery of this institution was the provincial assembly, which, besides its religious character, had, moreover, in a certain measure, a political character.

It has already been shown³ that the ancients were not so

bull, the inscription: "To Mithra, the invincible Sun-God." This bas-relief was consecrated at Rome in a vault beneath the Capitol.

¹ *Incuria cærimoniarum divi Augusti*. (*Tac., Ann.*, iv. 36.)

² Under Claudius. (*Orelli-Henzen*, No. 5844.)

³ See vol. ii. p. 194 *et seq.*

ignorant as has been supposed of the representative system, that is to say, of delegated sovereignty.

Provincial assemblies were an ancient institution, dear to all peoples of the Hellenic race. From the Adriatic to the Taurus we find it everywhere established; we again discover it among the Italian populations, and Cæsar attests that it existed in Gaul, where every year he himself assembled states general of the entire country, *concilium totius Gallie*. In Spain and Cilicia he did the same; and before undertaking his reforms in the organization of the provinces, Augustus summoned all the heads of the states to meet him at Narbonne. In peaceful times these assemblies were festive occasions; to the religious solemnity succeeded secular amusements, games, and shows embellished by all the arts. Rhetoricians and poets, artists and philosophers gathered on these occasions, and even traders, and this has always been the case. But the chief men of a province, *principes civitatum*, could not

remain together many days without discussing their common affairs and wishes; and this we know, as a matter of fact, that they did.



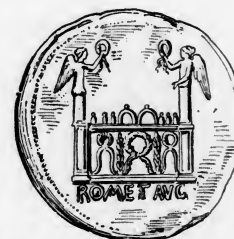
Coin commemorative of Games in the Reign of Augustus.¹

One of these provincial councils, that at Lyons, has left traces of its history, and, though they are only mutilated inscriptions, they suffice to prove that this assembly deliberated upon measures of general interest, since it voted, at one time, thanks and statues to the Roman and Gallic magistrates, at another, the indictment of the imperial legate before the senate and the emperor. For the support of the temple and its priests, for the erection of public buildings, for the expenses of the deputations sent to Rome, it had a treasury filled by means of a special assessment, its receipts, expenses, and litigations being in charge of regularly appointed officers. This assembly constructed an amphitheatre, where each deputy had his assigned seat, and feasts and games² were given there, notably contests of eloquence and

¹ M DVRMIVS IIIVIR HONORI. The obverse, a diademed head; the reverse, AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, holding a palm. Silver coin of the Durmian family. Many temples at Rome were consecrated to Honor, whom the Romans divinized.

² In 1806 a fine mosaic representing the games of the circus was discovered at Lyons, under

of poetry, whose singular regulations have been preserved to us by Suetonius. It appears that Augustus granted this provincial senate the same right that he had allowed to the senate at Rome, namely, that of coining bronze money; at least, it is believed that the pieces representing the altar of Rome and of Augustus, surmounted by tripods, and having two columns at the corners bearing victories, were struck by order of the Lyonesse assembly.¹ The notion of a common country appears from the omission of the name of any particular state; the pontiffs at the national altar are called the priests of the three Gauls; the place where the temple stood, although in the neighbourhood of Lyons, seems to have been a territory by itself—as is the district of Columbia in the United States, so was this domain the common possession of all Gallia Comata, while belonging to no one of the states composing the nation.



Altar at Lyons on a Great Bronze of Tiberius (reverse).²

The people of the provinces, therefore, at the altar of a foreign master recovered their nationality; also they found justice there, which is the excuse for their apparent servility. Rome recognized in her subjects the right of addressing to her their complaints. Immediately upon the conquest of Greece and Macedon, the senate received the appeals of the allies,⁴ and numerous laws *de pecuniis repetundis* regulated the procedures and penalties. One provision of these laws is remarkable: to secure to the provincials the means of criticizing the administration of their governor, the latter was required to deposit a copy of his accounts in two cities of his province.



The Three Gauls.³

the Rue du Rempart, two hundred paces distant from the site of the temple of Augustus. It is about fifteen feet wide and nine and a half long, and is preserved in the museum at Lyons. It is to be observed that the competitors wear only the four colours adopted before Domitian, representing the four seasons: green (spring), red (summer), blue (autumn), and white (winter). Domitian added to these four *factiones* the *factiones aurata* and *purpurea* (Suet., *Dom.*, 7).

¹ Bernard, *Descript. des Antiq., etc., de la Ville de Lyon*, pl. vi. Nos. 2-14.

² Comarmond, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvi. No. 4. See also p. 24 of this volume.

³ Denarius of Roman Gaul, in the Cabinet de France.

⁴ As early as 173 B.C. Livy, xliii. 1, and xlii. 2.

But if there were under the Republic some very conspicuous condemnations, there were also many scandalous acquittals and pretended punishments, and an accused person who went into voluntary exile retained possession of his property. In the time of the Empire, when the deputies arrived in Rome, the patron of the province received them into his palace; he conducted them to the senate, where a counsel was assigned them, selected from among the most eminent orators, and then began those memorable prosecutions of which Tacitus and the younger Pliny have told us. Both of these authors, who had been already consuls, were more than once appointed to serve on the committee of accusation. In the letters of Pliny we read of five governors sued by the provincial deputation, and of these five, three were condemned; in what is left to us of the books of Tacitus, twenty-two accusations and seventeen condemnations appear.¹ Ere long we shall hear Thræsea pronounce these significant words: "The subject nations once trembled before the republican proconsuls, now it is the imperial proconsuls who tremble before our subjects." And they had reason to tremble, for the penalty was not now, as under the Republic, a voluntary exile to the delightful groves of Tibur or Præneste, with the preservation of all one possessed; but it was the loss of fortune, and banishment to one of the Cyclades or the arid rock of Gyaros.²

The imperial government relied so completely upon the efficiency of the censorship intrusted to the provincial assemblies that Claudius made it a rule never to appoint a man to a new office until after an interval of several months, in order to leave time for complaints to reach the senate.³ We have a list of gifts sent by an ex-legate to a deputy who, in a provincial assembly, had caused to be rejected a resolution to accuse at Rome his predecessors. The value of the gifts, and the terms in which the letter accompanying them was couched, show the alarm which

¹ Other examples are given in Dion and in Amm. Marcellinus.

² The exile was sent to some island at least fifty miles from the main land, unless, by special favour he were permitted to reside in Sardinia, or in Cos, Rhodes or Lesbos. The richest were not allowed to retain out of their fortunes more than 125,000 denarii (Dion, lvi. 27), and were not permitted to dispose of this property by will. (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 18, and Dion, lvii. 22.)

³ Dion, lx. 25.



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The imperial government relied so completely upon the efficiency of the censorship intrusted to the provincial assemblies that Claudius made it a rule never to appoint a man to a new office until after an interval of several months, in order to leave time for complaints to reach the senate.¹ We have a list of gifts sent by an ex-ligatus to a deputy who, in a provincial assembly, had caused to be reported a resolution to accuse at Rome his predecessors. The value of the gifts, and the terms in which the letter accompanying them was couched, show the alarm which

¹ Other examples are given in Dion and in Amm. Marcellinus.

² The rule was not so strict as to have any effect from the mere fact of a complaint being made to the senate in Sardania, or in Corsica, or in Sardinia. The rule was not so strict as to have any effect from the mere fact of a complaint being made to the senate in Sardania, or in Corsica, or in Sardinia. The rule was not so strict as to have any effect from the mere fact of a complaint being made to the senate in Sardania, or in Corsica, or in Sardinia.

³ Amm. 13, 25.



History of Rome.

Heber, chronolith.

Imp. Frailery.

CHARIOT RACE

Mosaic from Lyons

SELLER, PINA.

these accusations caused, and the good conduct in office which they must have inspired.¹

The people of the provinces called for rewards for their governors as well as punishments. Resolutions passed by a provincial assembly in favour of the legate recommended him to the prince for further honours,² and Augustus, attaching much importance to these manifestations, took care to insure their sincerity. He would not allow the subjects to be brought up in the presence of the magistrate who was to be the object of these expressions of gratitude; an interval of at least sixty days after the expiration of the governor's term of office was required before the deliberation upon this vote of thanks was in order. A rescript of the year 331 refers to this twofold right³ of commendation or censure, and the *Digest* shows that the emperor replied directly to the assembly.⁴

The provincials made use of the formidable privilege of accusation only in the last extremity; but frequently they sent deputations to Rome bearing their requests, *preces sociorum*, and good emperors regarded it as a part of their duty to listen to these prayers. Tacitus and Dion tell us of this in the case of Tiberius,⁵ and we may be sure it was so with Augustus and all who were truly emperors.

We have not the details of the ceremony of January 1st, which took place every year in the presence of the governor, for the renewal of the soldiers' and provincials' oath of fidelity.⁶ The former were doubtless represented by their chiefs, the latter by their deputies, and it was still another occasion of meeting and of coming into mutual understanding.

¹ These presents were: a cloak from Canusium, a Laodicæan dalmatic, a gold clasp set with precious stones, a pelt from Brittany, a seal-skin, and 25,000 sesterces, or a year's salary of a legionary tribune. The date given is 238, but the event took place about the year 225. [Seal-skin was considered an excellent protection against thunder-bolts. Augustus, who was much afraid of lightning, always wore one. Suet., *Octav.*, 29, 90.—*Ed.*]

² Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 20; Dion, lvi. 25; Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.*, 22; Amm. Marcel., xxx. 5. Pliny the younger, in his Panegyric, devotes an entire paragraph (70) to the advantages of this custom in the just administration of the Empire.

³ Dion, lvi. 25, and the *Theodosian Code*, i. 40, 3.

⁴ *Divus Hadrianus τῷ κοινῷ Θεσάλων . . . rescripsit.* (*Digest*, v. i. 37; xlvii. 14, 1; xlix. 1, etc.)

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 13; Dion, lvii. 17.

⁶ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 28, 44, 45, 60, 101; Dion, lvii. 8. See *ap.* Wilmanns, *Inscr.*, 2839, the oath of the Aritiensens (Alvega, near Abrantes).

The function and usefulness of these assemblies was long underrated,¹ but the traces of them are easily followed all through the duration of the Empire.² It has been forgotten that, with their right of accusing a guilty magistrate—not, as formerly, before those who were themselves his accomplices, but before a prince interested in doing justice in the provinces to the end that peace might prevail there—the provincial councils must have been a salutary check upon the imperial administration, and that to them must be ascribed a part of that prosperity to which every history of the early Empire bears witness. On one occasion even, they perhaps saved the Roman dominion, when, in the time of Vitellius, everything seemed to be breaking up, and Velela was inciting Germany to revolt, the deputies of the Gallic states, being assembled at Rheims to decide whether they should take part with Civilis, summoned the Treviri, “in the name of the three Gauls,” to lay aside their arms.³

When to these rights of the provincial assemblies we add those of the cities—popular comitia, the election of magistrates, jurisdiction of the duumvirs, unrestricted management of municipal affairs, even the organization, in case of need, of a city militia⁴—we are forced to acknowledge that there existed in this despotic Empire, as it is called, many principles of liberty, and we under-

¹ It may be permitted to me to remark that I called attention to their importance nearly forty years since in the first edition of this work. M. le Procureur-Général Humbert wrote recently with much reason: “Liberty became the victim of the immensity of a state which no one knew how to transform into a representative government.” But it will not do to exaggerate the function of these assemblies, and make the *sacerdos provincie*, as has been said, “almost the governor’s equal.” The religious festival at which the pontiff presided had no more political importance than the French 15th of August under the Empire, or that of St. Louis under the Restoration. A crowd gathers around these official ceremonies by reason of the display made on such occasions, and finds in it an opportunity for a holiday. The prefects always wrote to the Emperor, as Pliny did to Trajan, on the subject of the prayers addressed “with pious zeal,” by all Bithynia, “for the welfare of the prince.” But the importance of the provincial assembly did not lie in this direction.

² . . . *concilium quod apud eos est annuum*. (Amm. Marcel., xxviii. 6, and in many places in the *Digest* and the *Theod. Code*, e.g. xii. 5, 2, and 1, 7, 9, 12, 13, etc.) It is even spoken of in the middle of the 5th century. (Sid. Apoll., *Epist.*, i. 6, and *Pan. Av.*; Le Blanc, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, No. 545 A.)

³ It is needful, however, to avoid confusing this assembly at Rheims, under exceptional circumstances, with the regular assembly at Lyons. The former was of the nature of Cæsar’s *concilium Gallie*, and was convoked at the instigation of the partisans of Rome.

⁴ Article 103 of the law of *Genetiva Julia*. Cf., in the *Mém. de l’Acad. des insér.*, the author’s study on the *Tribuni militum a populo*. The question of municipal liberties is treated in chapter lxxxiii., entitled *The Cité*.

stand the legitimacy of the imperial government in the eyes of the subject nations. We shall see in the course of this history how and by what causes these municipal liberties gradually disappeared; but we can even now perceive how, in the design of Augustus, these provincial assemblies, useful in the administration of each province, would necessarily remain sterile as regards the general policy of the Empire.

The Romans, who cared not to intervene in the domestic affairs of their subjects, saw these assemblies without jealousy, and would, without regret, have allowed the emperor to increase their importance. This Julius Cæsar would assuredly have done—he who so well understood that Rome must broaden her institutions as she had enlarged her Empire, who had sent numerous colonies across the seas to latinize the conquered, who had given millions of foreigners the rights of citizens, had invited many provincials into the senate, and had decorated many of their cities with those monuments which Augustus reserved for Rome only. He would never have omitted to utilize, as sovereign, those assemblies from which, as general, he had been able to derive so much advantage. Augustus, satisfied with the services which they could afford to render him in the good government of the Empire, did not at all desire to make of them a political instrument. Intelligently developed, this institution would have furnished him with the point of support he found nowhere in a State disturbed by so many wars, decimated by so many proscriptions, where nothing strong was left, unless it were the fear of new wars and new proscriptions. In all the Empire he saw but Rome, and in Rome only the senate, which he would have gladly reduced to the number of three hundred members,¹ for the purpose of concentrating the government of the world in the hands of the Roman aristocracy, now docile to his authority; and, in respect to the deputies of the provinces, all he asked from them was to come and burn incense upon his altar.²

¹ Dion, liv. 14.

² The successors of Augustus long manifested the same distrust of the members of the provincial aristocracy. Those aspiring to public office were obliged to employ a third of their fortune in buying real estate in Italy (Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 19); and when they obtained a seat in the senate they were obliged to come to reside in Rome, which was in itself not unreasonable,

V.—ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVINCES.

Out of the eighteen years which followed the battle of Actium, Augustus spent at least eleven in organizing the provinces.¹

Gaul and Spain occupied him first. He went thither at the close of the year 27 B.C. after having caused all the armies and half of the provinces to be legally conferred upon himself at Rome, where he left Agrippa consul.

He went, it was said, to carry out Cæsar's designs against the Britons, and poetry already sang his victories at the utmost limits of the world.² But Augustus considered that in this expedition he should gain little and risk much; he therefore left the Britons free. Strabo considers the decision wise. "It is estimated," he says, "that the duties paid by these islanders upon our commodities exceed the amount of an annual tribute."³ This policy was successful; the British chiefs sent to the emperor respectful embassies and offerings to be consecrated in the Capitol. The time that he would have wasted in this useless conquest Augustus occupied in organizing what had already been conquered.

Notwithstanding Agrippa's victories in the year 37, Gaul had remained murmuring, in the extremities at least—in Aquitania, supported by the Pyrenees as by a fortress, and in Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the Germans kept alive an agitation. As soon as he was rid of Antony, Augustus had sent into Gaul three armies, which put an end to these last struggles of dying liberty (29 B.C.). The first conquest, that of the soil, was completed. The second remained, more difficult to make, that of minds and of customs, for the social organization that had so

but if they desired to revisit their Penates and their fellow citizens, for ever so brief a stay, a permission from the emperor was required.

¹ From September, 31 B.C. to August, 29 B.C., he was in the East. From the close of 27 to the close of 24 he was in Gaul and Spain. The winter of the year 22 was spent in Sicily; the year 21 in Greece and at Samos; the year 20 in Asia, Bithynia, and Syria; the year 19 at Samos and Athens, returning to Rome the 12th October. In the middle of the year 16 we find him in Gaul, and he did not return to Rome until the middle of the year 13. Many times during the years 10 and 8 he revisited Gaul. The reorganization of the provinces is the phrase for ever on the lips of Dion and Zonaras in accounting for all these journeyings.

² Hor., *Carm.*, I. xxv.; IV. i. 149.

³ Strabo, iv. p. 200.

heroically supported the struggle still subsisted unimpaired, and the Druids continued to attract the crowd to their judicial tribunals, to their schools, and to their sanguinary sacrifices. But if Augustus was not the man of force, he was the man of skill; he had not conquered the Gauls, but he was able to transform them. He did three things in which were manifested that patient skill, that art of pacifying and extinguishing which made up his genius. He established administrative divisions so conceived as to break up the old federations or clientships; he distributed privileges unequally through these provinces for the sake of creating different interests among the Gauls, as the senate had previously done in Italy after the war of independence; lastly, he undertook the task of converting these sons of the Druids to the Roman polytheism. How far he succeeded in this attempt we have just now seen.

Narbonensis, long since submissive, preserved its former limits, but received in many of its cities numerous colonists, and the frontier of Aquitania was carried forward to the Loire, for the purpose of massing the Gallic peoples in the west to serve as a counterpoise to the compact mass of the Aquitanian tribes. In the east, all the left bank of the Rhine, from the head waters of the river down to its mouth, was placed under the same military commandant; later, Augustus made of this two provinces. Celtica, reduced by one half, was called from that time Lugdunensis.¹

In the three "Comatæ" provinces "he made," says one of his historians, "a census of the Gauls, and ordered their way of living and their political condition."² He changed the boundaries of the territory of certain peoples³ and the name or site of their capital city, in order to efface the habits and the recollection of their time of independence. Whole hordes had been

¹ It may be inferred from a passage in Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 41) that Germania Superior and Germania Inferior were already formed in the fourth or fifth reign of Tiberius, and in speaking of a priesthood *ad aram Ubiorum*, in the year 9 A.D., Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 39, 57) authorizes us to believe that this organization dates from the reign of Augustus.

² Dion, liii. 22: . . . τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν.

³ He made these changes even in the case of old Roman cities . . . *urbes . . . numero civium ampliavit quasdam et finibus* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de Limit. const.*, pp. 117 and 119). With much more reason must he have pursued this course in Gaul. These changes were a principle of the Roman administration. They had applied it also in Asia . . . 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐφ' ὧν ἡδὲ καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καὶ τὰ δνόματα ἀποβέβηκασιν οἱ πλείστοι γεγονότος ἐτέρου τινὸς μερισμοῦ τῆς χώρας (Strabo, xii. 4, 6).

exterminated, and he gave their lands to neighbouring states; those weakened by wars were united to others; those who had been in a condition of clientship towards other and more powerful nations were made independent, and what remained of the three hundred nations mentioned by Josephus, Appian, and Plutarch, were divided into sixty municipal districts. This was about the number of nations which had been conspicuous in the history of ancient Gaul, so that Augustus, according to his custom, had the appearance of changing nothing, while in reality he had changed everything.¹ In regard to the administration of justice, the three provinces were, like the others, divided into jurisdictions, *conventus iuridici*.

Augustus did not pour new colonies into long-haired (*Comata*) Gaul, for the reason that he did not wish to depopulate Italy in order to latinize Gaul. He preferred to concentrate Roman life in Narbonensis as in a focus whence it might radiate into Celtica. But what he could not do by means of colonists he did personally by contracting engagements with a multitude of the *Comatæ* cities, which took his name and whose inhabitants became his clients.

He left to the *Ædui*, *Lingones*, and *Remi*, the title of allies of the Roman people, and granted the same honour also to the *Carnutes*, in order to have on the south, north, and east, three powerful peoples, interested in the maintenance of the new social order. To ten others he gave permission to preserve their laws, *civitates liberæ*, and the jurisdiction of their own magistrates. To the *Ausci*, the most powerful nation of Aquitania, to the *Conveni* (*S. Bertrand de Comminges*), who held the central passes of the Pyrenees, and to many tribes in Narbonensis he gave that Latin franchise which was a preliminary to Roman citizenship. This last was considered an enviable privilege, since it conferred equality with the conquerors, but Augustus was sparing of it, conferring the honour only upon individuals, to whom it brought distinguished consideration and municipal offices.

Thus Augustus made, to nations and to individuals, different conditions; he pointed out to the self-interest of the provincials the manner in which imperial favour might be gained. And, by

¹ In respect to these sixty Gallic cities, see Desjardins, *La Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. pp. 357-501.

exercising an unequal pressure upon Gaul, he prevented the formation of a common bond of hate against the foreign rulers.

He augmented the tribute, but divided it more equitably; and, for the purpose of maintaining order, declared the sixty Gallic peoples constituted as states (*civitates*) responsible for any tumults that might occur in their cities or cantons (*pagi*).

He gave them as capital a strictly Roman city, Lyons, recently founded by Munatius Plancus, on the hill of Fourvières, for the exiles from Vienne.¹ Lying near the marshy confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, almost at the point where four provinces met, and adjacent to the Alps, Lyons was admirably situated to become the most important of the transalpine cities. Having no past, no record, no patriotic ties with the long-haired peoples, it was fitted to receive and to spread abroad through Gaul the spirit of Rome. Augustus augmented the colony of Plancus, and made it the centre of Roman administration in Gallia *Comata*;² he established there a mint for the imperial coinage of gold and silver; and a cohort was always in garrison there for the protection of the numerous agents in the imperial service.³ It was, in fact, a second capital to the Empire. Agrippa hastened to lay out from its gates four great roads: over the mountains of Auvergne, by Limoges and Saintes to the ocean; by Autun, Sens, and Beauvais to the English Channel; by Châlons, Langres, Metz, and Coblenz, to the banks of the Rhine; and, lastly, through the Rhine valley, towards Marseilles and the Pyrenees.

But, above all, it was important to control the routes

¹ A Gallic village, Condée, occupied the point of land at the junction of the Saone and the Rhone. It was not absorbed by Lugdunum until the fourth century. This territory was abstracted from the country of the Segusiavi by Drusus when he built there the temple of Rome and Augustus. Cf. *Descr. du pays des Séguisaves*, by A. Bernard, 1858. Plancus founded another colony, Rauraca (Augst, near Basle).

² Strabo says (iv. 6, 11): "It stands like a citadel in the centre of the country." Lyons has, unfortunately, no Roman ruins whatever, save a few fragments of wall, some columns and isolated arches of the aqueduct which brought it water from Mount Pilat. It is supposed that the church at Fourvières occupies the site of the Forum, and the hospital of Antiquaille, that of the imperial palace. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville translates *Lugdunum*, the fort of Lugu. This Lugu was the god of traders and was identified by Julius Cæsar with Mercury: but the word *lug* also means raven, and this etymology is the one adopted at Lyons. See vol. iii. p. 441.

³ An inscription says: "for the guard of the mint," *Cohors ad monetam* (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 6, p. 95). This mint, which has lasted to our times, put an end to the municipal coinage which Gaul had preserved since the time of Julius Cæsar.

between Gaul and Italy. A highway already followed the sea-shore from Genoa to Marseilles, and the Ligurian mountaineers established above this road were watched by a Roman officer of the equestrian order, who was sent out to them annually. In the Cottian Alps reigned a petty prince, who, seeing himself threatened, solicited the friendship of Rome, and caused his people to open the great road of Mont Cenis. The emperor had no disposition to despoil so docile a prince; Cottius preserved his sterile kingdom and his little capital, Segusio (Suse), where he built an arch of triumph in honour of Augustus. A new colony was, however, prudently established on the slopes of his

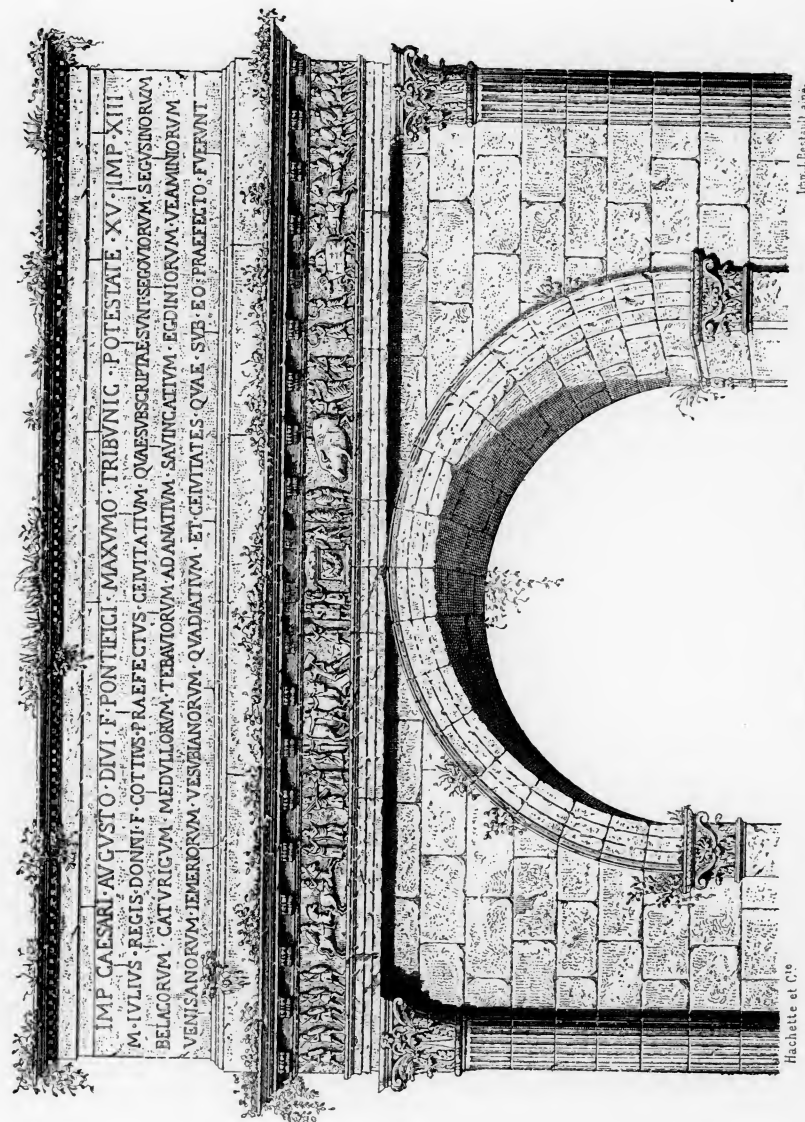
Copia.¹

mountains, *Augusta Vagiennorum* (Saluces); *Augusta Taurinorum* (Turin) was already in existence and was reinforced. Higher up dwelt in the valley of Aosta the warlike tribe of the Salassi. They had already been deprived of their gold mines, situated in the lower country, and the colony of Eporedia had been established to keep them in

Copia, upon a copper as coined at Lyons.²

¹ Statuette found at Lyons, in 1846, representing the tutelary divinity of the city, symbolized by a double cornucopia; or, perhaps, the personification of the city itself. (Comarmond, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., pl. 9. No. 101.)

² IMP. C. ESAR. DIVI F. DIVI IVLI. Heads of Julius Caesar and Augustus, back to back, separated by a palm. On the reverse, COPIA and the prow of a vessel; above, the globe



Upper part of the Arch of Suse.

check. But, taking advantage of their position on the higher ground, they turned the current of streams, or sold water to those who worked in the mines. Once even they pillaged the emperor's money, and under pretext of repairing roads and bridges, rolled down great stones upon the troops passing below. Terentius Varro attacked them in 25 B.C., and 44,000 Salassi, the entire nation, were sold at auction, the purchasers being required to carry their slaves away into distant countries, and forbidden to enfranchise any for twenty years. Three thousand prætorians were established at *Augusta Prætoria* (Aosta), and two roads immediately laid out thence to Lyons, across the Great and Little S. Bernard. The Roman capital of long-haired Gaul was henceforward not more than two or three days' march from Italy, whither its numerous merchants carried the commodities of Gaul, and the fortunate city was able to assume the surname of *Copia*, "Abundance," which marked its prosperity. An aqueduct, eighty-four kilometres in length, brought to it from Mont Pilat the pure waters of the Gier and the Janon.

Later (14 B.C.), the Ligurians made their submission, and upon the highest summit of the Maritime Alps was erected a gigantic trophy of marble, announcing far over the sea that the sailor could, without fear, approach this once formidable but now pacified coast.

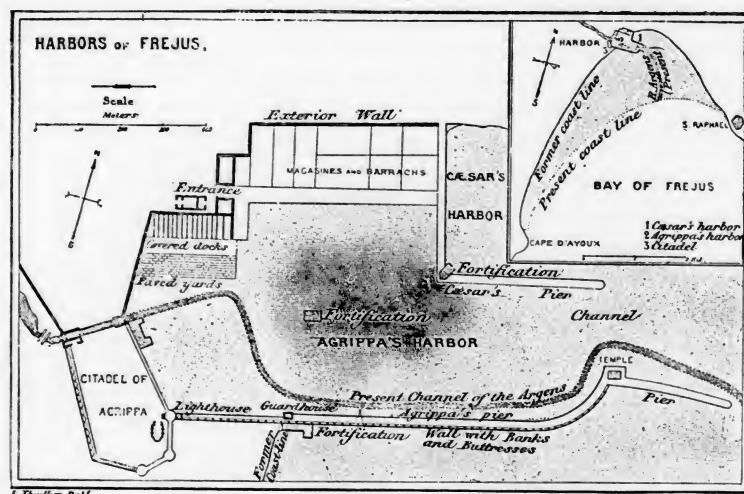
We have seen the skilful measures taken by Augustus to make the moral conquest of Gaul. They were successful; habits changed and memories were effaced, not everywhere, certainly, nor in the hearts of all, but sufficiently for the old race, after a few generations, to have assumed a new physiognomy. A contemporary, Strabo, testifies to their efforts to advance in the direction indicated by Augustus: "Everywhere," he says, "they are breaking up the ground and cultivating it."¹ And, while the poor thus laboured in the fields, the young nobles went away to the Roman camps, where, serving as auxiliaries, they soon lost by contact with the legionaries whatever Gallicism had been left to them; or else they gathered in the schools, and intellectual

and a mile stone. Cf. de Saulcy, *Sys. mon. de la rép. rom. à l'ép. de J. César. Monnaies posthumes de César*, pl. ix. fig. 4.

¹ Strabo, iv. 1, 5.

rivalries took the place of those warlike contests now impossible. The Gallic cities took the lead even of Rome herself, and were the first in Europe to establish public lectures by salaried professors. The cities of Narbonensis took the lead; others followed, and Gaul was seen sending into Italy masters of Latin eloquence.

To protect her against foreign invasion, and, at the same time, to deprive her of all hope of help from abroad, eight legions and a flotilla guarded the Rhine. In a few years grew up on the bank of this river more than fifty strongholds which became



Harbours of Fréjus.

cities. Vigorous expeditions across the river drove the Germans back into the depths of their forests, or compelled whole tribes to come over to the left bank. Tiberius established 40,000 Gugerni at one time on the lower Rhine, in what is now Guelderland. His brother Drusus joined the Yssel by a canal to the Rhine, and imposed upon the Frisii an annual tribute of ox-hides. In the south the fleet of Fréjus guarded the frontier of the sea, and protected against the pirates the commerce of Marseilles and Narbonne.

Augustus made a second journey into Gaul nine years after

the first. He had appointed a Gaul, named Licinius, to levy the taxes there. This Licinius, who had formerly been a slave, saw nothing in his position but an opportunity of making his fortune, and made it with the arrogance of a man who felt himself supported by eight legions. He required the tax to be paid in twelfths, one instalment a month, which was reasonable enough, and has often been done in our own times. But he had the audacity to make the year consist of fourteen months, of which two were for himself and the other twelve for the emperor. On the arrival of Augustus, the Gauls besought him to do justice in the case. The governor perceived his danger; inviting Augustus to his house, he exhibited to him the treasures he had extorted from his countrymen, and said to him: "All this have I amassed for you and for the Romans. The Gauls would have employed it against Rome; take it, it is yours." Augustus accepted the offering, and the Gauls, seeing their enemy despoiled, were able still to believe the emperor just. It was, however, but half justice, and Augustus narrowly escaped paying with his life for this complicity in crime. A Gaul of illustrious birth swore to take his life, and followed him among the Alps, intending to approach him at some dangerous portion of the road and push him down a precipice; but the emperor's tranquil countenance so impressed the Gaul that he confessed himself unable to carry out his design.

From Gaul, Augustus went over into Spain, where similar labours awaited him (26 B.C.). The Asturians and Cantabrians, entrenched among their mountains, defied the Roman power. Though attacked both by sea and land, they were not subjugated till the following year by the lieutenant Antistius; but it was only a temporary submission, for three years later it was necessary to fight with them again. Agrippa was the Roman general who finally in the year 19 B.C. was able to overcome their resistance, being more successful by his moderation than his predecessors had been by their severities. He compelled them to quit their mountains where there blows for ever an air of freedom, and established them in the plains under the control of imperial officers. A tradition of this obstinate resistance comes down to us in a Basque chant, probably very ancient, though not of the

date of this war: "From Rome strangers oppress us, but Biscay raises her song of victory. Octavius, ruler of the world, Lecobidi, the Biscayen [contended?]; on the side of the sea and on the side of the land he lays siege to us; his are the arid plains, ours are the woods and caves among the hills. But, oh, chest of food, scantily art thou filled! Their cuirasses are strong, but active are the undefended limbs. Five years, day and night without ceasing, the siege endured. Of ours when they slew one, fifteen they lost; they losing many, we, few. In the end, we made alliance. Upon the Tiber the city is seated afar, but the strength of the great oaks is worn away by the perpetual climbing of the woodpecker."¹

The Pyrenees, like the Western Alps, were conquered, and in Spain as well as in Gaul every spark of resistance was stamped out. A new division on this side of the mountains also changed the habits of the people. The Citerior province, now called Tarraconensis, was made more important, and the Ulterior was divided into Lusitania and Bætica. The latter had long been in Spain what Narbonensis was in Gaul; it was only necessary, therefore, to help the movement which was already Romanizing the province. New colonies, as *Hispalis* (Seville) and *Astigi* (Ecija) aided this tendency, and a few years later Strabo was able to say: "The natives of Bætica have adopted the manners and customs of the Romans to such a point that they have forgotten their own language. Many had before this received the *jus Latii*, and Augustus multiplied concessions of this kind, so that now it was almost universal. They had, moreover, many colonies established among them, so that they may be said to be now almost completely Romans, and called *togati*. The Celtiberians, who were once so rude in manners, belong to the same class." Thus the Roman influence gained central Spain and acted thence in three directions at once, by way of Bætica southward, by the plains of Valentia eastward, and northward through the valley of the Ebro, that wide gate opening upon the Mediterranean and Italy. The Ebro, whose head waters had been captive since the subjection of Biscay, passed through three

¹ Faurel, *Hist. de la Gaule mér.*, ii. p. 354, and Append., No. 3. On the late date of this song, cf. *Revue critique* for 1861, art. 199.

recent colonies, *Celsa*, *Cæsar-Augusta*, and *Dertosa* (Xelsa, Saragossa, and Tortosa). A chain of military posts surrounded all the western region: *Legio Septima* and *Asturica* (Leon and Astorga) guarded the Asturias; the Callaïci were controlled by *Braccara Augusta* (Braga); the Lusitanians by *Ebora* (Evora), *Osilippo* (Lisbon), *Pax Augusta* (Beja or Badajoz), and *Aug. Emerita* (Merida), their capital, which became one of the finest cities of the Empire, as its ruins testify. The four colonies last named did not appear sufficient until a part of the Lusitanians had been transplanted across the Tagus, into a region nearer Bætica and the Roman civilization. Those who were allowed to remain on the north side of the river were compelled to build cities there. "Now," Strabo says, "fifty tribes, formerly always at war, live there in peace, mingled with Italian colonists." "Brigandage even has disappeared," says Velleius Patereulus, "and to Augustus belongs the credit."¹

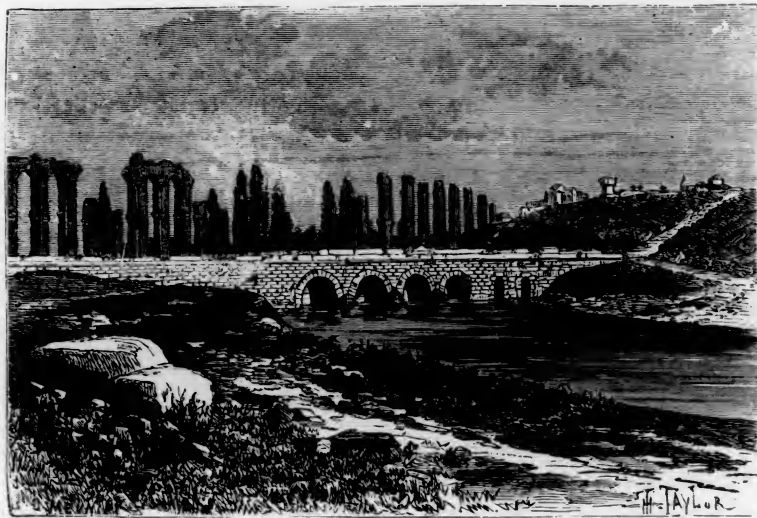
Spain has ever been ready to admire strength and grandeur, even acquired at her own expense. Cæsar, against whom she had twice fought, was popular through the country. Augustus was able, therefore, without wounding the national pride to multiply testimonials of his respect towards his adoptive father. The cities themselves solicited the honour of changing their names for that of the founder of the Empire. One became the Julian Valor, others his Fame, his Glory and Firmness, his Success and his Generosity.² Gades, like Merida and a host of others, took the name of Augusta in honour of him who was the pacificator of land and sea.³ Meanwhile bridges thrown over rivers, roads laid out across mountains, and, better still, the effect of so many colonies guaranteed everywhere a security by which civilization profited. Solicited for more than two centuries by this triumphant power, the peoples of Spain long repulsed her with savage energy; but when at last they laid

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 91. This organization of Gaul and Spain was not completed until the second journey that Augustus made into Gaul during the years 15, 14, and 13. (Dion, liv. 23 and 25.) Strabo attributes to Tiberius the military organization of the Tarraconensis and of Lusitania.

² *Virtus Julia* (Itucci), *Claritas Julia* (Itubi), *Felicitas Julia* (Lisbon), *Liberalitas Julia* (Evora), etc.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iv. 36. Gades had a very extensive commerce upon the ocean and upon the Mediterranean, and, by the testimony of Strabo, like Patavium, she had five hundred knights, that is to say, five hundred citizens who possessed at least 400,000 sesterces.

down their swords, they abandoned themselves eagerly to her influence. The toga became the garb of the Celtiberians, and in those peaceful labourers of the valley of the Tagus, Viriathus could never have recognized the fierce warriors who inflicted upon the senate the shame of a treaty on equal terms. "Among the Cantabrians even all war has ceased," says Strabo, "and the most savage of them, no longer pillaging their neighbours, bear arms for the defence of the Empire." The duration of one man's life was enough to effect this revolution, and grateful Spain built



Merida. Ruins of the Aqueduct and Bridge of Albaregas.¹

altars to this man, and until the Middle Ages reckoned time by the era of Augustus.

From Spain Augustus regulated the affairs of western Africa. He had already founded many colonies in this region, and commenced its organization as a province at the time when he sent colonists to Carthage for the purpose of placing the Moors and Numidians between two foci, as it were, of Roman life. Finding the Moors still too barbarous for the regularity of the imperial administration he gave them a native government. The son of

¹ From Delaborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 152. The Roman bridge of Albaregas, 400 feet long and 25 feet wide, has still the old Roman pavement.

the late Numidian king Juba, who had been brought up at Rome with a respect for Roman power and culture, received a kingdom consisting of part of the territory of the Gætulians and that of the Moors lying west of the Ampsagas (25 B.C.).¹ But from Spain the Romans kept guard over Mauretania, which was dependent for a portion of its supplies upon Bætica, as Morocco at the present time is for manufactured articles upon Gibraltar.² Near Tangier, on the African coast, was the city of Zilis; Augustus transported the inhabitants to the other side of the straits, to Algesiras, which he colonized under the name of *Colonia Julia transducta*. The new king, it must be confessed, found his subjects troublesome. The Gætulians, indignant at being no longer under the government of Rome, rose in insurrection (5 A.D.) for this reason, which would appear singular had we not the spectacle at this same epoch of other nations seeking incorporation with the Empire. The legions were obliged to march against these too zealous friends of the Roman government, and a general returned from that war with the honours of a triumph and the surname Gætulicus.⁵



Juba II.,
king of Mauretania.³



Augustus, vindicator of the liberty of the Roman people.⁴

This same year in which he constructed kingdom in Africa

¹ Dion, liii. 26. The great harbour of Saldæ, between Cæsarea and Cape Tretum, marked the frontier of Roman Africa on the side of the new kingdom. (Strabo, xvii. 3, 12 and 13.)

² At Mellaria, says Strabo (iii. 1, 8), they prepared salted provisions which were shipped from Belon for Tingis and Mauretania.

³ Diademed head of Juba II., from a gem (cornelian 15 by 11 millimètres). *Cabinet de France*, No. 2063.

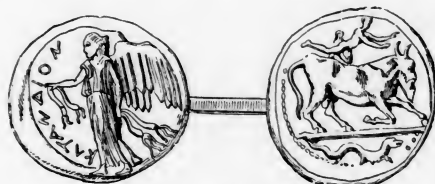
⁴ IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX. Coin struck in the sixth consulship of Augustus, 28 B.C. The second, in which he bears the same title, is dated from his eighth consulship, 26 B.C.

⁵ Dion, iv. 28. Juba caused a tomb to be constructed for himself on the model of the Madras'en (vol. iii. p. 353); it still exists, and is known as "The Christian's." It is a low cylinder, surmounted by a truncated cone, on which are 42 steps. Its diameter at the base is 64 mètres, its height 33 mètres; it is probable that originally it was 10 mètres higher.

he destroyed one in Asia. Amyntas, king of the Galatians, had died. He left children, but the country, lying surrounded on all sides by territory now belonging to Rome, had ceased to be useful for police duty; Augustus therefore reduced Galatia to a province (25).

The Asturi and the Salassi being conquered, the Empire found itself in every direction at peace. The temple of Janus was closed for the second time (25 B.C.), and Indian and Scythian chiefs, whose countries were now visited yearly by Roman traders,¹ came to pay homage to the chief of this vast Empire of peace.

Gaul, Africa, and Spain being thus organized, Augustus returned to Rome to assume the tribunitian authority for life. To this was added, in commemoration of his last victories, the right of wearing during the remainder of his life, on the first day of the year, the triumphal wreath and toga, and a *senatus-*



Coin of Catana.²

consultum decreed the erection of an arch of triumph on one of the peaks of the Alps.

After a residence of nearly two years in the capital, he began at Sicily to visit the eastern provinces.

"He there ordered all things," says his biographer. The island greatly needed the master's presence. The wars of Sextus had added new desolation to that which the earlier wars had caused, and in that fruitful land poverty prevailed. Augustus re-established Catana and Centuripæ, and sent a colony to Syracuse, which had been reduced from five quarters to but one, Achradina.³

From Sicily Augustus crossed over into Greece. Cythera had fallen into the possession of a certain Eurycles, who, from his

¹ That same year the Germans had put to death Roman traders who visited them. The latter went out in all directions. (Dion, liii. 28; Suet., *Octav.*, 22; Oros, vi. 21.)

² Upon the face, the name of the people and a Victory holding out the diadem which Bacchus is said to have invented; on the reverse, a satyr upon a bull with human face, representing Bacchus Hebo. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, i. 203, and Müller-Wieseler, ii. pl. xxxiii. No. 380.)

³ Strabo, vi. 270. Antony had given citizenship to the Sicilians; Augustus doubtless withdrew this right, for we know that in Pliny's time six only out of their sixty-eight cities possessed it.

insular rock had made himself, as it were, the tyrant of Laconia. Augustus exiled him, and gave his island to the Lacedæmonians; to pay them a compliment, he took a seat at their public table, unfortunately, the only thing they had retained of their ancient manners. But he deprived the Athenians of Ægina and Eretria, and forbade them to sell their citizenship. Some were punished for their flatteries of Antony, others recompensed for the asylum they had afforded Livia when a fugitive, with her first husband, from proscriptions and the triumvirs. Moreover, he detached from the jurisdiction of Sparta twenty-two villages whose inhabitants (the Eleutherolaconians) had been the first in the former wars to surrender themselves to the Romans.¹ Corinth received from him new colonists, for he was desirous to restore the importance of a city which was a mart for the two seas. Later he established veterans at Patræ and at Buthrotum, on the coast of Epirus opposite Coreyra, for the purpose of restraining the islanders from piracy.

Augustus, who was wont to speak frequently at Rome of the manners of ancient days, endeavoured to revive some of them in Greece; he re-established the Amphictyonic council in Greece with a sincerity equal to that which had actuated him in regard to republican institutions. Fifteen states or cities, representing thirty votes, were to send deputies to the new assembly. But the city of Nicopolis, lately founded by himself, had six votes, as many as Thessaly or as Macedon. Bœotia, Phocis, Delphi, had but two apiece; Doris, Athens, Eubœa, Opuntian Locris, and Ozolian Locris, one apiece; and four of the most eminent cities of ancient Hellas: Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara were obliged to unite to send one deputy. Furthermore, the representatives of Nicopolis, Delphi, and Athens sat at every session, but the others only in their turn.² Although this institution was yet in existence in the time of Pausanias, it cannot be wondered at that Strabo regards the Amphictyonic council as a thing of the past.

A few months had sufficed for the ordering of Hellenic affairs, but Asia required more time. From Samos, where he passed the winter studying the problems connected with the government of

¹ Pausanias (iii. 21) names eighteen of them.

² Wescher, *Monum. biling. de Delphes*, p. 164.

the oriental provinces, Augustus went to Ephesus, and here he limited the right of asylum in the temple of Diana, which, having been made to extend over almost the whole city, had made the place a lair of bandits;¹ thence he went to Ilium, whose privileges, as the native country of the Roman people, he confirmed. He next traversed the entire peninsula, visiting the senate's provinces as well as his own, and regulating all things with the hand of a sovereign, and at the same time with delicate consideration for these vain and frivolous people whom some slight favour would solace for past wrongs: at Ephesus he restored an Apollo that Antony had taken thence, and at Samos, two of the three statues by Myron, the Athene and the Hercules, which the triumvir had stolen from the temple of Juno. Some cities obtained Roman citizenship, others, the *jus Latii*. He gave liberty to Samos, as he had given it to the districts of Pamphylia subjected to Amyntas;² from Cyzicus,³ Tyre, and Sidon he took away their freedom on account of seditions which the magistrates had not been able to suppress; and everywhere he reduced all men, Roman officers and provincials alike, to the strict observance of the laws.⁵



Coin
of Cyzicus.⁴

The allied kings in their turn were, according to their conduct, rewarded or punished. Augustus had just put an end to the useless kingdom of the Galatians (25 B.C.); the year before, on the contrary, he had sent the insignia of senatorial dignity with the title of ally to Polemon, whom Roman policy required in the neighbourhood of Armenia. Not long after this he gave Polemon a second kingdom, that of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Cappadocia was one of the outposts of the Empire in the direction of the Euphrates, and in order to increase the forces of the Cappadocian king the emperor added to his territory,⁶

¹ Strabo, x. 4, 23.

² Dion, iv. 26.

³ Cyzicus recovered it in the year 15. (*Id.*, liv. 23.)

⁴ Stater of Cyzicus bearing Hercules and Iphicles. (*Rev. de num.*, 1863, pl. X. No. 3.)

⁵ It may have been at this time that the *colonia Cesaria Antiochia* was founded to keep the Isaurians in check. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 27.) He also sent a colony to Berytus. (*Digest*, l. 15, 16, § 1.)

⁶ Augustus gave him several cities of Cilicia and that portion of Lesser Armenia which had formerly been conferred by Antony upon his ally the king of the Medes. (Dion, liv. 9.)

and later permitted him to marry the widow of Polemon, who brought him in dowry a part of the possessions of her late husband.

The king of Commagene had been guilty of an atrocious murder; Augustus, who punished Herod's cruelty merely with a coarse jest, found it for his interest, apparently, to be this time more severe. He deposed the murderer, and gave the throne to the son of the murdered man. Thus Rome reserved to herself the right to judge these petty tyrants who had too long wearied the world with their sanguinary passions.¹

He confirmed the son of Jamblichus, king of Emesa, in the possession of the paternal heritage, and restored to the son of Tarecondimotus Eastern Cilicia, which he had kept from that prince for ten years. These two little states seemed necessary to arrest the brigandage of the neighbouring mountaineers and the nomads of the Syrian frontier. For the same reason Zenodorus and Herod were allowed to retain, as tetrarchs, the one Trachonitis, the other Judæa. We have seen with what address Herod had conciliated the favour of Augustus. The emperor left him at liberty to choose among his sons which should be his successor, a favour rarely accorded to any one, and Zenodorus having died about this time, he conferred the principality of the latter upon the Jewish king. Suetonius was justified in saying: "He considered the allied kings as members of the Empire. Often he appointed guardians to their minor children, and brought up many of them in his own family."³



The tetrarch
Zenodorus.²

When Cleopatra was proposing to escape to India the Nabathæan Arabs burned the fleet which she had brought together in the Red Sea, and for this service Augustus had rewarded them by recognizing their king. Augustus strove to live on friendly terms with these nomads, masters of the entrances to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, although it is probable that the envoy of

¹ Dion, lii. 43.

² ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ. Head on a bronze coin.

³ *Octav.*, 43; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 10, 13.

their king Obodas designedly led Gallus astray in the expedition of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.¹

The narratives which depict to us the court of the Indian rajahs, to whom the East India Company left a nominal independence, show how they compensated themselves for their political impotence by gratifying the most insane caprices, and for the quiet to which a superior power compelled them, by sanguinary domestic tragedies. These crowned slaves, who are such atrocious tyrants, are the living portraits of the petty kings whom Rome maintained in the eastern provinces. It is perhaps not just to say that Augustus designed to make the neighbouring people feel by this contrast the happiness of living under Roman rule, but the lesson was there. On all sides was extolled the tranquility enjoyed by the provincials, and the countries remaining independent implored the honour of being admitted to the number of the imperial subjects. We have seen that the Gætulians carried on a furious war because Augustus had given them to Juba; the inhabitants of Commagene, after the death of Antiochus, wished to become Romans,² and after Herod's death the Jews begged to be united to the province of Syria. Eight thousand of them living at Rome supported the request made by fifty ambassadors.³

At this time Augustus did not visit Egypt,⁴ but he had so well organized that great imperial farm that there was no need of his presence there.

The first example of severity on the part of the new government towards its agents was given in that country. Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil and of Augustus, had been placed in command there. He was a poet, and his head grew dizzy when he found himself absolute master of seven millions of men. He acted like a Pharaoh or a Ptolemy, peopled Egypt with statues of himself, had his name and exploits engraved upon

¹ In the year 6 Obodas was replaced by Aretas. The latter prince having assumed the title of king before asking permission of Augustus, the emperor manifested so much displeasure that Aretas was obliged to send him excuses and gifts. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 16.)

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3.

³ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, xvii. 12; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 8; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42.

⁴ Neither did he go into Africa, but he says in the *Monument of Ancyra* that he sent colonies thither, notably to Carthage. (Appian, *Pun.*, i. 136.) Africa and Sardinia were the only provinces that he did not visit. (Suet., *Octav.*, 47.)

the pyramids, and by his exactions excited a revolt which he repressed with much cruelty, pillaging and destroying the city of Thebes. Augustus did not consent to these royal fashions of ruling over his patrimony; he displaced Gallus, forbade him to come into the imperial presence, and when the senate pronounced sentence of exile in the case, Gallus (28 or 26 B.C.) took his own life. Petronius, his successor, comprehended the intentions of the emperor better. Under the later Ptolemies, famine and pestilence had frequently desolated Egypt; Petronius undertook great engineering works to make the waters of the Nile more useful, repairing the dikes and cleansing the canals. Before the time of this governor, when the river rose but eight cubits there was famine: about twice that height was needed to make a good year; during the rule of Petronius, twelve cubits gave the most plentiful harvests, and with only eight there was no longer danger of want.¹ As the tax was proportioned to the harvest, the revenues of the prince increased with the prosperity of the country. Commerce, favoured by a vigilant police system, carried life even into the desert. A hundred and twenty vessels yearly sailed for India from the ports of the Red Sea, taking advantage of the summer monsoon, the periodical character of which was now just becoming recognized, and returning in the winter monsoon.



Coin of Petronius.²



Coin of Tiberius. Games in honour of Augustus.³

Such were the labours of the master of the world, and this the method in which he enjoyed his victory. If all belonged to him, it is at the same time true that his time and care and even his own fortune belonged to all; for he had accepted the duties of an intelligent administration which repairs private disasters from public resources. In his widely extended journey, he relieved

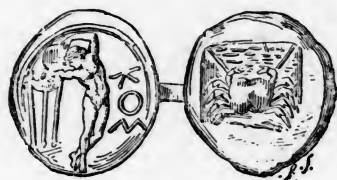
¹ App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 61, 63, 108; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 59; *Hist.*, i. 11; Suet., *Octav.*, 81; Strabo, xvii. 788-817.

² AVGVSTVS CAESAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, an olive branch in his hand. Reverse of a silver coin of T. Petronius, regarded as a commemoration of the Indian embassy sent to Augustus.

³ Reverse of a great bronze of Elagabalus: EHI IP. AYP. MENEKPATOYΣ ETYXIAOY. A square table; on the table. three wreaths, inside of which is read: OAYMHIA, AYTOTΣTEIA,

the cities that had been overburdened and rebuilt those that some scourge had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, and Paphos, destroyed by earthquakes, rose finer than before from their ruins. A thousand others, says the historian Dion, were assisted.¹ One year even the emperor paid with his own money the entire tax of the province of Asia.² When he took from the Greeks a work of art he gave them the value of it: Cos, in exchange for the Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, received a reduction of 100 talents upon its tribute.

The road to honour was not closed against the provincials. A man of Mitylene was appointed procurator of Asia; an apostate Jew, Tiberius Alexander, obtained the procuratorship of Judæa

Coin of Cos.³

and later the præfecture of Egypt, while Balbus, a Spaniard, passed in triumph along that Via Sacra which had ere this seen provincials in robes flowered with gold, but chained and captive. Others came to insult by their luxury in

Rome itself the poverty of the old families: a Gaul bought those gardens which Sallust had created with the wealth of a province.

Augustus, while manifesting this liberal disposition towards the subjects of Rome, refused, however, to follow the path which Julius Cæsar had marked out, leading to the progressive assimilation of vanquished and victors. He was very sparing in the bestowal of citizenship; it is probable that he withdrew it from the Sicilians, and granted it only to the magistrates of municipia and to great land-owners, making use of this title to establish a provincial nobility as he had already constituted one at Rome.

ΠΥΘΙΑ; under the table, in four lines: ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ. (Mionnet, *Descr.*, iv.; Lydia, No. 1106; Rayet, fig. 24.) The institution of these games dates no doubt from the reconstruction of the city by the liberality of Augustus (between 27 and 24 B.C.).

¹ *liv.*, 23.

² *Ibid.*, 30: Τὸν πόρον αὐτῆς τὸν ἔτιον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε. In the *Monument of Ancyra*, No. 24, Augustus boasts of having restored to the temples of Greece and Asia the riches and ornaments which his adversaries had taken from them. He adds that he came four times to the aid of the exhausted treasury.

³ ΚΟΣ. Apollo, near a tripod, striking upon a drum, and executing the dance of victory. Tetradrachm of Cos.

Thus recurs everywhere that aristocratic tendency in his government to which we have earlier called attention.

All the divinities who wished admittance to the Roman cult are received, and each great section of the Empire sees its national god protected and enriched by the laws of Rome. The Jews held a religious tenet radically opposite to the plurality of gods; but, as they made no use of it at that time in asserting their national independence, they were permitted at Rome, in the very presence of Jupiter, great and good, to read publicly the Pentateuch, and all the cutting irony with which their prophets scourged the idols. When we remember how much blood has been shed by religious intolerance, we shall set down to the credit of the Romans of that time the vast amount of evil that they did not do. We may also notice in this connection that Rome, in taking away from the Jews the right of pronouncing sentence of death, allowed them, however, the privilege of saving annually one person condemned to die.¹

In respect to military service Augustus was not exacting; he required but few soldiers in proportion to the mass of the population of the Empire, because he established no garrisons in the interior; and this tax fell chiefly upon the new provinces, whose warlike tribes paid it without reluctance.²

The twenty-five legions kept the barbarians in check by lining the frontiers with forts and camps in which all the military science of antiquity was applied, and in countries not exposed they constructed roads and bridges, canals and aqueducts. We shall see them erecting amphitheatres, draining marshes, and rescuing arid land; it was the conquerors of Actium who restored prosperity to Egypt by cleansing the choked channels of her great river.³

¹ S. Matthew, xxvii. 15.

² See chap. lxx.

³ Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 18; *Claud.*, 1; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 20; xi. 20; xiii. 53; xvi. 23, and numerous inscriptions. We will only mention the canals of Marius, Drusus, and Corbulo, and the engineering work of the legions of Trajan, Hadrian, and Probus.

VI.—COMMERCE; PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE.

We have already spoken of the new financial organization, of the census, of roads, posts, and the monetary reform. Commerce profited by all these measures, and a new activity pervaded this Empire, so admirably fitted for a long and prosperous existence.

In no portion of the earth had humanity encountered conditions more favourable to its development than in these lands which from the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, from the Alps and the Balkan, from the Taurus and the Atlas, slope down towards the Mediterranean Sea, with their countless rivers and fine sea-coasts, crowded with rich and industrious cities.

Of this prosperity we have an intelligent and truthful eye-witness, Strabo, who, during the lifetime of Augustus, visited a large portion of the Empire. He attests the commercial activity which arose as soon as the sea was cleared from pirates and the land from bandits, and the temple of Janus closed. We



Coin of Smyrna.¹

thus see a side of ancient life which has never received the attention it deserves. In so vast a whole as the Roman Empire, economic questions have their fit place at the side of political and military questions; for commerce at that time did for the Roman world what it was destined to do later for modern Europe: it brought together cities and peoples whose profound differences we have already pointed out, and it created for three centuries, if not the idea of a common country, at least a common interest in the preservation of "the Roman peace."

It has been frequently asserted that commerce was despised in Rome.² This perhaps may be true in the case of the Romans

¹ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΡΙΑΚΑΙΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze of Commodus, which has been thought to represent the alliance of Lacedæmon with Smyrna. Jupiter Nicephorus seated would represent the Genius of Smyrna, and Minerva armed and standing that of Lacedæmon. Cf. *Hist. de l'Acad. des inser.*, vol. i. p. 294, and pl. 8, No. 5.

² This prejudice was especially Greek, and was advanced, though without great success, by the philosophers. Xenophon (*Econom.*, iv.), says: "Handicrafts [not commerce—*Ed.*] ruin the body, and leave the soul without energy;" Aristotle (*Polit.*, iii. 3): "The rights of citizens

of the first centuries, although they signed treaties of commerce with Carthage; but it assuredly is not so in the case of those of the imperial time, who had quite different ideas from the early Quirites, as well as a different origin and other modes of living. What were the 80,000 Italians doing in Asia, whom Mithridates found there more than half a century before the battle of Actium,¹ and at Utica, those 300 wealthy Roman merchants, whose slaves were numerous enough of themselves to compose the city-guard. "Not a sesterce," says Cicero,² "is in circulation in the province of Narbonensis that is not entered on Roman account-books." Would the provinces have become so quickly Roman had there been no commerce, or none carried on by the Italian residents? Administrative measures and the establishment of colonies would never have been able to effect this fusion so rapidly; but when we find Roman traders among the Sicambri, the Marcomanni, the Ierni;³ in Arabia Petrea and Taurus; when we learn that 120 vessels went yearly for Roman business to the coast of the peninsula of Ganges, and that Pompey had explored the road to India by way of the Caspian Sea, the river Indus, and the country of Bactriana,⁴ how is it

should be refused to artisans;" he would not (vii. 9) even have the citizen engage in agricultural labours; Plato (*Laus*, viii.) forbids it in so many words, and condemns him to a month in prison (*ibid.*, i. 11) if he should engage in traffic of any kind; this is the ideal which was realized by the Spartans, Cretans, and Thessalians. Cicero made himself the echo at Rome of these doctrines (*de Off.*, i. 42, etc.). But from the earliest days we find the people divided into trade corporations, *κατὰ τέχνας* (Plut., *Numa*, 17), and a company of traders constituted themselves under the patronage of Mercury (Livy, ii. 27). Before the second Punic war, a law forbade senators to engage in any business, and allowed them only one vessel of a certain capacity (300 amphoræ) for the conveyance of their harvests (Livy, xxi. 63). During the wars with Hannibal, contractors undertook the provisioning of the armies, and a province is no sooner conquered than Roman merchants crowd into it with their accustomed avidity, says Diodorus (v. 26), πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων ἐπὶ τὴν συνηθὴ φιλαργυρίαν. . . . Many inscriptions read: The Roman merchants of such a city or province.

¹ Appian, *Mithr.*, 61; Val. Max., ix. 2. Cicero, in his oration *pro lege Manilia*, 8, shows how immense was the capital invested by Romans in Asia.

² *Pro Fonteio*, v. Florus advises the Treviri to commence war by the massacre of the Roman traders. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 42.) Before the conquest of Gaul was really completed Roman traders began to flock thither. The great revolt began at Cenabum by the massacre of the citizens, *Romani qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant*. (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 3.)

³ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 62; *Agric.*, 24. Seventy thousand Romans or allies are killed in Britain in the time of Nero, and it had been conquered but eighteen years earlier, under Claudius! (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 33.) He says (*ibid.*) in speaking of London, *copia negotiatorum et comestorum maxime celebre*.

⁴ The commodities of India were sold at a hundred times their cost, *quæ apud nos centuplicato veneunt* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 26); according to Varro: *Pompeii ductu exploratum*.

possible to say that commerce was odious to the Romans, and that they found it suitable to abandon to the provincials the profits of the immense traffic that was carried on throughout the Empire?

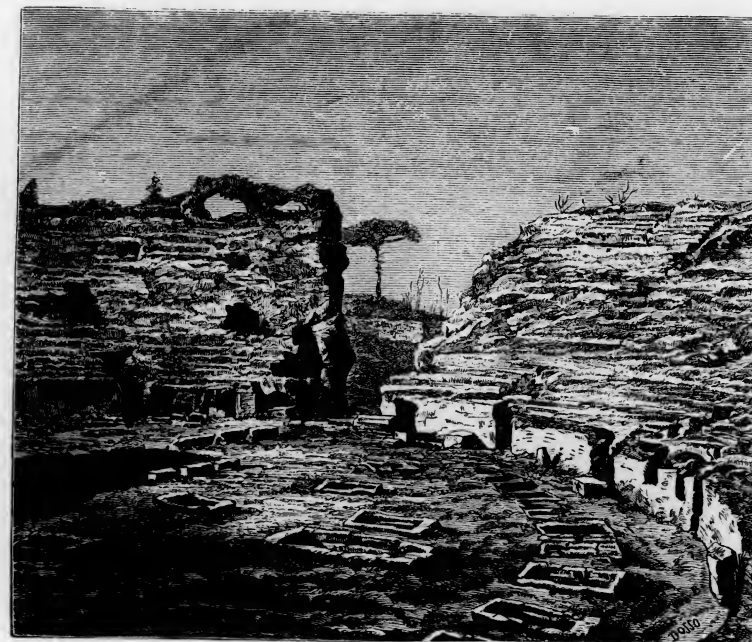
The Greeks considered commerce worthy of respect, and favoured it by their institutions, and it hence became very flourishing in the eastern Mediterranean. The movement had spread also as far as Spain, Gaul, and even Pannonia. "Navigation along the coast of Western Iberia is very good," says Strabo, "with the exception of some difficulties in passing through the straits. It is no less favourable in the Mediterranean, where the rest of the voyage is usually in calm weather, especially when the open sea is kept . . . and these waters have been freed from pirates, so that nothing is lacking for the security of the navigators. . . . Every year, vessels of large size arrive from Turdetania at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), and at Ostia, in as great number as from Libya." When Horace has occasion to bring upon the scene a rich merchant, he makes him "the opulent master of a Spanish vessel;" and to show his own disdain of wealth, he says that he will ask of the gods to be permitted but thrice or four times safely to navigate the Atlantic.¹ Upon this ocean the Romans followed in the track of the Carthaginians. Tacitus tells us that the Italian traders went as far as Ireland, and Suetonius shows us, in the time of Augustus, the people divided into three classes: *plebs urbana*, *aratores*, *negotiantes*. It is apparent, in spite of the indifference of the ancient historians towards facts of this kind, that the labour question, the most important of the modern world, was agitated 1,800 years ago upon the banks of the Tiber. Tacitus descends from the heights which his genius loves, to deplore the circumstance that, through lack of work, what began as a scarcity of food ended as an actual famine.²

Strabo says also in book xi. 7, 3: "The Oxus is so navigable, that through its channel Indian merchandise is brought easily as far as the Hyrcanian Sea, whence, by other rivers, it is transported to the Pontus Euxinus."

¹ *Carmin.*, I., xxxi., xxxviii.; III., vi. Navigation by sails and oars was more rapid than we believe. According to Pliny (xix. 1) the voyage from Ostia to the African coast was made in two days, to Marseilles in three, to Tarragona in four, to Gades in seven; from Puteoli to Alexandria was a nine days' voyage, and from Messina, seven, or sometimes six. But the voyage was made only in summer. [By keeping slaves at their large and numerous oars in calm weather, the Roman ships quite left our sailing vessels behind in these voyages.—*Ed.*]

² *Hist.*, i. 86: *Fumes in vulgus inopia questus et penuria alimentorum.*

Augustus, who reduced the number of festivals for the purpose of giving more working-days, distributed corn to the people but thrice yearly, lest they should be too frequently diverted from their industries. A proof of the attention paid by government to commercial affairs is the precaution taken in each city and each quarter of the larger towns to preserve standard weights and measures in a temple, under the protection of a



Interior of the Amphitheatre at Puteoli.

divinity, who, we learn from an inscription, was not the facile Mercury, but Hercules.¹ The Romans ascertained the density of water, wine, oil, and honey, and to prevent error, took as a unit of weight, a certain quantity of rain-water.²

Commerce was still more a gainer from the regularity of the monetary system. Rome, with her 1,500,000 or 1,800,000 inhabitants, was the principal market of the Empire. A great

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 40: . . . *ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur*: cf. *ibid.*, 42.

² Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. pol. des Rom.*, i. p. 14.

accumulation of precious metals was made here, and there was likewise an enormous consumption, for the population of great cities consume much more proportionally than the population of the country. But Italy produced little: wines, of which only the inferior qualities were exported; oil,¹ excellent corn in small quantity; and wools, some of which, that of Tarentum and of the Cisalpine, were regarded as the finest known.² She had cloth manufactories and potteries; also sulphur, saffron, and honey; but all this was not enough to balance her imports,³ and she was obliged to pay the difference in ready money, so that by their



A Wine-cellar in Rome (discovered in 1789).

industry and commerce the provinces took back from Rome what they had paid her as tribute. The commodities of Serica, India, and Arabia alone cost the Empire near a million of our money.⁴

¹ Pliny placed the oil of Venafrum in the first rank, and in the second that of Bética and Istria. Pausanias (x. 32) prefers to all others that of Tithorea in Phocis, which was used at the emperor's table. The best wines were those of Amminæa and Nomentum; the Falernian, Massican, and Cæcuban, so often praised by Horace; the wine of Setia, worthy of Bacchus (Silius Italicus, viii. 375), etc., etc.

² Columella, vii. 2.

³ Rome received marble from Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Numidia, spikenard from India and Syria, balm from Jericho, and the pearls and precious stones, the use of which became so general in the time of Augustus [from India]; purple and stuffs from Cos, those of Attalus, *Attalica vestis*, with inwoven gold; ivory, Ethiopian ebony, and Indian crystal. Upon Roman tables were served the peacock of Samos, the crane of Melos, the pheasant of Colchis, the lamprey of Tartessus, the sword-fish of Rhodes, the scarus of Cilicia, scollops from Chios, chickens and guinea-fowl from Numidia, geese from Gaul, of which the livers were increased in size by milk and honey, an invention whose credit was disputed by an ex-consul and a knight; the geese of Germany, whose down was sold at five denarii the pound; filberts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, Spanish nuts, wines from all the Mediterranean coast, African, Spanish, and Greek oil, and slaves from every country in the world. Cf. 3rd Mem. of M. de Pastoret, pp. 101-116.

⁴ It might almost be said that the city of Rome expended this enormous sum on these luxuries, for it was especially there that they were in demand. The dealers in perfumes and spices occupied a quarter by themselves. (Horace, *Epist.*, II. i.) At Poppæa's funeral Nero burned more incense than all Arabia Felix furnished in a year. Pliny adds (*Hist. Nat.*, xii. 41): *Tanti nobis deliciae et feminae constant!* What would he say now, when the commerce with India alone of one of the smallest and the very poorest province of the Empire is £40,000,000 annually? It is quite true that the old declamations against luxury are no longer in fashion since commerce and industry make it their aim, not to secure pleasure to a few, but to increase the comfort of all. Wealth, the fruit of rapine and of slave labour, as at Rome, is an evil; for, born of violence, it nourishes vice and corruption as a rule. Wealth, the fruit of free

Already every host who did not cover his guests with perfumes was considered rude, and "a matron could no more show herself without her pearls than a magistrate without his lieters." Soon to these pearls all kinds of precious stones came to be added.



Silver or Goldsmith.¹

There were, moreover, in Italy several great annual fairs, of which the most celebrated was that held at Feronia, where those possessed by the goddess, on certain days of the year, walked barefoot and without sustaining injury over a very broad bed of hot ashes and glowing coals. Strabo

also makes mention of Italian commodities, possibly, however, of Spanish or Gallic origin, warehoused at Ephesus, and Italian wines which, with those of Laodicea and Syria, served as articles of exchange in the cities on the shores of the Red Sea. We learn also that Rome carried on export trade from Horace's threat to his book that it may serve some day as a wrapper for merchandise destined to Utica or to Ilerda.² As is now the case with Paris, and for the same causes, the industry of Rome was especially directed towards the



Gold-beater.³

production of articles of luxury. There was a crowd of carvers and moulders, dyers, embroiderers, lace-makers, cabinet-makers, workers in stucco, in bronze and gold, and the like. The book-trade had assumed considerable proportions, for Atreetus could sell a copy of Martial's epigrams, in a purple case, well polished with pumice-stone, for five denarii. Much paper⁴ was made and

labour, as in our modern life, is a good, for it incites to industry, develops intelligence, and compels those who use it to share it as wages with those who produce it.

¹ From an engraved cornelian in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 16).

² *Epist.*, I., xx. 13. [This may have been copied directly from some Greek author.—Ed.]

³ From a bas-relief in the Vatican.

⁴ Augustus and Livia gave their names to two qualities of paper. See a long enumeration

much glass. Many mixtures had been devised to vary the colours of this product, and they were able to sell it as cheap as we do now, a small glass drinking-cup costing but a half-as.

Three seaports served for provisioning Rome, and for the export of the merchandise of Central Italy: Ariminum (Rimini), which received the commodities of the Cisalpine; Ostia and Puteoli, ports of entry for the cereals of Africa, and the products of Spain, Gaul, and the East. To relieve Ostia, at this time but a poor roadstead, Augustus laid out, at the side of the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes, a canal to Terracina. This canal was reached by sea from Puteoli, and gave easy passage for nearly thirty miles to barges drawn by mules conveying the traders themselves and light merchandise, and thence the distance to be made by land was short.

The Cisalpine exported a great quantity of millet, a kind of harvest, says Strabo, which secures against famine, since it never fails; pitch, wine, which they send in casks as tall as houses, the fine wools of Mutina (Modena), and the coarser wool of Liguria and the region around Mediolanum (Milan); and, lastly, great herds of swine to feed the city. Padova (Padua) was the centre of great manufactures of mantles and expensive carpets and hangings.

Sicily furnished corn and cattle and wool, and the honey of Hybla, the rival of Hymettus, fine carvings, and valuable stuffs made at Malta, where there had been weavers since the time of the Phœnicians. Sardinia had only its harvests.

Gaul had too lately entered upon the path of civilization for her exports to be extensive, but Narbonensis produced all the fruits of Italy, oil, an abundance of wine, and wool of excellent quality, and Transalpine Gaul, corn, millet, and cattle. Strabo adds that "the convenient position of the rivers make it easy for merchandise to be transported, either from place to place within the country, or from the ocean to the Mediterranean or the reverse." Massilia and Narbo were the two ports of exportation for tunics worn by the Italian slaves, for the linen cloth of the Cadurei, the salt pork of the Sequani, the military

by M. Pastoret (*op cit.*, vol. v. 2nd part, p. 85) of the different callings at that time held in esteem in Rome.



Imp. Palladius

BURIAL URN

Blue glass with bas-relief of white enamel found at Pompeii

many mixtures had been devised to vary the colour of one product, and they were able to sell it as cheap as to buy a small glass drinking-cup costing but a half-as.

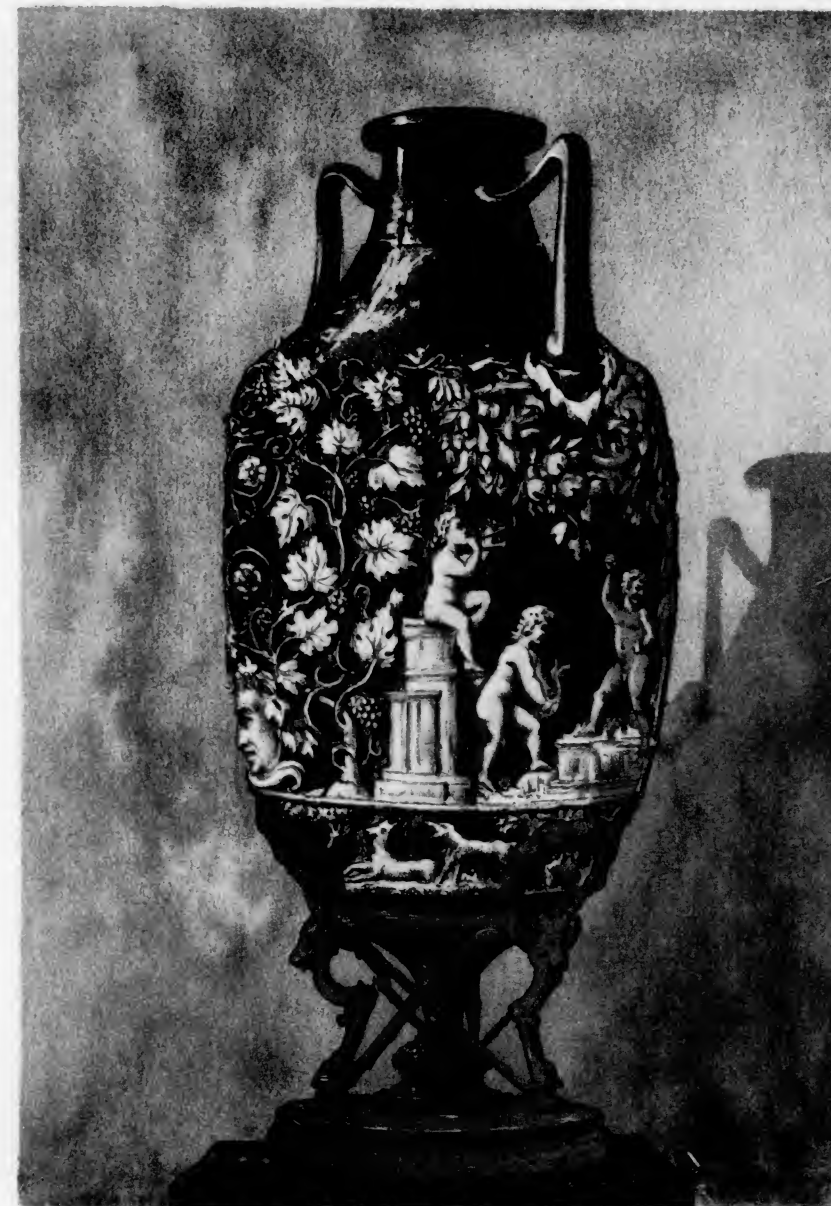
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See St. Isidore (19-22, vol. v. 2nd part, p. 85) of the different usages to that time held in various parts of Rome.



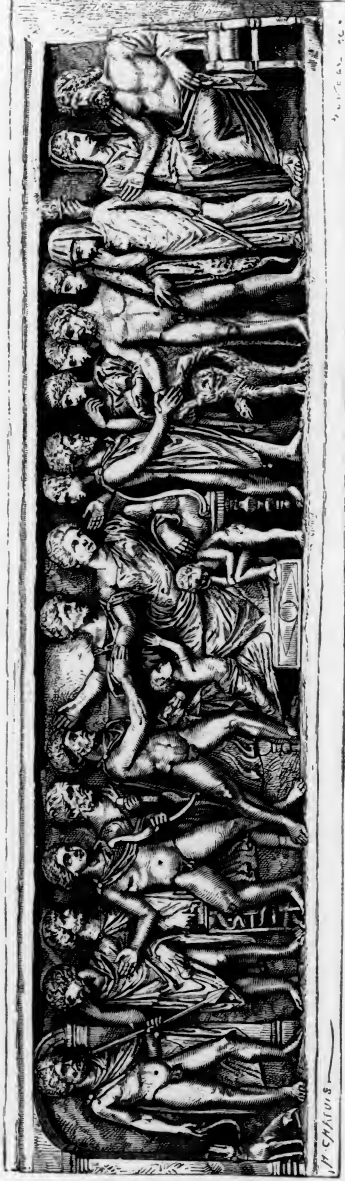
SELLIER PINX.

Imp. Fraillery.

DANBOURG, chromolith.

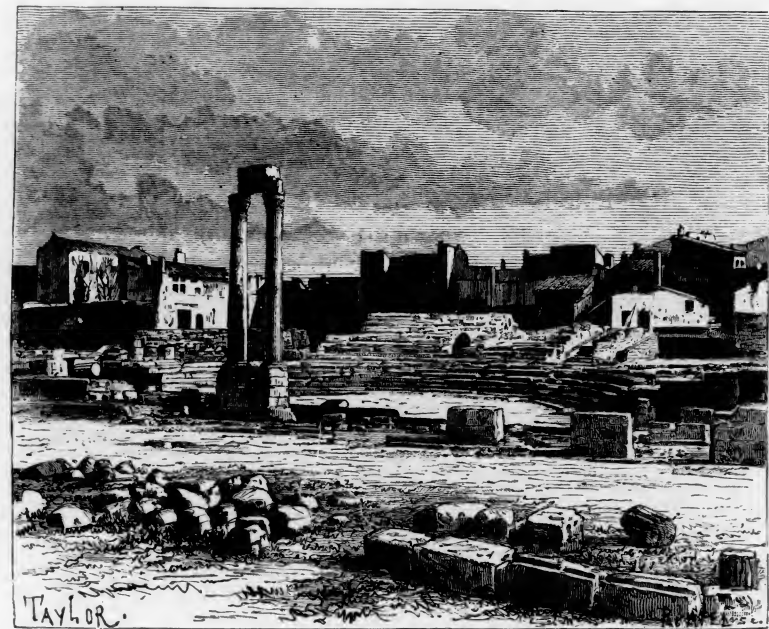
BURIAL URN

Blue glass with bas-relief of white enamel found at Pompeii



Death of Alcestis, from a Sarcophagus found at Ostia (Vat. Mus.).

frocks of Arras, and red cloth, of which the better qualities were said to equal the purple of the East. These two great seaport towns communicated with the interior through other places already actively engaged in trade: Toulouse and Bordeaux upon the Garonne; in the valley of the Rhone and the Saone, Arles, Nismes, which not long after saw the building of its great aqueduct (Pont du Gard), Vienne, Lyons, where the gold of the Tectosages and the Tarbelli, and the silver of the Ruteni and



Roman Theatre at Arles (present condition).

Gabali, was converted into money; Autun, later celebrated for its schools, Cenabum on the Loire, whither, even before the Gallic war was ended, Roman merchants had begun to flock; Trèves, upon the Moselle, and Rheims, which soon so completely forgot her Gallic origin that she called herself the daughter of Remus, and put the she-wolf and the twins upon her coat-of-arms. Strabo tells us of merchandise transferred from the Saone to the Seine, destined for the British islands, whence came in return leather, iron, tin, cattle, slaves, and, as at the present day, the

best hunting-dogs. Half a century after this Josephus said: "Gaul has, within itself, an inexhaustible spring of all good things, which it spreads abroad over the rest of the earth;" and, in the reign of Tiberius, Sacrovir contrasted to the miseries of Italy, the prosperity of Gaul.

To augment the value of land in Italy a senatus-consultum had prohibited the cultivation of the vine and the olive to the Transalpine nations.¹ It appears, however, that Narbonensis must have been excepted from this decree, as from many others, on account of its proximity to Italy, for Fonteius laid a tax upon the wine sold in this province; and we know that the people of Vienne obtained from their vineyards on the hills, now called the Côte Rôtie, a wine called the Picatum, which was sold at Rome for 1,000 sesterces (£8) the amphora (nearly six gallons).

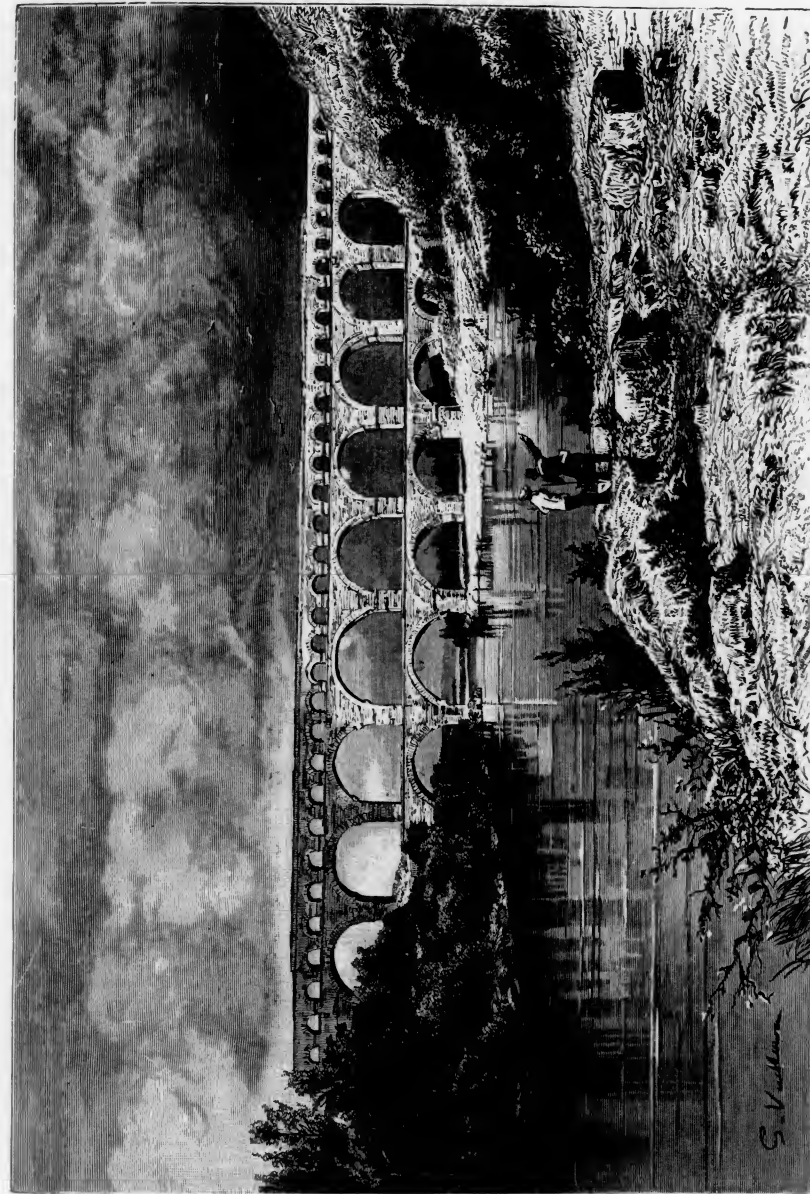
Spain furnished an enormous mass of products: corn and wine, very good oil (especially that of Merida), honey, wax, a quantity of vegetable dye stuffs, pitch, salted provisions as good as those of Pontus,² oysters obtained all along the Spanish coast; vermilion, not inferior to the famed Sinopean cinnabar, bringing 70 sesterces a pound in Rome; and salt, either extracted from the marshes which lie along the coast from Cadiz to Gibraltar, or obtained from very rich mines like those of Castile and especially of Catalonia, where is the famous rock of Cardona of solid salt, so hard that statuettes are cut from it. Earlier than this Spain had become renowned for her wools, and a Spanish ram had been sold as high as a talent;³ the stuffs made at Sætabis and Emporiæ were the finest known; also a kind of broom, of which cordage was made, was exported in large quantities. Her greatest wealth, however, lay in her mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper.⁴ In

¹ Cic., *de Re publ.*, iii. 9.

² Strabo describes curiously the evolutions of the army of tunny-fish all along the coast, where, about the time of their annual arrival, sentinels were posted to give notice of their approach.

³ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticæ*, ii. 22.

⁴ Diod., v. 36; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxviii. 2. There were iron mines and really excellent iron-works at Cape Dianium, called, on this account, by Pomponius Mela, *Ferraria*: and water useful for tempering near Bilbilis and Turiasso. Horace mentions Spanish cuirasses, *loricis Iberis* (*Carm.*, I. xxix. 15). In the gold mines of Bætica, nuggets of ten Roman pounds weight had been found. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 4.) In Turdetania, a fourth part of the ore taken out of the mine was pure copper. (Strabo, iii. 7.) There was tin in the country of the Gallæci, and lead at Castalon, where it is found to this day. The Tagus and other rivers of Lusitania



Pont du Gard (the great Roman Aqueduct which brought water to Nîmes) as it now stands, halfway between Avignon and Nîmes.

the north of Spain, the Cerretans and Cantabrians exported excellent hams, "which furnished this people a very advantageous traffic." The horses of Asturia and Cantabria, small, but very active, were so famous after the Veneti had abandoned horse-breeding that the Romans called all their best animals *Asturiones*, and Posidonius compares the horses of the Celtiberians to those of the Parthians on account of their extreme speed.

In the north-east of Italy, Rhaetic wine was considered as good as the best wines of the peninsula, and the mountaineers of the Alps bartered their honey, wax, resin, and cheese for the Italian commodities of which they had need. Across Mont Oera, the lowest part of the Eastern Alps, the merchandise of Aquileia was transported in wagons to Nauportus upon the Leybach, a branch of the Save, where it was embarked and carried down to the Danube, and thence to Segestum, or into Pannonia or Noricum. Aquileia, which possessed very rich gold mines, was the centre of this traffic. This city furnished to the barbarians wine and oil and salted provisions, receiving in return slaves, cattle, furs, that iron from Noricum which was so much valued for the manufacture of swords,¹ and the amber which came from the shores of the Baltic.

With the Northern provinces, therefore, there was only a traffic of barter. In Gaul, industry was awakening; in Spain, especially in Baetica, it was taking a considerable development: metal-working, weaving, agriculture, and fisheries were all in a state of activity.

From Greece and the Greek islands Rome obtained some horses, for the depopulation of the country favoured their breeding; honey from the Hymettus and the Sporades, Chian and Lesbian wines, the copper of Cyprus and dried figs from that island,²

brought down particles of gold. (*Id., ibid.*) Pliny (*ibid.*, xxxiii. 21) estimates the annual product of gold of Galicia, Asturia, and Lusitania at 20,000 pounds weight.

¹ *Noricus ensis*. (Horace, *Carm.*, I. xvi. 9; *Epod.*, xvii. 71.)

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 23; Strabo, iii. 162. The most valued wines of the time were those of Chios, Samos, Clazomenæ, Cyprus, Lesbos, Smyrna, Tripoli, Berytus, and Tyre. Some Sicilian wines (the Mamertine and that of Tauromenium), and some from Spain (the Laletanian, that of Tarragona, Lauron, and the Balearic islands), brought a good price. Gallic wines, with the exception of that made at Vienne on the Rhone, were spoiled by certain mixtures, and did not appear upon the tables of the rich. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv. 19) enumerates eighty kinds of wine, fifty of which were Italian.

perfumes prepared at Athens and at Corinth, certain dainties reserved for the tables of the rich; and, furthermore, the marbles of Pentelieus, Paros, and Chios, the bronze of Corinth, the copper of Eubœa, certain delicate tissues like the *byssus* of Elis, so much in favour with the Roman ladies, and the hellebore of Anticyra, a precious specific against madness.

The five hundred cities of Asia, rich, populous, and industrious, consumed much, but produced even more: Milesian cloths and carpets, works of art in endless variety, statues, bronzes, gold and silversmiths' work, pretty Bithynian rings, chased iron work from Cibyra, Laodicean carpets, pottery from Tralles, the purple-veined marble of Synnada, the dyes of Hierapolis, the wines of Tmolus, used to give others a fictitious age. Through these Asiatic cities passed a great part of the Eastern traffic. Commodities of China, India, and Tartary, wools, furs, precious stones, slaves, silks, Serican steel, were brought by way of the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Caucasian isthmus to Dioscurias, "where the dealers of seventy nations met."²

The carpets and woven stuffs of Babylonia, the precious commodities of the East, brought by way of the Persian Gulf, northern Arabia, and central Syria, passed through Palmyra and Thapsacus, and thence were carried to Mazaca on the Halys, and so on to Ephesus, the principal commercial town of Asia, notwithstanding its poor harbour. The cities of Tanais, Panticapœum, and Phanagoria, upon the Palus Mæotis, occupied a corresponding position towards the countries lying in their rear. The Seythians brought them wool, furs, slaves, and the gold of the Ural and



A Peacock.¹

¹ Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, i. 1st series, pl. 43.)

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 5, 19; Strabo, xi. 498. Bithynia sent into Italy cheeses that were highly valued. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xi. 42.) Pontus furnished alum, acacia, and building woods (Hor., *Carm.*, I. xiv. 11); and Colchis very well-tempered iron (Virg., *Georg.*, i. 58).

the Altai, in exchange for wines, stuffs, and the countless things brought by the Greek merchants. Fisheries on a grand scale were made then, as now, in the muddy waters of the river Tanais and the Palus Mæotis.

Phœnicia always furnished the Syrian purple, which was sold at Rome for more than 1,000 denarii a pound; also cedar-wood and oil of the same, which were regarded as indestructible, so that priests often made statues of their gods of this wood, and poets, to secure immortality for their verses, rubbed with the oil their paper rolls—*cedro digna locutus*.¹ Phœnicia also exported into Egypt and all the cities along the shores of the Red Sea the wines of



Silver Cups (from the Hildesheim treasure).

Syria and Italy, besides much glass, which was chiefly made at Sidon.

Egypt, which had a trade with India and China eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, exported, besides her corn, diverse kinds of woven stuffs, very expensive coloured glass which was made at Alexandria,² papyrus, and alum; she obtained from the Dead Sea asphalt for embalming; also from Palestine that balm of Gilead which was put up in mother-of-pearl and

¹ Pers., *Sat.*, i. 42; Hor., *de Arte poet.*, 332: *linenda cedro*.

² Pliny, in many places, mentions the price of these objects at Rome. (*Hist. Nat.*, ix. 63; xii. 26, 42; xxxvii. 7, etc.) In the time of Aurelian a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold. (Vopisc., *Aurel.*, 45.) Cæsar gave away a pearl which cost a million. (Suet., *Jul. Cæs.*, 50.) An attempt was made to cultivate the pepper-plant in Italy. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xvi. 59.)

sold at a great price; from Africa, negroes, much in fashion as slaves in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, ostrich plumes, and ivory; from Arabia, aromatics, incense, and gold dust; from India, spices, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, cassia, myrrh, spikenard, cinnabar, and dye-stuffs, shells, Murrhine cups and vases,¹ precious stones, pearls, and silk and cotton stuffs. A strange procedure is reported in connection with this Indian commerce: for India, Augustus turned



Vase in form of a Negro's Head.²

counterfeiter. The Hindoos, who towards the Romans were sellers and not buyers, received much coined money, and as it was ascertained that they could not distinguish false coin from true, the masters of the Roman mint coined for exportation plated denarii, which have been found in great quantities on the coast of Malabar, while nearly all coin intended for circulation within the Empire was of standard value. The operation was as lucrative as it was disreputable.³

Africa still felt the disasters caused by the civil war. The territory of Carthage, however, was one of the granaries of Rome, and that city, now rising from its ruins, was beginning to resume

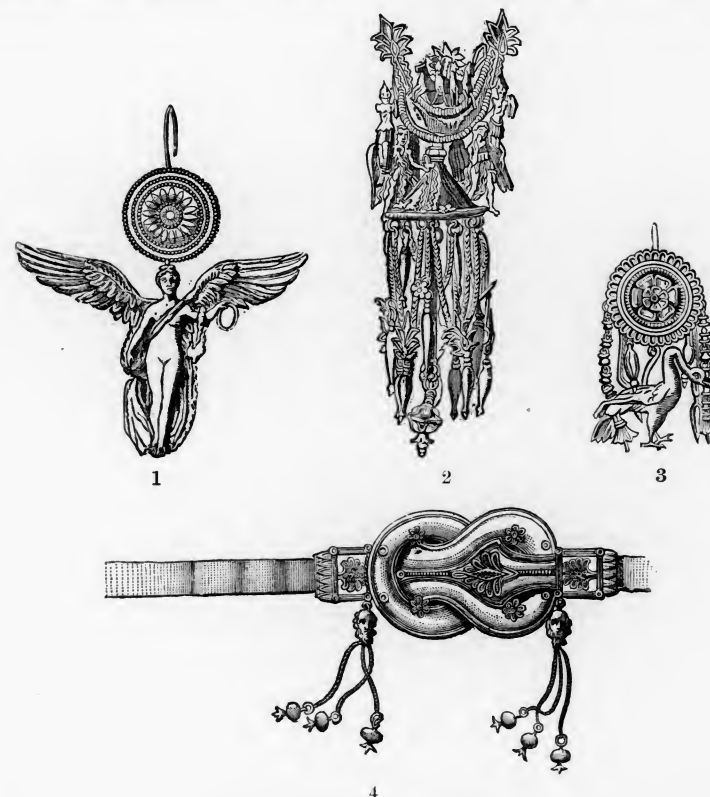
its earlier relations with the interior of Africa. The route opened by Hanno into Senegal and Guinea was doubtless now closed; but it is by no means certain that the six towns founded by

¹ These vases, of which Propertius (IV. v. 26) says: *Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis*, were probably Chinese porcelain and brought a great price. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxvii. 7.)

² Peutinger's map marks near two cities on the coast of Malabar a *Templum Augusti*, which gives reason to believe a trading port existed there. It was customary to have in all merchant towns a "chamber of commerce." The language used in Eastern traffic was the Greek, which, Philostratus says, was spoken by the princes of the north of India and by all educated persons. Seneca (*Cons. ad Helv.*, 6) and Plutarch (*The Fortune of Alexander*) confirm this testimony.

³ Found near Acerra, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1878, tav. 5, No. 8.

that general beyond the Pillars of Hercules had already disappeared, for it was not long before this that Sertorius, influenced by the reports of many ship-masters, had proposed to his soldiers to go and find a home in the Fortunate Islands. Relations with the Canaries still continued. The gold dust which Roman traders found



Ornaments, Earrings, and Belt of Gold.¹

in Mauretania was more probably brought thither by way of the sea than by the long and dangerous route across the Sahara. Carthage sent to Rome wild beasts and gazelles for the amphitheatre, Numidian horses, precious woods, gold dust, ivory, negroes,

¹ No. 1, a winged Genius, holding a crown, under a rosette, all of gold; No. 2, the chariot of the sun over a crescent, and winged Victories resting upon a sort of cupola; No. 3, a swan in white enamel, hung from a gold rosette; No. 4, fragment of a gold belt, found at Ithaca. (Saglio, *Diet. des Ant.*, etc., figs. 965, 966, 968, 969.)

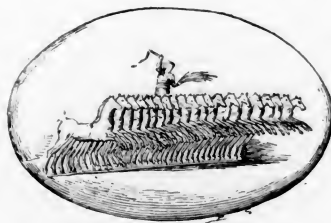
Numidian marble, and pieces of stone, called by their Greek name, chalcedony, of which costly cups and vases were made.

We have already seen (vol. iii. p. 613) what was furnished by the Cyrenaica. Behind this province ran the great commercial highway which connected the east, south, and west of Africa. The



Bronze Gazelle found at Herculaneum.¹

great caravan, setting out from Upper Egypt, traversed the oases of Ammon (Syouth), Augila (Audjelah), and the Garamantes, where it found the traders of Leptis, then travelled southward through the country of the Atarantes (Tegerry) and of the Atlantes (Bilma), to meet those of Nigritia. This route, described by Herodotus two thousand three hundred years ago, is still the one traversed by the caravans of Cairo, as far as the frontiers of Bournou, for Nature has indicated no other.



Chalcedony of the Cyrenaica.²

After the Third Punic War Leptis had inherited this commerce, which later she was obliged to share with the new Carthage, while keeping, however, a considerable portion of it.

For the larger part of all this merchandise the sea was the great highway upon which thousands of vessels did service in the carrying trade. Having no compass or

¹ Monaco, *National Museum of Naples*, pl. 97.

² Victorious charioteer, driving twenty horses harnessed abreast. An engraved stone, found in the Cyrenaica, the horses of which were highly esteemed. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1871.)

clock they were quite likely, when fogs or clouds obscured the stars, to go as far astray as did the vessel in which S. Paul sailed for Italy. Navigation, therefore, was suspended during the winter,¹ as much on account of the state of the sky as by reason of the frequency of tempests. For making land, however, they were guided at many points by fire-towers and light-houses, which the Greeks had invented and the Roman emperors had multiplied. Of these the most famous was that at Alexandria, which seems to have been 540 feet in height, and carried a light visible at a distance of forty miles.²

Thus, under the protection of a vigilant government, civilization extended itself; and the nations formed or resumed the habit of a profitable exchange of commodities, of which the advantages had long been known to the Greeks and to the Carthaginians, and had been for a century and a half shared by the Romans in their capacity of bankers to the world.³

This general prosperity was secured by two things, namely, a government which left much liberty to the individual, and a profound peace, maintained neither by force nor by fear. We may read in Josephus the speech of Agrippa, in which he concludes: "A revolt against Rome would be a revolt against God Himself." At the suggestion of a successful revolt Tacitus also is horror-struck on behalf of humanity: "The gods forbid that the Romans should disappear from the earth! What thenceforth would there be save a universal war among the nations? Eight hundred years of constant success and discipline have been required to raise this colossus, and it would crush in its fall whoever should be able to overthrow it."⁴ But none sought to do this; Pliny shows us the nations "forgetting their ancient animosities, and reposing from their dangers upon the bosom of a peace which was like a long holiday."

We must read with distrust the official demonstrations of public gratitude. Every power has received this adulation, even on the eve of its downfall, for power is surrounded by a display

¹ See vol. iii. p. 323, and the Acts of the Apostles, xxyii. 9.

² The best modern lights have a range of fifty miles.

³ At a later period, it was prohibited, under capital penalty, to export iron, weapons, wine, corn, salt, or gold. (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, ii. pr., and *Code*, iv. 21, 1, 2.)

⁴ *Hist.*, iv. 74.

which attracts and fascinates the crowd. The temples and altars consecrated to the Genius of Augustus, the quinquennial games instituted by all the cities in honour of the emperor,¹ were doubtless an expression of adulation, but they were also the token



Augustus in the Toga.²

of genuine sentiments, and Virgil and Pliny, bearing testimony to the felicity of Rome in the midst of the profound peace and serene grandeur which Augustus had bestowed upon her, were the sincere echo of public opinion.

But we have testimony surer, if less brilliant, than the scholar's and the poet's enthusiasm. "One day, as Augustus was sailing along the shore of Puteoli, the sailors and passengers of an Alexandrian vessel came to salute him, clad in white garments and crowned with flowers. They burned incense before him as if he were a god,

and cried out: 'It is by thee that we live and are free; to thee we owe our wealth and security.' Augustus was so gratified by this homage," his biographer continues, "that he distributed forty pieces of gold among his attendants, directing them to expend the money in the purchase of Egyptian commodities.

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 59.

² Museum of the Louvre.

During the succeeding days he gave to the Romans Greek mantles and to the Alexandrians togas; and he desired them also to change languages, the Greeks to speak Latin and the Romans Greek"¹—a two-fold symbol of the blending of all nations which had now begun, and would have been completed had this prosperity rested upon institutions instead of depending upon one human life.

Another inference is to be drawn from the tedious but needful details which have filled this chapter. Commerce transported much, for the reason that there was much, in the way of industrial and agricultural products, to transport. Industry and agriculture were then flourishing. This laborious activity required many hands, both of slaves and freemen. To some labour brought a com-



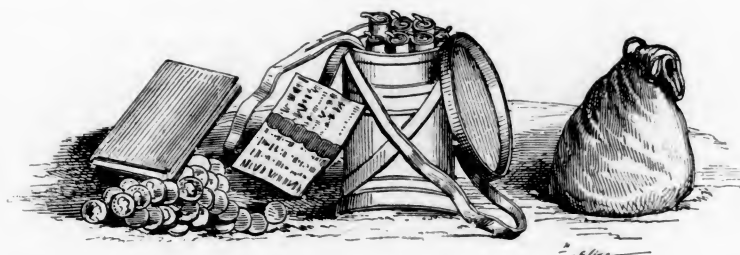
Tripod for Sacrifice.²

petency, to others it brought liberty; and this extensive commerce became a cause of emancipation, changing the economic conditions of ancient society. In the rural districts there came into existence the class of *coloni* mid-way between freedom and slavery; in the cities, that of small manufacturers who, for protection,

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 98.

² Bronze tripod, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii, and now in the Museum of Naples.

presently associated themselves into guilds and corporations. Thus began a social evolution whose results were inherited by the Middle Ages.



Account books (*breviaria rationum*), day-books (*diurni*), a bag of money, a casket (*scrinium* or *capsula*) full of rolls, each ticketed; and coins, or rather counters, to use in calculating. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v. pl. 36.)

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

I.—THE FRONTIER EAST AND SOUTH.

ABOUT the year 19 B.C., the period when Augustus visited the East for the last time, the work of organizing the imperial government, as he had conceived it, was completed. For six years the temple of Janus had been closed, and the minds of men were no less quiet than were the provinces. Cæpio and Murena, who had dared to conspire against so great a prosperity, had found no accomplices. Industry resumed possession of this world whence it had been expelled; and, by way of rare exception in the history of nations, universal gratitude saluted as a saving divinity the author of all these benefits.

Augustus, however, had accomplished as yet but half his task. It remained to secure, by statesmanship or by arms, frontiers so solid that this great work of pacification should not be interrupted by attacks from without. In Europe, it was needful to fortify the barrier of the Rhine, to inclose the Alps within the Empire, and to carry the outposts of the legions as far as the Danube; in Asia, to bring Armenia under Roman influence, and to intimidate the Parthians; in Africa, to keep in check the nomadic tribes, and to re-open in that old world the highways of commerce known to Carthage and the Ptolemies. If we may believe an official document, all this was done with victories innumerable: "I have been," says Augustus, "twenty-one times proclaimed imperator; for the successes of my lieutenants the senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings to the gods, and eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices; in my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have followed my chariot." The new ruler was not so warlike; he had

little relish for war, and in the military history of his reign we see not battles and conquests, but a succession of police regulations upon a large scale. No sovereign ever more sincerely sought peace through war.

In the East, where submissive Hellenism left him little to do, he employed the time of his stay in determining the relations of the Empire with the Armenians and Parthians. On this side the Romans touched the Euphrates in Syria only, and, excepting this break, the entire frontier from Pontus to the Red Sea was protected by vassal states. Augustus had lately made sure of their fidelity—here, by changing the ruler, there, by bestowing favours, as in the case of Archelaos the Cappadocian, and Herod, the king of the Jews, whose domains he had extended. These changes made with a strong hand, the presence of the emperor himself, and the near neighbourhood of a Roman army, above all, the respect imposed by the wise and admirable government of an empire recently so agitated, had produced upon the Armenians and Parthians a profound impression, and they had laid down their arms without contest.

In Armenia reigned Artaxias, the son of that Artavasdes so unjustly treated by Antony,¹ and naturally hostile to the Romans. In the year 20 B.C., intrigues, of which we know nothing in detail—which are called by Tacitus a plot among the relatives of this prince, but in which we have reason to suspect the hand of Rome—hurled him from the throne, and deputies came to Augustus, begging him to give them as king Tigranes, another son of Artavasdes. This prince, brought up at Rome, would be nothing else than an imperial proconsul upon the throne of Armenia. Augustus at once sent him into Asia with Tiberius and an army. The army was unnecessary; the Armenians put Artaxias to death, and Tiberius, who expected fighting, had only to place the crown upon the head of this new vassal of Rome.

At the news of these events the Parthians became alarmed. Since his victories over Antony Phraates had passed through many vicissitudes. Twice driven from his kingdom by a competitor to whom, in case of reverses, Syria was always an asylum; twice

¹ See vol. iii. p. 521.

restored again by the Scythians, he felt himself surrounded by enemies, and trembled at the faintest clash of arms on the banks of the Euphrates. In the year 23, when his rival Tiridates made ready, in the Roman provinces, to invade Parthia for the third time, Phraates demanded his extradition. He obtained only the restoration of a son long captive among the Romans, and was required in return to promise the return of the standards taken from Crassus. For three years he forgot to fulfil his promises, but the events in Armenia recalled them to his mind, and Augustus beheld the Parthians, basely renouncing their glory, give back to him the standards and the captives that they had taken in war.

By its effect upon men's minds this success was worth more than a victory; Augustus

testified his gratitude to Phraates by rich presents. But there was perfidy hidden among these gifts. The emperor sent him a beautiful Italian, Thermusa



Phraates and Thermusa.¹

by name, who gained such influence over the king that, after having supplanted all her rivals and caused herself to be declared queen,² she persuaded Phraates to intrust all his children to Augustus. From that time forward Rome was in a position to respond to an invasion of the Parthians by plunging their kingdom into civil war. The successors of Augustus found the procedure wise, and often sent to the princes of the East presents of gold and silver vases of rich workmanship, costly stuffs, fine wines, but chiefly fair slave-girls.

The frontier of the Euphrates was, therefore, made secure by the four legions encamped in Syria³ and the vassal states along

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Bust of king Phraates. . . . ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ. . . . Bust of queen Musa or Thermusa, coiffed with the tiara. Silver coin. [The right of coining gold did not belong to the client states. The Parthian empire was not among these, but, in the interests of its traders whose gold was refused by the Romans, it only coined silver.—*Ed.*]

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3. Medals exist upon which is represented Thermusa as queen and goddess.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5. There was also a garrison at the passes between Syria and Cilicia.

the river banks, by that Tigranes whom Tiberius had crowned in Armenia, and most of all by the fair Italian woman who reigned in Ctesiphon for the advantage of Rome, and was taking the necessary measures to secure to her son Phraataces the affection and the crown of the old king. At Rome public opinion was expecting even more: the talk was of conquests that were to give the Empire the ocean for a frontier, so that there should be on the earth one ruler supreme over the nations, as in heaven one sovereign divinity, master of all. Propertius, Tibullus, and Horace for a moment forgot their love-songs to celebrate the heroes



Silver Vase, found in Georgia.¹

who were about to overleap the Bactrian ramparts, to strip from their perfumed chiefs the linen garments they wore; to subjugate the Seres who rode upon iron-clad horses, the Getae of icy climes, and the sun-searched Indian. Virgil shared in the general intoxication, and already beheld Augustus erecting triumphal columns at the two extremities of the world.²

But the emperor, wiser than his poets, contented himself with obtaining from the Parthians an act of deference which might be construed as an act of submission, and provided himself with guarantees against them by giving himself the means of interfering in their affairs. He had renewed the relations of Mark Antony with Kanichka or his successor, and this powerful king of Bactriana,

¹ This silver vase, cut in open-work upon a background of glass, was found in Georgia in 1871, and is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg.

² Propert., *Carm.*, III. iv. and xii.; IV. iii.; Tibullus, *Carm.*, IV. i.; Hor., *Carm.*, II. ix.; III. v.; *Epist.*, I. xii.; Virgil, *Georg.*, ii. 172; iii. 16.

who, says Strabo, gave law to six hundred princes on the two shores of the Indus, sent him at Samos a sumptuous embassy whose arrival made a great stir in the Empire, especially when, in the presence of Augustus, a philosopher who had come with the ambassadors took his place laughing upon the funeral pyre prepared for him at Athens.

Of more importance than the useless death of this conceited madman was the establishment of friendly relations with the Indian ruler, and no doubt with others, for the same policy was repeated all along the frontiers. In the Inscription of Ancyra Augustus enumerates complacently the nations who had sought his friendship, and boasts that he, first of all the Roman rulers, had received embassies from India; and he was right in being proud of this fact, for it concerned commerce as much as statesmanship. During the entire reign of Augustus order was never once seriously disturbed in the East. The expedition sent there (1 A.D.) under the command of C. Caesar, was less with the purpose of defending Syria, which was not threatened in any way, than with the design of attracting public attention to the young heir of Augustus, and gaining for him, at small cost, something of military renown. The king of Parthia came as far as the Euphrates to meet him, a procedure which must have secured the tranquility of those regions by showing that the two empires were closely united. Armenia was in some agitation; Caius entered this country, and after a few easy victories gave them Ariobarzanes the Median as king. Established between the Armenians and the Parthians, it was for the interest of the Medians to be on friendly terms with Rome. The alliance which they had offered Antony¹ Augustus now sought. After the death of Ariobarzanes the emperor allowed that prince's son to succeed him. The Median dynasty was thus established upon the throne of Armenia, but a national opposition seems to have arisen against these foreign rulers; Artavasdes was killed, and, thereupon, Augustus, abandoning an unsuccessful policy, gave to the Armenians a descendant, real or pretended, of their former kings, one Tigranes, whose name is not given by ancient historians, but who appears on the *Monument of Ancyra* (No. 27).

¹ Vol. iii. p. 519.

An event which made less noise than these royal catastrophes, but is for us more significant, was the death of Lollius, whom the emperor had appointed as tutor to his grandson. This counsellor sold his influence to the Eastern kings and in a short time had amassed a scandalous fortune; the king of Parthia, from whom he probably sought to extort too much, denounced him to Caius, and being at once disgraced, Lollius took poison.¹ We infer from this that if proconsular fashions were not

Augustus and Artavasdes.²

entirely forgotten, it was, nevertheless, under great risks that they were now practised.

In Judæa, Herod had died four years before the commencement of our era, and Archelaos, his son, whom he had designated as his successor, dared not take the title of king without the emperor's consent, who granted him merely that of ethnarch, with Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa. His tyranny causing violent tumults, Augustus required him to appear and answer to the accusations of his subjects, upon which the emperor exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, where he died (6 A. D.). While Judæa was periodically deluged with blood by the violent conduct of her petty kings and her factions, Syria was developing an undisturbed prosperity, in the enjoyment of the profound peace which the Roman power bestowed. Won at last by the contrast, the Jews asked and obtained the annexation of their country to the imperial territory. The change was most simple; a king and court, with endless intrigues and exactions, disappeared from Palestine,

Coin of Herod Archelaos.³

and, instead, there was a Roman procurator, having the *jus gladii*, although placed under the supreme authority of the governor of Syria. The country preserved its religion, its municipal liberties, and its judicial rights, with the single exception that its

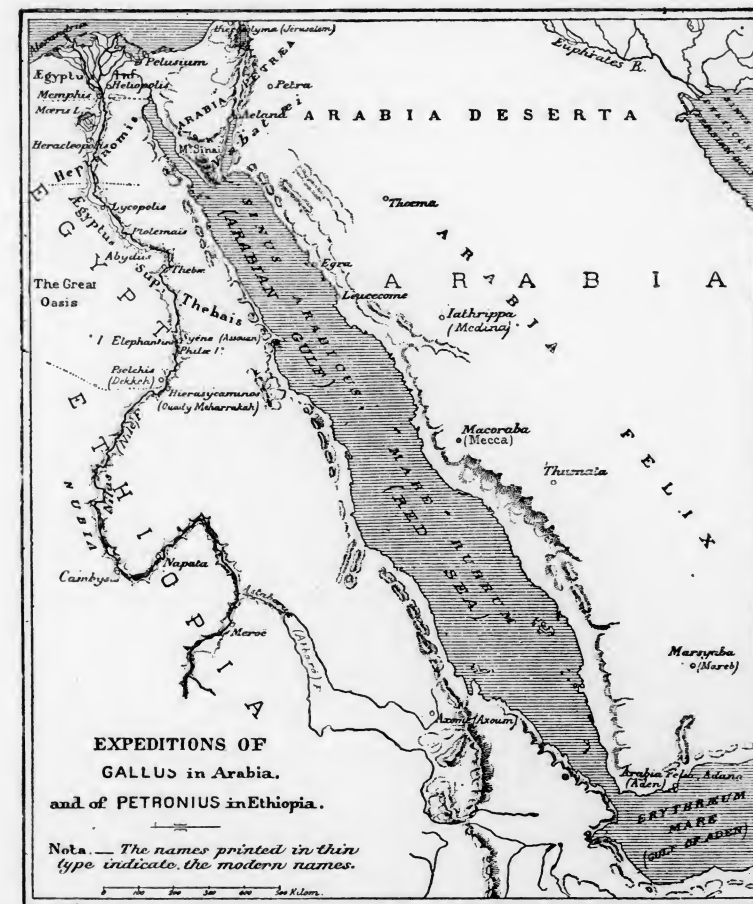
¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 101-2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix. 58.

² ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. Laureled head of Augustus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΥΑΣΔΟΥ. Diademed head of Artavasdes II. Unique denarius in the British Museum, published in the *Dict. de Numism.*, i. p. 437, No. 930.

³ ΗΡΩΔΑΟΥ. Bunch of grapes. On the reverse, a helmet and ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. Bronze coin.

magistrates could not execute the death penalty without the sanction of the procurator. This was a precaution against local animosities and a safeguard for the condemned.

In the southern part of the Empire a few wars had occurred



Map for the Expedition of Gallus and Petronius (p. 102).

before and during the sojourn of Augustus in the East. Every year numerous fleets traversed the Red Sea on their way to India, and, navigating a dangerous sea, had need of ports of shelter along the route. Augustus formed the design of subjugating the nations

along these shores, and of laying hands upon Arabia Felix, which the ancient world believed to be full of marvellous riches. In 24 B.C. Ælius Gallus set out from Egypt with 10,000 soldiers, guided by a Nabathæan chief.¹ These Arabs, whose capital was the commercial centre of the peninsula, were interested in making the expedition fail. Gallus, deceived by his guide, wandered for six months through the desert; he, however, took several places and penetrated till within two days' journey of "the Frankincense country;" but disease and lack of provisions compelled him to retrace his steps.²

Meanwhile, the Candace or queen of Ethiopia, believing Egypt deprived of troops, invaded it and captured Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ (22 B.C.). Petronius, with but 10,000 men, drove out the Ethiopians, followed them a distance of 970 miles,³ as far as their capital, Napata, which he took. A second attack made by the Candace upon a post that the prefect had fortified, five days' journey southward from Philæ, was so unsuccessful that the queen consented to pay tribute and to send ambassadors to Augustus. He received them at Samos, whither came also the Indian and Seythian deputies bringing gifts.⁴ Content with having made the Ethiopians feel that the deserts did not place them beyond reach, he had the prudence to remit the tribute.

This double expedition on the two shores of the Arabian Gulf had not succeeded; it had, however, carried the Roman name and a salutary fear of Rome into these regions, and the commerce of the Red Sea became more active in consequence.⁵

The Fasti Capitolini place in this year (21 B.C.) a triumph of

¹ We follow the chronology of Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* Strabo, however, who was the friend of Gallus, places the expedition of the Candace at the same time with that of the Romans into Arabia. These difficulties are not irreconcilable. Gallus, who left Egypt in the year 24, passed the summer and winter at Leuce Come, wandered for six months of the year 23 in the deserts, returning at last in two months to the shore of the Red Sea, may very easily have been absent from Egypt until the beginning of the year 22.

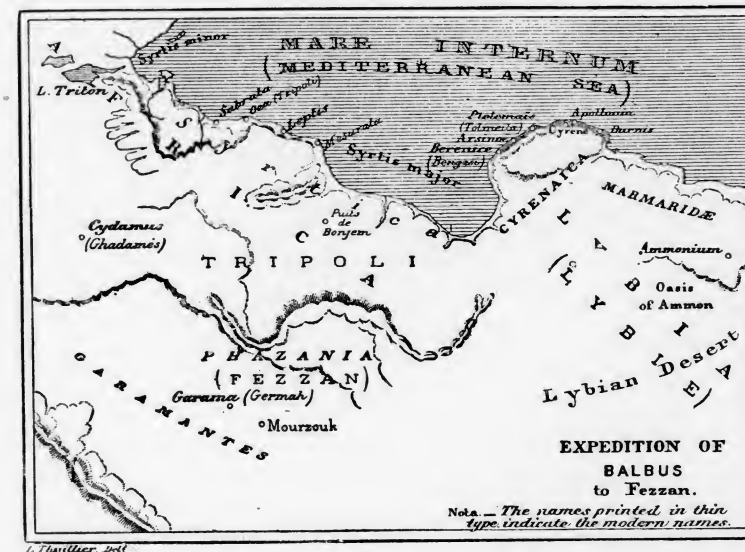
² Gosselin places the city of Marsyaba, where the Roman general turned back, two days' journey from Mecca: M. Fresnel, in the heart of Hadramant (*Journal Asiat.*, July and Sept., 1840); M. Noël des Vergers and M. Caussin de Perceval incline to Yemen.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 29.

⁴ Strabo, xvii. p. 821, and xv. p. 719.

⁵ The emperor's grandson Caius carried the Roman standards into Arabia later, and as far as the shores of the Red Sea, where, if we may believe Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, ii. 67), he recognized fragments of Spanish vessels which had been wrecked there.

Sempronius Atratinus, for successes in Africa, and in the year 19 another African triumph, decreed to Cornelius Balbus.¹ This African proconsul had followed the track of the early Carthaginian traders as far as Fezzan,² a great oasis which has always been the chief market of northern Africa. It is the meeting-place of caravans from Morocco and from Egypt, from Soudan and



Map for the Expedition of Cornelius Balbus.

from the shores of the Mediterranean, and is said to contain a hundred villages. Balbus united this region to the province of Africa,³ and at the present day may still be seen, on the frontier at the well of Bonjem, a Roman structure built of enormous blocks of stone, once a station of the imperial troops.⁴

¹ Florus (iv. 12) speaks of a successful expedition of Quirinius against the Marmarides and the Garamantes.

² The capital of this region, Mourzouk, is thirty-five days' journey from Tripoli. Cf. Ritter, *Erskunde*, Part I. 3, 989. Captain Lyon (*A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa*), who set out from Mourzouk the 9th of February, 1820, reached the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, on the 18th of March, having rested six days while on the way (chap. ix.).

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 3. The two principal places taken by Balbus were Cydamus (Ghadames), eighty leagues from Tripoli, and Garamah (Germah), much more remote.

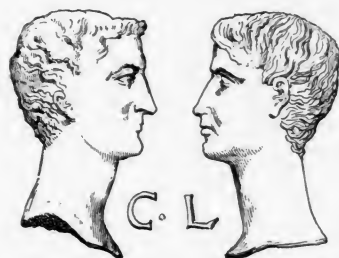
⁴ The inscription upon it bears the name of Septimius Severus. (Lyon's *Narrative*, vii. 240.) This traveller found, in 1819, the great oasis extremely arid, but he regards it as the necessary stage for those persons seeking to pass through from Tripoli to Soudan.

In Africa, then, the Romans made their way across the desert to renew the early commercial relations of Carthage, the Cyrenæans, and Egypt with the markets of the interior, and their fleets ventured to traverse the Indian Ocean. Upon this frontier the policy of Augustus was altogether commercial, active, and enterprising, and its results were for these provinces a prosperity greater and more durable than at any other point of the Empire.



Coin of a Proconsul of the Cyrenaica.¹

which caused peace to prevail so long upon the banks of the Euphrates. And so, when, after three well-occupied years (21-19), he returned to Rome, which Egnatius Rufus had lately been agitating in the name of the liberty of the comitia, the people, forgetting the complaints and counsels of this designing person, whom they had for a moment followed as the crowd follows any curiosity, hastened to welcome Augustus, and offered him the consulship for life and the censorship under the new



Caius and Lucius Caesar.²

Nothing had ever flattered the Roman pride so much as this apparent submission of an enemy reputed invincible. In memory

¹ Bronze coin of L. FABRICIUS PATELLIVS, first proconsul of the Cyrenaica after the division of the provinces made by Augustus in the year 27 B.C.

² From a bronze coin struck at Corinth.

³ Suet., *Octav.*, 21; Justin, XLII. v.; Hor., *Epist.*, I. xii.; *Carm.*, I. xi.; II. iv. 8.

In Asia, where he found himself in the presence of old states whose resources he knew, he had been firm, but reserved, using diplomacy rather than force; and he had laid the foundations of that system of

pacific influence and intervention

designated of *præfectura morum*; then repeated in Horace's verses that the queen of Ethiopia was a fugitive, Armenia almost wholly subdued, the Dacians conquered, and how, in the presence of a court formed by the deputies of all nations, a Parthian chief knelt before Augustus and accepted a crown from the emperor's hands.³

of this bloodless victory an arch of triumph was erected to him who had delivered the captive eagles, and the standards themselves were placed in the temple of Mars the Avenger, where all kings soliciting the friendship of Augustus were required to attest their fidelity in presence of these reconquered trophies.¹

Augustus was now at the height of his prosperity. Peace prevailed along the frontiers, anarchy had been subdued at home, and good laws with wise reforms justified his power. Around him were grouped a numerous family and many men of genius. Octavia was yet alive; Julia, at this time the wife of Agrippa, and protected against her own vices by her husband's virtues, was the mother of sons and daughters; two of these princes, Caius and Lucius, adopted by their grandfather, were destined to continue the imperial race;² and Livia as yet had not begun to regard them as the rivals of her son Tiberius. The latter up to this time had exhibited only his talents, while Drusus, beloved of the people and the army, was about to have the opportunity of displaying his courage.

Some clouds, however, were beginning to gather on this brilliant horizon. Marcellus was dead, and poetry was veiled in mourning, for the epic bard lay dying (19 B.C.) at Brundisium, and Tibullus shortly followed him to the tomb. But the death of Marcellus,



Lucius Caesar.³

¹ See, in vol. iii. p. 750, the ruins of this temple, and p. 749, the restoration which has been made of it.

² One born in 20 the other in 17 B.C.

³ Lucius Caesar, son of Agrippa; statue found at Telesia, near Capua (Museum of Naples).



Thrace, Rhœmetalees, called the legions to his aid against the Bessi and Sauromatæ (17 and 16 B.C.)¹ Augustus, although taken by surprise, acted with resolution. He re-opened the temple of Janus, and dividing, as he had before done, the administration of the Empire with his son-in-law Agrippa, who was at this time associated with him for five years in the tribunitian power, he sent the latter into Syria, to keep watch that this tumult should not be echoed in the East. He himself, a few months later, went into Gaul (16 B.C.). Upon his approach, the Sicambri retired into their forests after having given hostages, and the imperial lieutenants in Germany, Pannonia, Noricum, and Thrace, everywhere resuming the offensive, subdued the revolt, or drove back the invaders across the Rhine and Danube. The lieutenant in Germany, Domitius Ahenobarbus, outstripping the boldest of his predecessors, even carried his eagles across the Elbe, making alliance with the inhabitants and erecting in their midst an altar to Augustus, for the purpose of attracting these people to a respect for the Empire and its divinities.² The altar of the Ubians was the sign erected by Rome on the banks of the Rhine to call about her the Germans of the west; that of Domitius, if it may last, will be a centre whence Roman influence will radiate throughout the region between the Elbe and the Oder (15 B.C.). On his return Domitius constructed across the marshy plains which lie between the Ems and the Weser the *Pontes longi*. With the sword the Romans gained battles; with fortresses and roads they secured the results of their military successes.

Between Gaul and Pannonia the frontier of the Empire was broken by the Alps, that fortress of Central Europe which was occupied by poor and savage mountaineers. Whatever they had not they took by violence, and their incursions desolated the rich plains which lay beneath them. We may remember the despair of the Helvetii, who decided to abandon their homes to escape from these attacks, which it was alike impossible to foresee and to avenge. The inhabitants of the Cisalpina were equally unfortunate. Augustus, to bring this to an end, despatched Drusus and Tiberius to subjugate the Rætians. The two brothers, setting out simultaneously from

¹ Dion, liv. 20. In the year 27 B.C. Crassus had triumphed over the Bessi and the Bastarnæ. (*Id.*, li. 24.)

² Dion, liv. 20.

Italy and from Gaul, met in Rætia, and the barbarians, pursued across their lakes and tracked over their mountains, yielded to Roman discipline.¹ As had been done by Agrippa in the case of the Cantabrians, these mountain tribes were torn from the country where they would have for ever remembered their past freedom, and only enough were left for the cultivation of the fields. The same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of Noricum and to the Taurisci.

Drusus the Elder.²

The conquerors at once became pioneers, laying out roads and building forts; and Augustus boldly threw out, beyond the mountains and the Rhine and but a short distance from the Danube, a great colony, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Communicating with Italy by a road through the country of the Grisons, and built on the bank of a stream, the Lech, which falls into one of the two great rivers of Germany and rises near the other, the capital of the new provinces was well situated to guard the most vulnerable part of the Roman frontier on the side of Germany.³ Lower down upon the Danube, at the point where Noricum touches Pannonia, a very strong place, Carnuntum, was built, to



Drusus the Elder.

¹ Hor., *Carm.*, iv. 14; Strabo, vii. 292.

² *Cabinet de France*. A gift of the Duc de Luynes. This very expressive head, found in Samnium in 1848, has for some time borne the name of Drusus, son of Livia. This designation is far from certain, but from its style we may fix the date of this bronze in the first century of the Christian era, and may regard this personage as a contemporary of Augustus.

³ Rætia and Vindelicia were not considered provinces until the reign of Tiberius. (Vell. Patere., ii. 39.)

hold in check the two provinces.¹ Augustus, from Gaul, superintended these important operations, being detained there by the necessity of perfecting the organization of that country.² When he left Gaul he appointed Drusus to the charge of the province; and so it was the emperor's son, one of the heirs of his power, who now took up his abode in these rude countries to protect them against the barbarians, an instance of solicitude for new subjects which had never before been shown in the history of Rome.

At the opposite extremity of the Empire Agrippa was visiting Judæa, where he sacrificed in the temple of Jerusalem; he also made a tour through all the oriental provinces. Details are wanting of his labours; historians only speak of Berytus, raised by him from its ruins, and of a solemn judicial decision which put an end to the long quarrels of the Jews and Greeks in the cities of Asia.³ But we know his activity and his devotion to the public good, and we may be sure that this skilful administrator and formidable warrior employed usefully, and for the welfare of the provinces, this sojourn of four years in the East. Not once was he obliged to resort to the sword, although he made himself master of a kingdom. A certain Scribonius, who gave himself out to be the grandson of the great Mithridates, had seized upon the Cimmerian Bosphorus, where, some time later, he had been murdered by his subjects. To put an end to disturbances which interfered with the commercial transactions of which that state was the centre, the Roman general decided to unite it to the kingdom of Pontus, and accordingly ordered Polemon to take possession of the Bosphorus. Augustus, for the sake of having peace upon the frontiers, sought to fortify the petty states, vassals of the Empire, with as much care as, in early days, the senate had bestowed upon enfeebling them. The inhabitants in this case resisted, but the news that Agrippa was approaching Sinope with a fleet under the command of Herod, sufficed to make them lay down their arms. Prompted by his position, which made him and his children the

¹ The date is not known, but in the year 5 A.D. it served as a military depôt. (Vell. Patere., ii. 100.)

² Many of the colonies of Augustus in Spain and Gaul date from this epoch. (Dion, liv. 23 and 25.)

³ Strabo, xvi. 756; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 2.

heirs of the emperor, to promote by his own example the habits suited to a monarchy, Agrippa refused the triumph which was decreed to him. His conduct gave the example for the other generals, and the most brilliant victories no longer brought the triumphal insignia to those who had gained them. We ought not, however, to regard this moderation as unworthy flattery, nor

Augustus.¹

to see ridiculous vanity in the ruler who, himself, went up to the Capitol upon the news of his lieutenants' victories. In this nation of soldiers the military idea had been over-mastered by the religious: for them the real conqueror was the emperor who had obtained the favourable auspices, and not the general who had fought in the field. Many, it is true, no longer gave credence to the idea of divine favour attested by the entrails of the victims, but still the custom lasted.

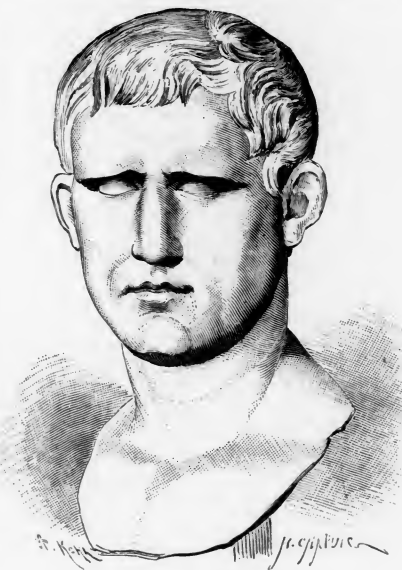
The modesty of Agrippa was suggested by that of the ruler himself: on his return

¹ Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

to the Curia to give an account to the senate there assembled of all that he had done since his departure from Rome.

Peace being everywhere restored or maintained, the two chiefs of the Empire returned to Rome at about the same time (13 B.C.). Augustus now accepted the office of pontifex maximus, and Agrippa was continued for five years in the tribunitian authority. But the busy life of this great minister was nearing its end. Being sent against the Pannonians, who were in revolt, he had only to

appear and at once receive their submission; and he was returning when an attack of illness arrested him in Campania. Augustus, who received the news while witnessing public games, hastened to the spot, but arrived too late to see his son-in-law alive (March, 12 B.C.). The emperor's grief was deep, for he lost in Agrippa less a lieutenant than a friend and indispensable colleague before whom all ambition held its peace. Nothing had so much contributed to the security

Agrippa.¹

of the new government as the example of this Roman of the old school, as rich in valour and renown as the greatest men of the Republic, but effacing himself willingly before the ruler and giving him all the glory. Posterity, which has placed Mæcenas above the rest, has been unjust towards this indefatigable worker, for whom power was but the obligation to act unremittingly for the public good. But if, since the battle of Actium, the Empire had been at last governed and no longer given up to pillage, a great share in that change must be ascribed

¹ Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

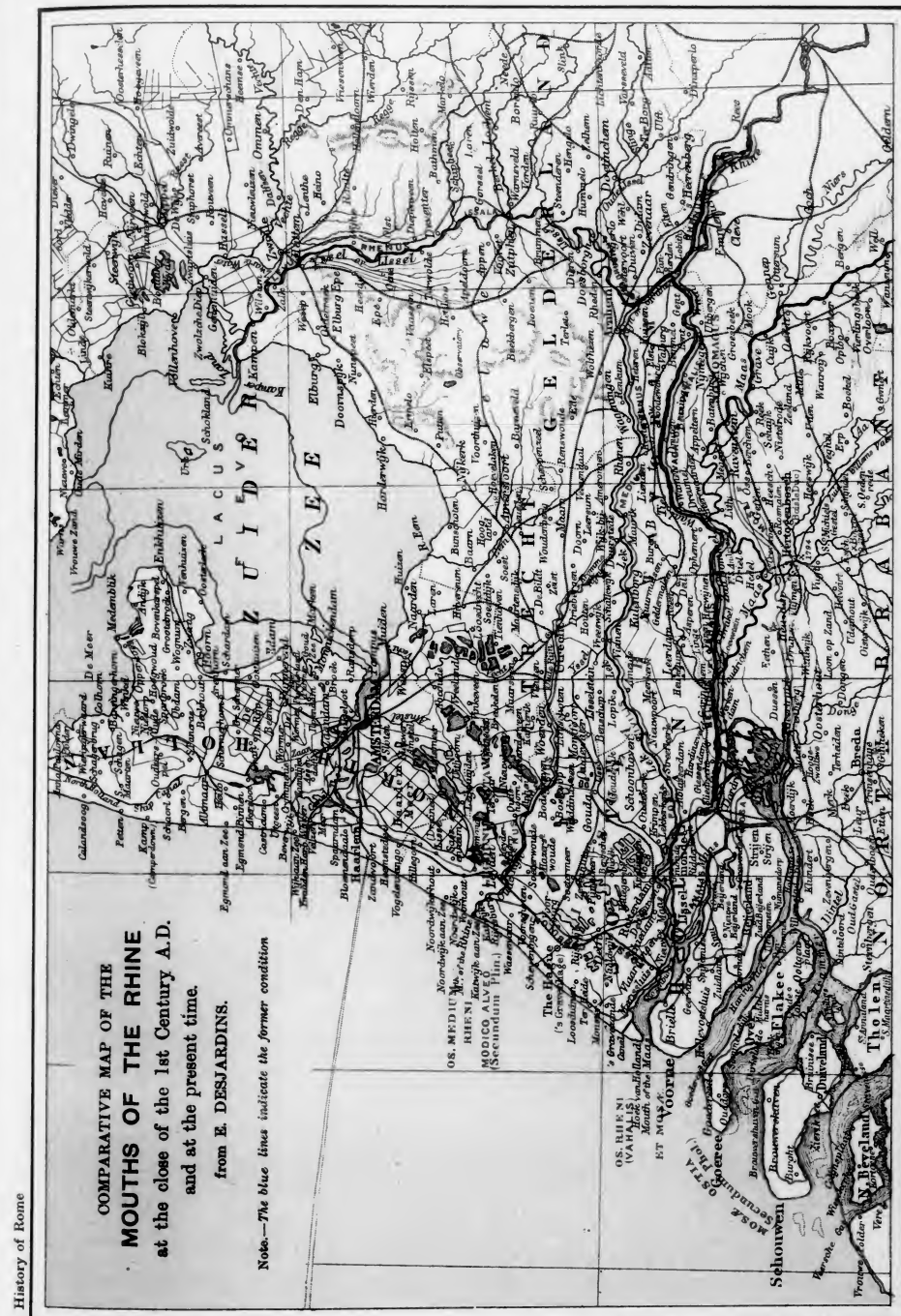
to the man whom we find always busy in the promotion of the public interest. Let him then remain associated with the fame of Augustus, as he was with the labours of the emperor, whether in the senate, in magistracies, in council, or upon fields of battle!¹

The death of Agrippa left in the imperial family a void which could not be filled, and marked the beginning of that second period of long reigns which is so often sad and enfeebled. From that day solitude and mourning constantly deepened around Augustus. Already Mæcenas seems to be in disgrace,² and Horace refuses the overtures made him by the master of the world. Surrounded by intrigues and plots, persuaded into dangerous wars, smitten with a great public disaster, Augustus was destined to see his near relatives die one after another, or live to cover his house with infamy, and at seventy-six years of age to be left, the survivor of his children, friends, and great men, alone with Tiberius in the world.

The work, roughly sketched out during the second sojourn of Augustus on the other side of the Alps, had need to be taken up again and carried forward. Drusus, left in Gaul to complete the census and keep watch upon the Germans, attached the provincials to himself by his affable manners, and brought them to make the demonstration of which mention has been made (p. 23)—the erection of a temple to Rome and Augustus. As the submissiveness of Gaul left him without anxiety on their account, he crossed the Rhine, carefully inspected the right bank, constructed forts to guard the fords, and, these precautions being completed, prepared for a serious expedition. The extensive plain of northern Germany is intersected by many rivers—the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe—which, running northward, form a series of lines of defence against an enemy coming from the Rhine. But, should this enemy

¹ Dion, liv. 28. He was fifty-one years of age. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 8.) Augustus pronounced his funeral oration, and caused him to be buried in the imperial tomb.

² Tacitus, at least, says this (*Ann.*, iii. 30): *Etate propecta, speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit*; and he adds a fine sentence in regard to the fatality of power which cannot last for ever, and the disgust which seizes princes who have given all and favourites who have obtained all. Pliny, much more simply and truly, says (vii. 52) that Mæcenas suffered for a long time from a nervous malady, and from a feverish condition, which, "during the last three years of his life, never allowed him an hour's sleep." It is plain that a counsellor in such a condition of health could have been but rarely consulted. How often the grand style of Tacitus conceals emptiness or error!



arrive by sea, these rivers give him access to the interior of the country. Drusus took this latter route, which brought him rapidly upon the rear of the most tumultuous of the German tribes. To avoid the dangerous navigation along the Batavian coast, he made a canal (*Fossa Drusiana*) from the Rhine to the Yssel,¹ by which his vessels passed through to the Flevo Lacus (Zuyder-Zee), whose outlet was into the North Sea. The Frisii having allowed themselves to be readily gained over, Drusus boldly sailed up the Ems, where he defeated the Brueteri in a naval engagement, and then advanced as far as the mouths of the Weser, where his vessels, stranded at low tide, would have been destroyed by the Chauci had not the Frisii, who were following his movements by land, arrived in time to relieve him.

This first expedition either frightened or persuaded into alliance with Rome the northern tribes, long hostile to their neighbours of the south; among others, the Chauci, who gained by their defection this eulogium from Tacitus: "The most noble among the German tribes, who support their greatness by right conduct." But the Sicambri, Cherusci, and Suevi, forgetting their former quarrels, united their forces against the invading Romans. The Catti refused to join the league, a powerful people whose infantry was renowned. "Others go forth to battle," says Tacitus, "but the Catti to war." The Sicambri, to punish what they regarded as treason, invaded the country of the Catti. Drusus seized the occasion; he threw a bridge across the Rhine near the mouth of the Lippe, an operation since Caesar's time of no great difficulty; and a second time he penetrated as far the Weser. Arrested on the banks of this river by a lack of provisions, he retired; but his return was a succession of conflicts, and, near the sources of the Lippe, the Roman army, hemmed in on every side, seemed near some great disaster. The barbarians, who had burned alive twenty centurions, were already agreeing upon a division of the spoils: to the Sicambri, the captives; to the Suevi, the silver and gold; to the Cherusci, the horses. A vigorous effort delivered the legions

¹ Upon his return he made search for the Pillars of Hercules, a confused tradition perhaps left upon these shores by some Carthaginian navigator. "Drusus was not lacking in boldness," says Tacitus, "but Oceanus guarded the secrets of Hercules and his own. Thereafter, no man made the attempt; it was judged more devout and reverential to believe in the works of the gods than to investigate them."

and dispelled the barbarian dreams of victory. Drusus built here the fortress Aliso (Hamm, or Elsen, near Paderborn), and left a garrison in it, to serve as a point of support for subsequent operations; and a second fort, built nearer the Rhine, united this outpost with the main line of the Roman defences (11 B.C.).

By the recent subjugation of the Rhæti and Vindelici, Rome had approached the Danube, but this river still belonged to the barbarians. During the campaigns of Drusus in Germany they rose in arms, and from Noricum to the Euxine all the country was in a blaze. In Thrace, Augustus, to reward the fidelity of the Odrysi, had given up to them some lands of the Bessi which had been consecrated to Bacchus. A priest of this god made an appeal to arms, beginning by the murder of one of the two sons of Cotys and the expulsion of the other's tutor, Rhæmetalees, who was driven as far as the Chersonesus. The whole of Thrace was lost and even Macedon invaded. L. Piso, a skilful general, delivered these provinces after an arduous struggle, and Rhæmetalees, being declared king, received the injunction to watch more carefully over the peace of these regions. It would seem that he acquitted himself successfully in this task, for later he was in a position to furnish useful assistance against the Dalmatians and Pannonians.

In this quarter the war was conducted by Tiberius. In the year 12 B.C. he devastated the whole country of Pannonia, disarmed the population, and sold the bravest as slaves. But a year later this people had recovered weapons and warriors; the Dalmatians, excited by this general awakening among the barbaric nationalities, also broke off their relations with Rome, and Augustus, in alarm, again saw war at the gates of Italy.² Tiberius dispelled the danger by his activity, and deservedly shared the honours decreed to Drusus for the successes across the Rhine.

The repeated defeats of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, the friendship of the great nation of the Scordisci, and the vigilance

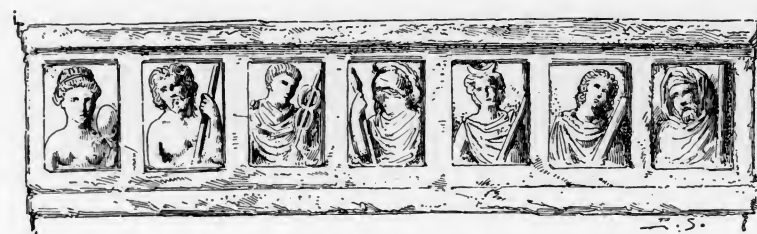


Rhæmetalees.¹ broke off their relations with Rome, and Augustus, in alarm, again saw war at the gates of Italy.² Tiberius dispelled the danger by his activity, and deservedly shared the honours decreed to Drusus for the successes across the Rhine.

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΚΟΥ (of the king Rhæmetalees). The medals of this prince have the prænomen of Caius Julius and the head of Augustus.

² It was on this occasion that Dalmatia was made one of the imperial provinces. (Dion, liv. 34.)

of Rhæmetalees giving promise of a lasting peace along the Danube, Augustus formed the design of visiting and examining the other frontier, namely, that of the Rhine, and in the year 12 B.C. he went into Gaul a third time, accompanied by Tiberius and Drusus. The case must have been very grave to bring the three chiefs of the Empire to visit this province at the same time. Augustus expected, by his presence, to increase the affection of the Gauls for Rome,¹ and he also wished to determine the measures which should be adopted in carrying on that war in Germany which was always successful and always unprofitable. Notwithstanding the pacific character of his intentions, he knew perfectly well that the Empire could not halt at the Rhine. To remain the peaceful master of the left bank it was needful to rule far



Altar at Mayence (details).

across the river. There were then two sorts of operations to be carried on: one class defensive, to render the position on the Rhine absolutely impregnable; the other offensive, to carry terror into the midst of the German tribes, and render them, if not obedient, at least quiet. Augustus concerned himself especially with the former. With the intention of subjecting this frontier to a more active surveillance he separated the Rhine valley from Belgica, and formed two governments, Germania Superior and Inferior.² To defend the passage of the river he constructed a line of fifty forts, resting on Mayence, Bonn, and Xanten. Opposite

¹ Gallic auxiliaries served in the army of Drusus, among whom the Nervii distinguished themselves. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxix.) After the defeat of Varus, the Belgæ offered to attack the Germans and avenge his death. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 43.)

² We have not the exact date of this partition, but it appears to have taken place in the time of Augustus, for in the year 9 A.D. Cologne had, like Lyons, an altar to Rome and Augustus, with an elected *sacerdos*, which leads us to suppose a provincial organization. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 39, 57.) Upper Germany extended from the Aar to the Moselle, Lower Germany from the Moselle to the sea.

Mayence fortifications were begun upon the Taunus, which were destined to extend across the entire Hercynian Forest. Then where the river growing wider becomes at the same time shallower and less rapid, a second line of defence was established behind the first, by entrenched posts upon the Meuse.¹ To these measures were joined the founding of Gallic colonies in Suabia, an open territory through which the Germans might come, between the Rhine and Danube, into the Roman possessions. Emigration, encouraged by the governors of Gaul, brought into the *agri decumates*, or tithe-paying lands, a crowd of adventurers, who



Altar of Mayence.³

were also admirable points whence to take the offensive, for from their camps the legions could be flung into the very heart of Germany.

Augustus was surprised in the midst of these labours by rumours of war breaking out upon the double frontier which he believed already pacified. The Dalmatians revolted; the Dacians, crossing the Danube upon the ice, invaded the Pannonian territory; and the Catti, now in concert with the Sicambri, because the

¹ Dion, liv. 33, and Florus, iv. 12. The works upon the Meuse mentioned by Florus probably belong to a later epoch.

² Tac., *Germ.*, 29.

³ A stone altar, found at Mayence in 1574, and now in the Library of Hessen Cassel.

Romans were endeavouring to compel them to change their abode, again took arms. The two sons of Livia hastened against these enemies, with whom they were already acquainted. Tiberius readily gained a victory over the Dalmatians and subdued their turbulence, compelling them to turn their activity in the direction of mining.¹ In the Danubian provinces he posted his garrisons so skilfully that peace was re-established there for fifteen years. The Roman merchants came thither in crowds, and brought with them the manners and language of Italy. "A knowledge of the discipline and even of the speech of Rome," says an eye-witness, "was spread abroad among the Pannonians; many cultivated letters and familiarized themselves with intellectual exercises."² Sirmium, Siscia, and Salone were the principal centres whence radiated the Roman influence.

Drusus, on his part, was resolved to make a province of Germany also; aided by barbarian auxiliaries, he subjugated the Catti, and then falling upon the Marcomanni on the banks of



German Auxiliary.

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 110.

² Florus, iv. 12.

the Main, he drove them eastward. This success set free the right bank of the Rhine opposite Mayence. To deal a blow at the northern tribes, as well as at those of central Germany, he traversed the country of the Cherusci as far as the Elbe, raised a trophy upon its bank, and received there the ambassadors of the Cimbri who came to beg for his friendship. The Cimbri and the Romans had met once before, upon the banks of the Po; they now met face to face again on the remotest confines of Germany: such progress had been made in a century by the arms of Rome! Drusus sent the Cimbrian deputies to his father, and imperial Rome saw these formidable enemies of the Republic bring an offering to Augustus, as to a god, of the instruments used by them in their sacrifices.¹

Winter approaching, Drusus was returning to his headquarters, when he received a mortal injury by the fall of his horse. Tiberius, who was then at Pavia, crossed the Alps in the greatest haste, and arrived in time to receive his brother's last embraces. This valiant prince was but thirty years of age, and his death was an irreparable misfortune to the emperor. Drusus had specially devoted himself to the conquest of Germany, a difficult task, which, had he succeeded, as perhaps he might, would have given Gaul a very needful rampart. At Rome men talked of his republican sentiments,² as they did of those of Marcellus and Agrippa, and, later, of Germanicus, and of all those placed by their birth beside the throne; it is the old policy, and yet for ever new, of heirs presumptive, or, as in the present case, of those who wish to make use of them. Augustus was right in relying upon the fidelity of Drusus no less than upon his ability, and even in regarding him as the protector of the children of Julia. He had caused to be erected in honour of Drusus a triumphal arch, which is yet standing in Rome at the entrance of the Appian Way. Stripped of the marble which covered it, this arch has the sad and serious aspect suited to a monument of victory which so soon became a monument of universal mourning.

In the year 8 B.C. Augustus visited Gaul a fourth time, accompanied by Caius Cæsar, the eldest of Agrippa's sons, and by

¹ Strabo, vii. 203.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 33; ii. 41, 82; Suet., *Claud.*, 1.

Tiberius, whom he had lately compelled to marry Julia. An odious act of treachery caused the renewal of hostilities. All the German tribes with the exception of the Sicambri had sent



Arch of Drusus.¹

ambassadors to Augustus, but using this exception as a pretext, he had refused the desired peace. Upon this the Sicambri, to avoid causing a war, followed the general example, and the emperor, as soon as he had all the chiefs of Germany in his power,

¹ From a photograph.

seized them and imprisoned them in various Gallic cities, where, from grief and shame, they ended their lives by suicide.¹ Victory was on the side of injustice; Tiberius, at the head of the legions of Drusus, conquered the Sicambri, and transplanted forty thousand barbarians into Gaul. A part of the Catti, driven from their own



Julia, daughter of Augustus.³

lands by civil war, obtained permission to establish themselves in the Insula Batavorum, on the single condition of putting their valour at the service of the Empire.²

Roman policy thus filled the left bank of the Rhine with inhabitants and sought to depopulate the right bank : a useless measure, for these tribes, crowded back upon themselves, were sure soon to return to the places whence they had been driven out ; a dangerous measure, moreover, for, with the establishment of the Germans in Gaul

begins that system of colonization of the frontiers which was to give the barbarians the duty of guarding the gates of the Empire. The historic mission imposed upon Rome by Caesar's conquest was to bear Roman civilization to the Rhine; in Germanizing eastern Gaul, Augustus failed in this duty, and his policy, continued by later emperors, rendered possible the

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 21; Tac., *Germ.*, 29.

² Dion, lv, 6,

³ Bust in the Museum of Naples, No. 141 of the catalogue.

success of the invasions which have rendered German the Gallic bank of the great river.¹

The victories of Tiberius seemed to have quite subjugated the Germans. Augustus decreed himself the honour of extending the pomerium as he had enlarged the limits of the Empire (8 B.C.).² For the third time he closed the temple of Janus, and during twelve years these gates, whence war issued forth, were never once opened. It was amidst this silence of armies that He was born who was to reveal the glory of God in the highest, and upon earth peace, good will towards men.³

This universal peace was not, however, so complete that the emperor could fear for his legions the dangerous idleness of camp-life. In his anxiety to consolidate the Roman power upon the Rhine and Danube he had almost forgotten the Euphrates, when troubles in Armenia and the intervention of the Parthians in the affairs of that kingdom, which Rome was bound to protect, obliged him, if he would not see undone the work of his best years, to send his grandson Caius into the East (1 B.C.—4 A.D.). The young prince first visited Egypt, then, with a considerable army, traversed the Nabathæan country, Palestine, and Syria, and entered Armenia, where he placed upon the throne a vassal of the Empire. This was a new reconnoitring of the oriental frontiers, like that made by Augustus in the year 30 B.C., and a second time in 20, and again by Agrippa five years later. It was without serious danger, for, as the price of abandoning Armenia to the Empire, the Parthian king, son of that crafty Italian woman given by Augustus to Phraates, asked one thing only: that his



Phraataces.†

¹ The Germans applaud this policy; in these colonists they recognized the pioneers of future Germanic invasions. (Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, p. 55.) During my term of office I made all the efforts which the law did not prohibit to replace German by French in the primary schools of the German cantons of Lorraine. Unfortunately, the local clergy believed it their interest to oppose these measures.

² Vell. Paterc., ii. 97; Dion, lv. 6.

³ The date of Christ's birth is in the year of Rome 747, according to Fisher, Ideler, and Reynold; 749 according to Clinton and Zumpt. S. Luke and S. Matthew represent that Jesus was born about two years before the death of Herod, who certainly died in 750. The Christian era ought, therefore, to be set back four or five years.

⁴ King Phraataces, crowned by Victory, from a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

brothers be kept in Rome.¹ A few years later the incestuous and parricidal Phraataces was massacred, together with his mother, by his outraged subjects. Orodes, whom they proclaimed in his stead, soon showed himself so cruel that a fresh assassination relieved them of him, and their deputies came to Rome to seek a king. Augustus gave them Vonones. A monarchy so disturbed as this could cause him no anxiety.

In Germany the legions also scoured the country every year to show the Roman eagles to the barbarians. In the years 4 and 5 A.D. Tiberius came again to take the command during two campaigns; he again advanced by land as far as the Elbe, while a fleet came round by sea, and he established his winter quarters in the heart of Germany. This innovation was more menacing than the periodical expeditions of the legions, for from the camps Roman influence was sure to spread among the neighbouring tribes. Officers and soldiers thrown into daily relations with the



Vonones, or Arsaces
XVIII. (Silver coin.)

barbarians would make, by the presence of civilization, a war upon their manners more dangerous to liberty than any blows struck upon the field of battle. Already many of their chiefs have made the journey to Rome, there to learn gentler manners and to receive the gold ring of the equestrian order. Some of their most conspicuous men have become completely Romanized, and Germany has entered on the path where Gallic nationality was lost. Will she pause in time? "It is already a province," writes a historian [Velleius] who served at that time in the legions of Tiberius.

While this work was going forward in the north, between the Rhine and Elbe, a great barbaric kingdom was rising in the south very near the Roman out-posts. One of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus (Marbod), who had been attracted to Rome like so many other Germans, had been much impressed with that skilful organization where all things were so admirably disposed to secure

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3. According to S. Martin, Phraates was yet alive, but Phraataces, the son of Therimusa, had assumed the title of king. The young prince murdered his father in the year 9 A.D. As the subject of Judea will occupy our attention later I have merely indicated that this province was reduced in the year 6.

power. He had profited by the lesson, and, returning home with the authority of a man who had seen great things and can also accomplish them, he seized the command; withdrawing his people from the banks of the Main, where he had suffered a defeat, he established them in Bohemia, a fortress, with its rampart of mountains, in the heart of the barbarian world. The Elbe, breaking its way through on the north, opened to him a gate in the direction of those countries where the legions had just established themselves; while from the tops of mountains descending to the waters of the Danube he could hear the war-cry of the Pannonians and behold the icy peaks of the Alps. Against his own people, who had proclaimed him king, Marbod had surrounded himself with a guard and had built for his residence a strong citadel, Marobudum (Budweis?); and against the neighbouring tribes he had,



The Young Tiberius in Military Costume
(Museum of Turin).

aided by numerous deserters from the Roman army, disciplined 70,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 cavalry, whom he exercised in continual engagements. Nearly all the Suevi had gathered around this chief who had so gloriously revived their ancient renown, and the Senones and even the Lombards recognized his supremacy.

Augustus was alarmed at this power, which Tiberius publicly

in the senate declared more threatening to Rome than had been either Pyrrhus or Antiochus, and he resolved to crush it before it reached its height. A formidable army of six legions, collected upon the Danube, was held in readiness to cross the river and attack Bohemia from the south, while the lieutenant in command in Upper Germany, making his way through the Hercynian forest with an equal force, should attack from the west. Tiberius had already arrived at Carnuntum, the Roman depôt in these regions, when a fearful insurrection broke out in his rear; it was the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, who, believing the legions already engaged with the Marcomanni, again rushed to arms. Rome escaped from this peril through the same fault which invariably ruined her enemies: Marbod consented to negotiate, and Tiberius was at liberty to turn his strength against the rebels (6 A.D.).

Their plan had been, however, well constructed. All the Roman troops in camp in their country had gone to join Tiberius; had they waited but a month longer the war with Marbod would have left not a soldier between the Danube and the Alps, that is to say, Italy would have been open to them. But they were anxious to prevent the departure of the auxiliary corps which they had been compelled to furnish, which, in the Roman camp, would have been so many hostages for the good behaviour of the nations whence they came. The first blows of the revolt were directed against the centres of Roman influence and power. The Pannonians fell upon Sirmium, the Dalmatians upon Salone; 800,000 men, the report said at Rome, were in arms, and skilful leaders directed the movement. They formed three corps: the first was left in charge of the country, the second invaded Macedon, the third was directed against Nauportus, which defended the entrance into Italy by way of the Julian Alps. Augustus was filled with alarm at this peril. "In ten days," he said to the senators, "the enemy may be under the walls of Rome;" and his fears were not exaggerated, for Italy was destitute of soldiers. A scarcity of food supervened, which soon became actual famine, and the emperor was forced to require all strangers to leave Rome. The Sardinians revolted, the Gætuli refused obedience to Juba, the mountaineers of Isauria desolated the adjacent provinces, and brigandage sprung

up everywhere.¹ The work of thirty years was shaken; the days of gloom had begun.

Prompt and energetic measures were taken. Levies were at once made, and the veterans and five legions that were out of the country were recalled. The knights and senators offered regular contributions for the whole duration of hostilities, and the rich, according to their wealth, furnished soldiers, one or more, from among their slaves, with six months' provisions. The shame of this desperate resource was concealed by giving them liberty together with their weapons. Tiberius employed the first year entirely in the defence of Italy; he established himself strongly at Siseia, where he barred the valley of the Save and waited for the legions from Asia, accompanied by auxiliaries from the Thracian Rhœmetalees, to make an important diversion by way of Mœsia. But the governor of this province failed in an attack upon the entrenchments of Mount Almus, and the Dacians, improving their opportunity, fell upon Mœsia, when he was obliged to return thither promptly. From the Danube to the very centre of Macedon bands of insurgents had free range throughout the country.

Augustus organized new measures: in the spring of the year 7 A.D. he dispatched to Tiberius his nephew Germanicus with a second army. Fifteen legions, that is to say, the most considerable force that had been seen together since the civil wars, were united. But this country, cut by rivers and by mountain chains, was admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, and a year went by without bringing results; the Romans had nothing to boast of save a success of Germanicus against the Dalmatians, and one victory which came near costing them five legions. Augustus, growing constantly more anxious, went, notwithstanding his seventy years, as far as Ariminum in order to be nearer the theatre of events. Unfortunately, these nations, who so gallantly stood against 200,000 Romans, had not reckoned on an enemy even more formidable than the legions—famine; the uncultivated fields produced no harvests, and a frightful mortality, caused by insufficient food, ravaged their ranks. Without having been conquered they submitted,² not

¹ Dion, iv. 28. He speaks (lvi. 43) of a Spanish brigand so much dreaded that Augustus offered a reward of 250,000 drachmas to any person delivering him up to justice.

² In Dalmatia resistance still continued at many points during the years 8 and 9.

surrendering their weapons, but letting them fall from their hands. "Why have you caused this revolt?" Tiberius asked of Bato, the Dalmatian chief. "Why do you send wolves to guard your flocks instead of dogs and shepherds?" was the bold reply; and the future emperor remembered the answer.

In order to smother beneath ruins the last sparks of the fire the country of Pannonia was subjected to a systematic devastation, and this savage execution was called "pacifying" the country. Many bands encamped in the mountains which separate Dalmatia from Pannonia, and remained there for a long time independent, or, in the language of Rome, brigands. The rest built up their cabins again, began to cultivate their fields, to refine their modes of living, and not being able to be free strove to make themselves Roman;¹ and Tiberius returned in triumph to Rome.

Thus war was at last banished from the regions occupied by industrious populations; and there was heard no longer, even upon the frontiers, the roaring of that stormy sea which still continued to break against the outposts of the Empire. The Roman people, intoxicated with their own grandeur, celebrated their apotheosis under the name of their city, and received from their poets the promise of limitless power and endless duration:

*His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi.²*

In the midst of this prosperity suddenly came the melancholy cry, presage of the future: Varus is dead!

The Romans had not forgotten in Germany their wonted prudence. The hereditary enmities of the different tribes had been turned to good account. All the dwellers along the coast had been received into alliance; upon the Rhine the Usipetes and the Tencteri were subjected; 40,000 Sicambri had been transported into Gaul, and the friendship of the Bructeri was believed to be secure. Fortified posts, resting upon the great fortress of Aliso at the sources of the Lippe, kept watch over the country; and at Cologne, as at Lyons, an altar had been erected at which the

Germanicus was in command there, and Augustus sent Tiberius thither in the year 9 A.D. (Dion, lvi. 11-16.)

¹ Upon this war, Dion, lv. 29, 33, and Velleius Paterculus, who took part in it, ii. 110-14.

² Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 278-279.

Germans were the priests and Rome was the divinity.¹ Here and there were formed some settlements to which the barbarians brought their rude productions, and began to learn Roman manners and customs. Their chiefs, attracted into the service, went to shed their blood for Rome; then returning to their tribes, with golden collars and weapons bestowed as tokens of honour, the reward of their valour, never ceased to relate the marvels that they had seen: to



Triumph of Tiberius.²

tell of Italy, where cities were as numerous as cabins with them; of Rome, populous as a world; and of those masters of the Empire who were worshipped like gods, because they had the power of gods. These accounts impressed the imagination of the barbarians,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 57, *Ara Ubiorum*.

² Museum of Vienna. A magnificent cameo, called *gemma Augustalis*, representing the triumph of Tiberius over the Pannonians. Their chief, Bato, who for seven years resisted Tiberius, is represented chained and crouching beneath the trophy. He wears trousers, like the inhabitants of Gallia Braccata; on the neck of the second prisoner is seen the Gallic torc.

and the divinity of Augustus appeared much more certain on the banks of the Weser than by the Tiber. "One day," says Velleius Paterculus, "we were encamped on the bank of the Elbe, the barbarians being on the opposite side. Suddenly one of their chiefs, an old man of majestic stature, unmoored a little boat, and advancing as far as the middle of the river called out that he desired to see Cæsar. His request being granted, he came across and landed; having surveyed Tiberius for a long time silently, 'Our warriors are mad,' he said; 'from a distance they honour you as gods, but close at hand they fear to confide in your good faith. For my part, I am grateful to you, O Cæsar, for the favour you have granted me. The gods whom hitherto I knew only by their renown, I have to-day looked upon; and it is the happiest day of my life.' He obtained permission to touch the general's hand, then, re-entering his boat, he returned across the river, his eyes fixed upon Cæsar until he had rejoined his companions on the opposite shore."¹

Time being left to do its work, the charm was sure to have its effect upon these simple people, impressed by grandeur of every kind. But the attempt was made to hasten their conversion, and violence recalled these children to the consciousness that they were men.

The position taken by Marbod and the revolt of the Pannonians had decided Augustus to hasten the work of transformation in Germany. Varus, formerly governor of Syria, was sent across the Rhine with this mission. A stern man, and habituated to the servile docility of the eastern nations,² Varus could not understand that it might be necessary to proceed cautiously. In the utmost confidence he published his edict, and went among the astonished barbarians to establish his tribunal, to call the cases before him, and to pass sentence in the name of laws which had been made upon the shore of the Tiber. The Germans had been accustomed themselves to revenge the injuries done them; Varus now reserved to himself the right of inflicting punishment. This interference in their affairs of men of the law, this talkative justice, these battles of words, always obscure to them and sometimes offensive,

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 109.

² Strabo, vii. 290; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 45. Some disturbances having broken out in Judæa, he had caused to be crucified along the highways 2,000 prisoners. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 10.)

exasperated these men whose judicial customs were shorter and simpler, because they took for granted that the truth would be told under oath; more solemn also, because both in action and symbols they made every case a drama, where the guilty person, the one who had been injured, and the whole assembly of the people each played an important part. If a murder had been committed—a man found dead lying on the open ground, a rope was put about the neck of the corpse and it was interred. After some days the body was exhumed, and all the men of the district, approaching in their turn, took hold of the rope and dragged the corpse along the ground. To the guilty man this was a most trying ordeal, for it was believed that the murdered man would point out his slayer, the blood starting from the wounds at the instant he laid hands upon the rope. The Germanic law had no corporal penalties, nor did it give life for life. Only the priest, acting in the name of Heaven, could smite a German, and only cowards and traitors were liable to the punishment of death; also sentence from the general assembly was required. In the case of murder a fine was the penalty. If, however (the Salic law provided), the murderer was too poor, and his own kindred could not or would not aid him, a dozen witnesses swore in his behalf that neither upon the ground nor under it had he more property than what he offered. Upon this he returned into his house, took up dust from the four corners, then standing on the threshold he threw with his left hand the dust upon his nearest relatives. Finally, in his shirt, without shoes or girdle, and carrying a staff in his hand, he strode over the threshold of his cabin and over the hedge surrounding his field; he was *vargus*, an outlaw from that day forth—the interminable forest, the boundless ocean was his domain.¹

But this outlaw was now arrested by Roman lictors, scourged with rods, smitten with the axe, him whom the gods alone could smite! For smaller offences there were endless pleadings. In vain the barbarian offered to decide it all by an oath; Varus would have investigations, witnesses, discussion of facts and points of law. Need we wonder that at the contact of these two social systems

¹ Upon this procedure see Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, but, I fear, it is of comparatively recent epoch.

the Roman genius and the barbarian genius felt themselves hostile to each other for ever? "Hiss now, viper!" cried the victorious German to the captive lawyers after having cut out their tongues and sewed up their mouths. Hatred so ferocious as this gives us the starting point of the revolt.

The German nobles put themselves at the head of the move-



German Woman, called Thusnelda.²

ment, and a young chief of the Cherusci, Arminius,¹ son of Sigimer, was the soul of the conspiracy. Given up to the Romans as a hostage, he had found favour in their sight, and had received the gold ring and the command of a troop of German auxiliaries. But he was the hereditary enemy of another chief of the Cherusci, Segestes, and he satisfied at the same time his hatred of the latter and his passion for the beautiful daughter of Segestes by carrying off the girl, Thusnelda. It was a mortal offence, and the father, a friend of the Romans, resolved to obtain vengeance from Varus at some time.

Arminius, thus personally endangered, felt more acutely the wrongs done to his countrymen. He called together the principal chiefs of the Catti, Cherusci, Marsi, and Brueteri, and in secret meetings arranged with them the plan of a general insurrection. In vain did Segestes warn

¹ [The favourite German identification of this name with Hermann is very doubtful.—*Ed.*]

² Museum of Florence (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

Varus: "Have us arrested," he said, "and without us the people will dare to attempt nothing. Later you will learn the truth." Varus still was confident. Meanwhile news was brought him that a remote tribe had revolted. It was a snare to draw him out of his camp and far away from his fortified positions. The chiefs who were about him offered to guide his march; they led him astray, and then making their escape under the pretext of going to seek aid for him among their own people, they placed themselves at the head of the approaching bands. A son of Segestes, although a priest of Rome and of Augustus at the altar of the Ubii, joined his brothers in the revolt.

Embarrassed with an enormous quantity of baggage, the three legions advanced with difficulty in a long line through dense, damp forests, without taking any precautions and as if in the midst of peace. First some bands of barbarians appeared, then their number in-



German, called Arminius.¹

creased till the forest seemed alive with them: the army was entirely surrounded. Varus, however, was able to gain the open country, where he encamped, and the following day he destroyed his baggage and made a desperate effort to reach the fortress of Aliso. His road lay over the wooded heights of Osning (*Saltus Teutoburgensis*), between the head waters of the Ems and the Lippe, and across the marshy lands which lay below them. Making their way through these difficult paths, harassed incessantly by the Germans, the confused crowd of infantry and cavalry struggled on, leaving tracks with blood; and when they encamped on the

¹ Museum of the Capitol (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

second night the space needed for their entrenchments was but half of what it had been the night before. In the morning heavy rain added to their difficulties and slackened their march, while their enemies were more numerous and savage than ever, knowing well that the day's events would either deliver the Roman eagles into their power or would place what remained of the legions in safety within the fortress. Coming down from the hilly route they had followed, the Romans found themselves in a marshy plain where Arminius had gathered the bulk of his forces. Here the final struggle took place. A few horsemen escaped to Aliso, and all the rest perished. Varus, to avoid falling alive into the enemy's hands, fell upon his sword. The tribunes and centurions were hung to trees, and the Roman lawyers who accompanied Varus put to death with frightful tortures, and if a few prisoners were spared it was but to add to the disgrace of Rome. A man of the Catti or the Cherusei could now show among his slaves some Roman knight or candidate for the senatorial honours (September, 9 A.D.).¹

Five days after the definitive submission of the Pannonians and Dalmatians news of the disaster of Varus was received at Rome. The Germanic nationality rose victorious and menacing just as the last nationality which could offer resistance in the interior of the Empire had given way; it arose to say on the banks of the Rhine what the Parthians on the banks of the Euphrates had said to that great power which for three centuries had been advancing steadily: "Thus far, and no farther."

Arminius, meanwhile, was following up his victory. He captured all the forts that Rome had built, even Aliso; and from the Rhine to the Weser all Germany became free once more. He had caused the head of Varus to be cut off, and had sent that bloody trophy to Marbod, the king of the Marcomanni. Let

¹ Seneca, *Epist.*, 47: *Multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum.* (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 27.) Forty years later there were still Roman prisoners among the Catti. (Cf. Dion, lvi. 19-21; Vell. Patere., ii. 118-19; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 55, 57, 61.) The three legions destroyed were the 17th, 18th, and 19th; and these numbers, considered henceforth inauspicious, were never used again in the Roman army. Much has been written on the subject of the battle-field. By a commemorative monument erected in 1867 on the summit of Mount Teutburg, the Germans have located the last act of this tragedy in the neighbourhood of Detmold.

now this great chief, lately the terror of Rome,* unite with the confederation of the northern tribes; let him, repairing the mistake of three years before at the time of the Pannonian revolt, now cross the Danube, while the liberator of Germany fell upon Gaul, and the Empire will have good reason to tremble. Augustus, who already seemed to hear them advancing over the Alps, cried in terror: "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" for soldiers were lacking. Alarmed by this war, exhausted by recent levies, the people refused to be enrolled.



Germanicus.¹

It was in vain that Augustus branded with infamy and confiscation one man in every five under thirty-five years of age and one in every ten of those older, nothing but the threat of execution could drag these degenerate Romans into camp.²

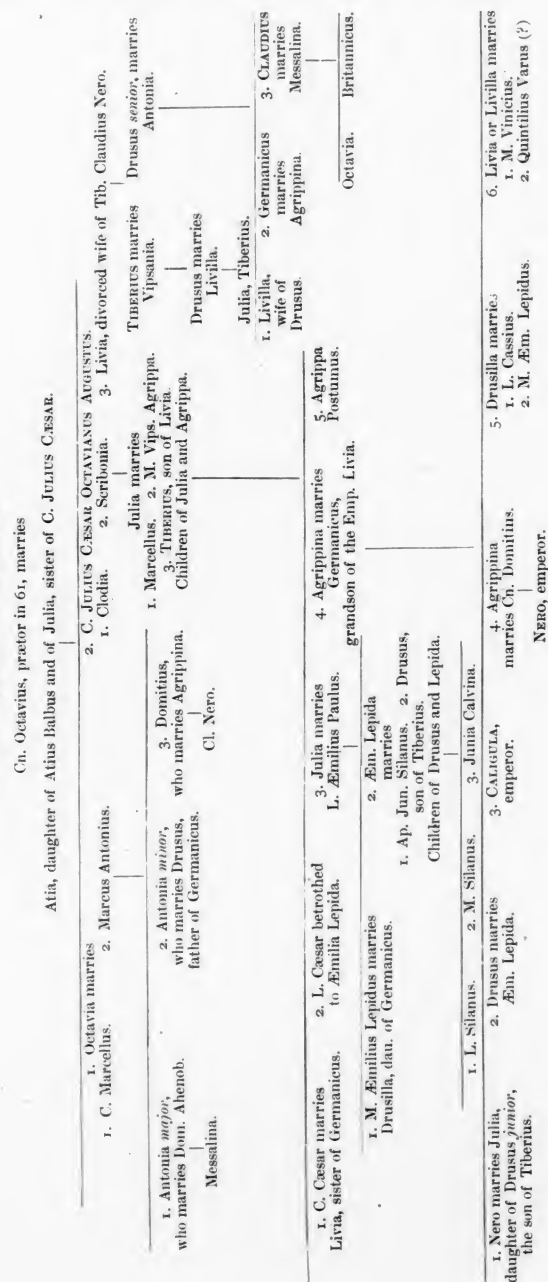
Fortunately for Rome, Marbod was jealous of Arminius's fame, and instead of responding to his patriotic appeal he sent the head of Varus to the emperor. Secure upon this side, Tiberius was able to hasten to the Gallie frontier, fortify all the posts, re-establish discipline, expel luxury and indolence from the camps, and even risk the eagles again across the Rhine. Germanicus, as his successor, remained at the head of the eight legions protecting the left bank of the river. Content with having been victorious, the enemy never passed from resistance to attack. The Empire was saved, but the glory of a long reign had been tarnished and fifty years were to pass before the generals of Rome should bring back into the temple of Mars the Avenger the last of the three eagles of Varus, while it was amid the sounds of reviving war that he descended to the tomb who had reduced the art of reigning to an art of introducing peace and happiness throughout the world.

¹ The legend recalls that this was the adopted son of Tiberius (Tiberii AVGVsti Filius) and grandson of the divine Augustus (DIVI AVGV Nepos). Bronze coin.

² Dion, lvi. 23.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.



CHAPTER LXIX.

THE LAST YEARS OF AUGUSTUS AND THE SUCCESSION TO THE EMPIRE.

I.—THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

LIKE Louis XIV., Augustus ended his reign in mourning and solitude: it is the fate of lives that have been too long. He had seen die, one after another, all those who were bound to him by ties of blood, friendship, or a common glory, all who were the support or the honour of his administration: his sister Octavia (11 B.C.); Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law (23 B.C.); Virgil (19), Agrippa (12), Drusus (9), Mæcenas and Horace (8). Eight years before the commencement of the Christian era there remained to him only the children born of the second marriage of his daughter Julia with Agrippa, and the children of Drusus and Tiberius.

The emperor was much attached to his grand-children. The

Marcellus.¹

¹ Bust found at Otricoli with an Augustus and a Livia. (Vatican, Gallery of the Candelabra, No. 208.)

care that he bestowed upon their education and the early honours lavished upon them revealed his intentions concerning them. For them he intended the succession to his power. This very serious question had not been openly discussed; the imperial government having been founded, however, by the concentration of all authority in the hands of one man, it was essential to designate in advance who should inherit it: for so vast an Empire, which had laws but not institutions, inhabitants but not citizens, municipal customs and no patriotism outside of the city, could not be left to fall periodically into the uncertainties and tumults of an election. Augustus perfectly comprehended this necessity, but the assumed disinterestedness of his whole life prevented him from openly decreeing hereditary succession, and his mind was neither liberal enough nor strong enough to find out and establish any other system. Faithful to his temporizing habits, he waited for events, regulating his conduct by them rather than dominating them. No one was willing to look forward to minorities or to the extinction of the imperial family, nor even so far as the illness or death of the first emperor. Everything was left to accident, to the Fortune of the Day, that great divinity of the Romans and of their chief. This was an error which for three centuries weighed upon the Empire, and we may hold Augustus responsible for it, since it is certain that, in the second half of his reign, he was sure enough of the docility of the Romans to have laid aside all hypocritical precautions.

That which he dared not establish as a matter of law, he strove, however, to found as a matter of fact. Like Julius Cæsar, he had no sons, but he adopted his nephew Marcellus; and, on the death of this young prince, gave his widow, Julia, in marriage to Agrippa. To take this old soldier as his son-in-law was almost to associate him with himself in the imperial power and a second time designate a successor. This idea Augustus confirmed in the minds of the Romans by sharing the tribunitian power¹ with Agrippa in the year 19 B.C., and later, by adopting Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the two sons of Julia and Agrippa.

The death of Agrippa having brought the matter once more

¹ *Agrippam socium ejus potestatis . . . delegit, ne successor in incerto foret* (Tac., Ann., iii., 56.) Caius was born in the year 20 B.C. and Lucius in 17.

in question, Augustus decided to make a great position both in the government and in his own family for Livia's son Tiberius. The latter was compelled to marry the widow of Agrippa and of Marcellus, divorcing his wife Vipsania, whom he loved, and who had already borne him one son and was at the time pregnant.



Remains of the Theatre of Marcellus.¹

The emperor trusted that the gratified ambition of Tiberius would leave to the sons of Julia the time to grow older and approach gradually to the power he destined for them. As soon as they were past their childhood he began to employ for them the same system which had been so serviceable to himself, that of appointing

¹ Julius Cæsar commenced this edifice, to which Augustus gave his nephew's name. (Dion., lxxx. 30.) Near this theatre is Octavia's portico.

them to republican magistracies. At the age of fourteen Lucius was augur, and Caius, three years older, held a priesthood, the right of entrance into the senate, the right of wearing the laticlave at games and public festivals, and sitting among the senators; both were also designated as consuls, to enter upon office on attaining their twentieth year. Meantime they took the title of *principes juventutis*. Neither in the senate nor in the city did any man make objection to all this: more would have been accepted if Augustus had dared to do more; only in the imperial family was there dissatisfaction. In spite of his deep dissimulation, Tiberius could not see without jealousy that less was granted to his long services than to the birth of these two boys, who, moreover, showed no consideration for him. Spoiled by premature honours and adulation, they lived in debauchery, with the presumption of their age and the arrogance of their fortune; and they did not conceal their discontent when Augustus, in the hope of putting some restraint upon their turbulent ambition, gave to Tiberius the tribunitian power for five years. It did not require much clear-sightedness for a man, already inclined to have more than enough of that quality, to foresee in these two youths bitter and implacable enemies. The debauchery of his wife Julia weighed heavily upon the pride of him who was chief of the noblest of all the Roman houses. He could not repudiate the emperor's daughter, and he saw himself deprived of the hoped-for recompense of this hated marriage. With the habitual decision and tenacity of the Claudii he resolved to quit the court, Rome, Italy even, and go to live in retirement in the East. This withdrawal was a kind of public indictment of the paternal weaknesses of Augustus. The emperor so understood it, and ordered Livia to prevent her son's departure; he even went so far as to complain in the senate of being deserted. All was in vain; rather than yield Tiberius declared that he would starve himself to death; and, in fact, remained some days without food. When finally Augustus had authorized his journey he departed quietly, making no complaint and offering no explanation, and took up his residence in Rhodes. Such had been Agrippa's course at the time of the elevation of Marcellus. Tiberius believed himself to be of no less consequence than Agrippa, and

looked for a similar recall and to find himself raised to a perfect equality with the young Cæsars. Augustus, keenly wounded, took him at his word concerning his disgust for public life, feigned to forget him at Rhodes, and left him there seven years. By this exile the emperor found himself relieved from the constraint imposed upon his natural affections by the presence of this son of Livia. Now, however, he was smitten through all his own family, as if the genius of evil hovered over his house, casting disgrace and death upon it. First of all, Julia abandoned herself to the most scandalous excesses. For a long time this was carefully concealed from the emperor, that impunity might drag his daughter on into irremediable misconduct; and when finally they told him all, the father could not draw back, the reformer of morals was compelled to punish. Julia was exiled to the island of Pandataria, and Augustus, punishing her even in death, forbade her remains to be laid in the imperial tomb. Julia's mother, Scribonia, voluntarily shared the daughter's exile, perhaps a protest against an unnecessary exposure and too severe a penalty. (2 B.C.).²



Julia, daughter of Augustus.¹

Livia may have hoped that the children of Julia would share in the disgrace of their mother. This expectation, if it was entertained by her, proved fallacious. The emperor, anxious to show to the people and the legions the heir of his power, invested Caius Cæsar with proconsular authority over all the East, and sent him with a great retinue into those provinces

¹ Julia, wearing a wreath of wheat-ears and poppies, holding in her right hand a poppy. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, 201.

² Many noble personages, her accomplices, were punished with her. (Suet., *Octav.*, 64, 5; Dion, iv. 10 and 13.)

where brilliant reputations were so quickly obtained. Surrounded by a court composed of vassal kings, on the first day of January in the year 1 A.D. the young prince took possession at Antioch of the consulate. Not long after disturbances in Armenia furnished him the occasion for some easy successes and the honour of disposing of a crown: he gave the kingdom to the Median Ariobarzanes. Tiberius perceived that he had taken the wrong road: he was forgotten at Rome and in Asia he was



Germanicus, son of Drusus.¹

menaced. One of the flatterers of Caius had proposed to the young prince during a banquet to set out forthwith for Rhodes and bring him back the exile's head. A residence in Rhodes was becoming more dangerous than one upon the Palatine, where, at least, his mother could protect him. Humble submission to Caius and the emperor brought him leave to return to Rome, on condition that he should in no way occupy himself

with public affairs. The course of events, however, quickly brought him again into power. During an expedition in Armenia, Caius, while listening to the governor of the city of Artagira, who pretended to have important secrets to reveal to the young prince, was stabbed by the traitor; the wound did not seem mortal, but the weapon was doubtless poisoned. An incurable melancholy seized upon Caius, he lingered for a time, and finally died in Cilicia

¹ Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 9.

(4 A.D.).¹ Eighteen months earlier, his brother Lucius, sent by Augustus to the Spanish legions, died at Marseilles (20th April, 2 A.D.). This double calamity, caused probably by the precocious excesses of the two young men, seemed unnatural, although no proof of crime could be found; and, as always happens, many voices accused those to whom it gave the Empire.²

One son of Julia yet survived, Agrippa Postumus. But he was only sixteen years of age, and Augustus, who felt the burden of years weighing heavily upon him, considered it a duty to sacrifice to the State his personal preferences: he adopted at the same time Agrippa and Tiberius. "I do it," he said, perhaps with secret bitterness, "for the good of the State."³ And he obliged Tiberius, although the latter had children of his own, to adopt his nephew Germanicus, upon whom Augustus bestowed the affection he had formerly felt for Drusus, the young man's father (4 A.D.).



Agrippa Postumus.

II.—TIBERIUS ASSOCIATED IN THE GOVERNMENT (4 A.D.); DEATH OF AUGUSTUS (14).

The succession, which had already rested upon so many heads, was therefore again fixed. For, notwithstanding the official falsehood of senatorial and popular rights, and the decennial prorogation of the imperial powers, the idea of hereditary succession was accepted in advance. A conspiracy, however, came very near overthrowing the emperor and the inheritance. Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, conceived the design of assassinating the emperor during a sacrifice. The plot being discovered, Augustus would have punished, but Livia counselled the placing of clemency

¹ Orelli-Henzen, No. 5370: . . . in Armenia percussus. Dion represents Caius as of feeble intellect and poor health: . . . μηδὲ ὑγιανὸς ἦν ὅφ' οὐκ ἐπὶ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐξέλειπτο, πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπημελύνθη (lv. 12). Velleius Paterculus (ii. 102) says the same.

² Tacitus contents himself with saying (and, as usual, slips in a suspicion): *Mors fato prospera, vel novercæ Liviæ dolus abstulit* (Ann., i. 3). It is strange he did not add that Sejanus was one of the intimates of Caius Cæsar. (Ann., iv. 1.) Lucius was patron of Pisa, Caius of Nîmes. (Wilmanns, 883.) It was in honour of Caius that the little temple called the *Maison Carrée* was erected at Nîmes.

³ Suet., *Tiber.*, 23.

as a bar between himself and further attempts of the same nature. The emperor sent for Cinna, revealed to him his plans, named to him his accomplices, and overwhelmed him with an unexpected pardon, the year after giving him the consulate.¹

The difficulties concerning the succession to the Empire were not ended so long as there remained two claimants. Agrippa had the same rights as Tiberius. But the former was the heir to his mother's vices, and he shared the same fate. Augustus cancelled his adoption, and exiled him at first to Sorrento and later to the island of Planasia. No man pitied him, for in that refined court the grossness of his mind and manners had, far more than his debauchery, excited the public disgust (7 A.D.).² Augustus had not yet seen the last of his domestic misfortunes: a year later the younger Julia, accused of the same crimes as her mother, was, like her, confined upon an island in the Adriatic, where she remained twenty years until her death (28 A.D.), and where her ashes remained, exiled from the tomb of the Cæsars. Augustus, with a cruel abuse of his paternal authority, forbade her infant child to be reared: and the old emperor, the pitiless judge of his own family, found himself in his desolated house alone with Livia and her son.

About this time Ovid, the favourite poet of the fashionable society of his time, received an order to quit Italy and even the Empire, being exiled to its extreme frontier [Tomi], near the mouths of the Danube, in the pestilential regions of the Dobrutchá. We shall add no conjecture to the many which have been already made concerning this mysterious affair,³ and shall only call attention to the fact that, at the mere will of the ruler, without public judgment or decree of the senate, a Roman citizen, even of equestrian rank, could be deprived of his liberty, in reality of his fortune and his rights, although the *relegatio*

¹ Seneca, *de Clem.*, i. 9, 10, and Corneille. There was, however, one more conspiracy after this, that of Paulus and Rufus. Their fate is not known.

² *Rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolidè ferocem.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 3); Vell. Patere. (ii. 112) and Suet. (*Octav.*, 65) say the same.

³ The exile of Ovid was decreed in the same year with that of Julia minor (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 71; 8 A.D.), whence we may conclude, not without some reason, that the poet shared in the misconduct of her of whom he sang, it is believed, under the name of Corinna. The ruler, who never pardoned his grand-daughter, also never forgave him who may have been her accomplice.



Bridge at Sorrento.

implied neither the confiscation of the one nor the suppression of the others; and that no one, not even the sufferer, protested in the name of the laws. Ovid died at Tomi (Kustendjé), surviving Augustus only three years.¹

The services which Tiberius rendered to the Empire in the terrible years when Marbod was threatening, Pannonia in revolt, and 30,000 Roman soldiers were slaughtered in Germany, obliterated the previous sentiments of the ruler, and in the year 13, Augustus, feeling his end approaching, took Tiberius as his colleague. In virtue of a *senatus-consultum* and a law of the *centuriæ*, he shared with his newly-appointed colleague the tribunitian power, the proconsular authority in the provinces, the command of the armies, and the right of making the census. In closing the *lustrum*, he would have Tiberius offer the customary vows for the prosperity of the Empire. "It is not fitting," he said, "that I should offer vows whose fulfilment I shall not see." It was not that any evil menaced him; he had always one of those delicate constitutions with which men live to the age of Nestor. But his physical system was exhausted and his life was drawing to a close. Tiberius departing about this time for Illyria, the emperor decided to accompany him as far as Beneventum to escape from the fatigues of Rome and of public affairs. He went by land to Astura, where he embarked and slowly sailed along the beautiful shores of Campania and the adjacent islands, happy in his idleness, making epigrams and bad verses, amusing himself with watching the sports of the sailors or the athletic contests of the Greek lads of Capri, rewarding them by a banquet where they were permitted to pillage the dessert. From Beneventum he returned to Nola; here he was taken ill, and

¹ Ovid himself (*Trist.*, V. xi, 15, 18) gives the exact import of the *relegatio*, by saying of the emperor:

Nec vitam, nec opes, nec jus mihi civis ademit.

Nil nisi me patrius jussit abesse focus.

In respect to the *deportatio* which, under the Empire, took the place of the *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, it was thus regulated by Augustus. "He forbade those to whom fire and water had been interdicted to reside upon the continent or upon any island within 400 stadia of the main land, with the exception of Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia. They could not change their domicile, could not own more than one transport vessel of 1,000 amphoræ burden nor more than two vessels propelled by oars; nor could have more than twenty slaves or freedmen; nor could retain more than a fortune of 185,000 drachmas." (*Dion.* lvi. 27.) The person thus exiled being civilly dead could neither inherit nor will property.

believing the end near, he sent for Tiberius to return and passed a long time in conversation with him. "The day he died he asked frequently whether his condition was causing any tumult in Rome; and having called for a mirror, he had his hair arranged. When some of his friends entered the room he said to them: 'Do you find that I have played well this comedy of life?' and he added in Greek the phrase with which

Sports and games of children.¹

theatrical performances were usually ended: 'If you are satisfied, give me your applause. . . .' A short time after he expired in the arms of Livia (19th August, 14 A.D.).²

Augustus and Livia.³

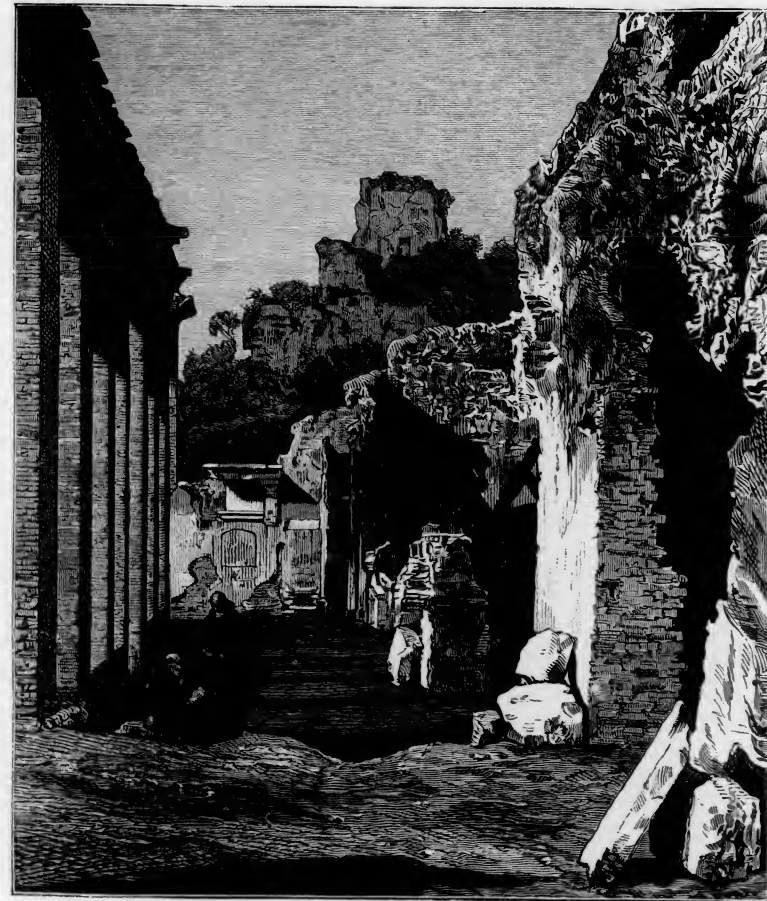
The author of this much-quoted passage has led people to believe that the emperor in his last moments plucked off a mask which he had worn for four-and-forty years. When the drama has lasted so long it is no more an actor representing a part; the rôle has become the man's life, and he is very nearly that which he has so long striven to appear. Augustus was not the jocular sceptic, but the grave statesman, conversing in his last hours with his successor, anxious that the public tranquillity should not be disturbed at the news of his illness; he died as he had lived, with that thought uppermost in his mind which was so necessary to the Roman world—the thought of public order.

¹ Ancient gymnasium, from an engraved stone. (La Chausse, ii. pl. 133, and Agostini, *Gem. ant.*, part ii. pl. 21.)

² The reader will contrast this account of Suetonius with the picture drawn by the sombre imagination of Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 4) and the ridiculous accusation made against Livia of having hastened the death of this old man of seventy-six. We may also doubt the story of Augustus's visit to Agrippa [Postumus] whom the public detested: *trucem . . . non ætate neque rerum experientia tantæ molis parem* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 4); to what purpose would it have been, since it could have no result, and since at that very time the emperor was giving Tiberius every mark of esteem?

³ Busts of Augustus and Livia, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2374.

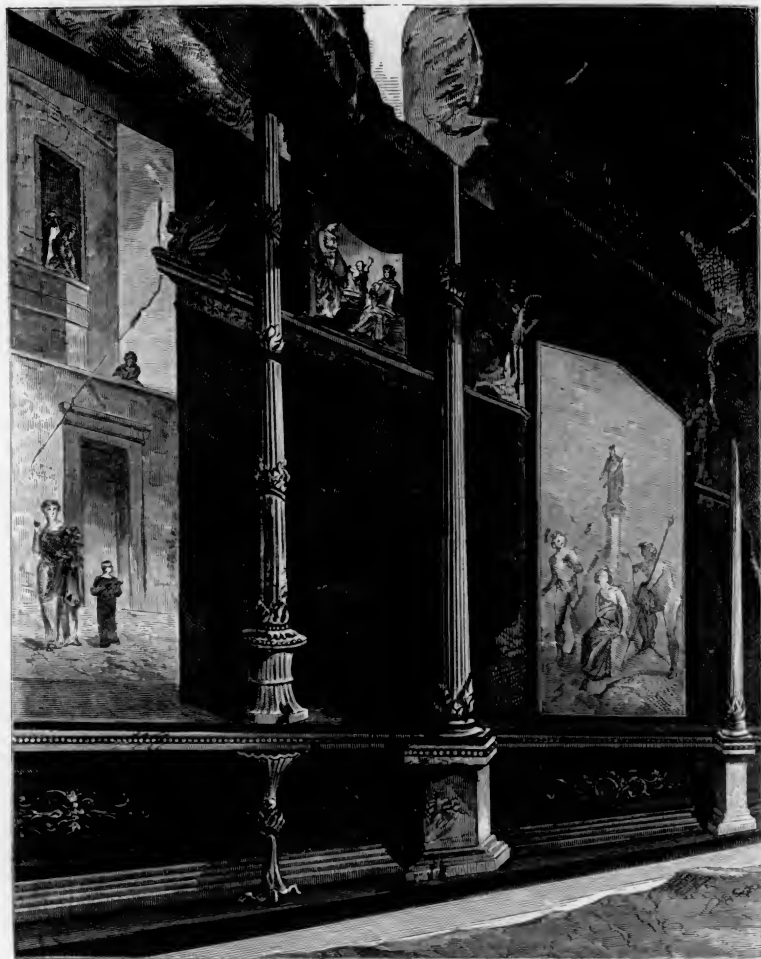
The emperor lacked only thirty-five days of completing his seventy-sixth year. His body was brought from Nola to Bovillæ by decuriones of the municipia and the colonies. They made the journey by night only, on account of the extreme heat; by day



Palatine. Remains of the House of Augustus.

the corpse was deposited in temples or public buildings. At Bovillæ the knights came out to receive it, and bore it to the vestibule of the imperial house upon the Palatine, where for seven days the body lay in state upon a bed of gold and ivory. The corpse itself was concealed under draperies of purple and gold,

but a waxen figure, made in exact likeness to Augustus, was seen resting upon the outside of the bed, and appeared like one sleep-



Room in the House of Livia.¹

ing. A handsome young slave gently waved a fan of peacock's feathers above the face, guarding the eternal repose; on the left, came, in turn, the senators in mourning garments, to sit beside

¹ This room is decorated with frescoes, of which a copy may be seen in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris.

the dead; on the right were Roman matrons in long white garments, without ornament of any kind. In front of the bed was placed a golden statue of Victory, as if that goddess had been one of the Julian family.

Meantime Tiberius convoked the senate to deliberate upon the honours to be paid to the late emperor. The vestals, who had had charge of the will of Augustus, now brought it into the senate-house; it had been prepared sixteen months before. He constituted Tiberius and Livia his heirs; failing them, Drusus, son of Tiberius, should inherit one-third, and Germanicus and his three sons the rest. A singular point was the adoption of Livia, who was to take the name *Julia Augusta*. He bequeathed to the Roman people, that is to say, to the public treasury, 40,000,000 sesterces; to the populace of the city, 3,500,000; to each prætorian, 1,000 sesterces; to each soldier of the urban cohorts, 500; and



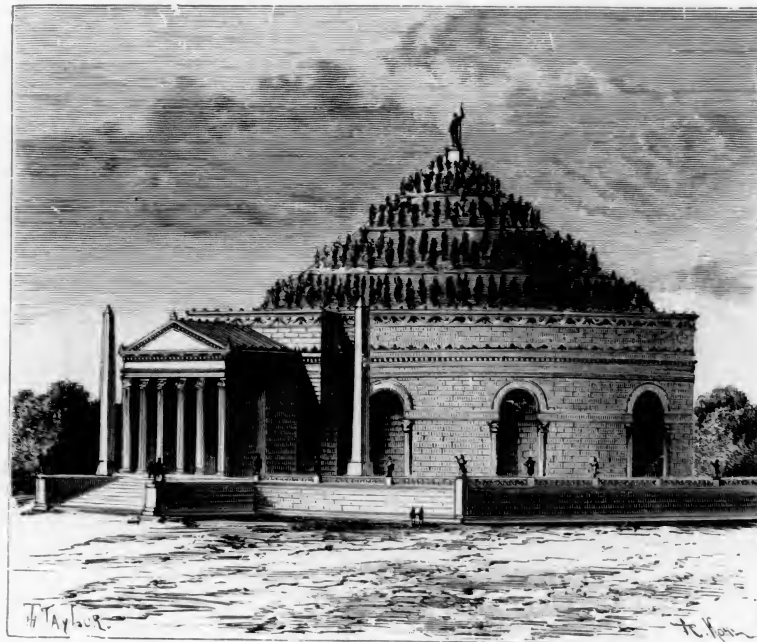
Drusus, son of Tiberius.¹

to each legionary, 300. Four books that he had prepared were read by Drusus:² one regulated the ceremonies for his funeral; the second contained various counsels to Tiberius and to the State: not to extend the frontiers, to restrict enfranchisements, to

¹ Bronze statue in the Museum at Naples. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vi. pl. 33, and *Museo Borbon.*, iii. pl. 38.)

² Dion (lvi. 33); Suet. (102); and Tac. (*Ann.*, i. 11) mention only three books.

be sparing in the bestowal of citizenship, and not to accumulate all the power in the hands of one man. This recommendation on his part seems strange, but it corresponded with the idea he had conceived of an imperial republic which should leave counsel and a share of action to the chief citizens united in the senate. The third book, which has been lost, was a statement of the forces and resources of the Empire; the fourth, a summary of

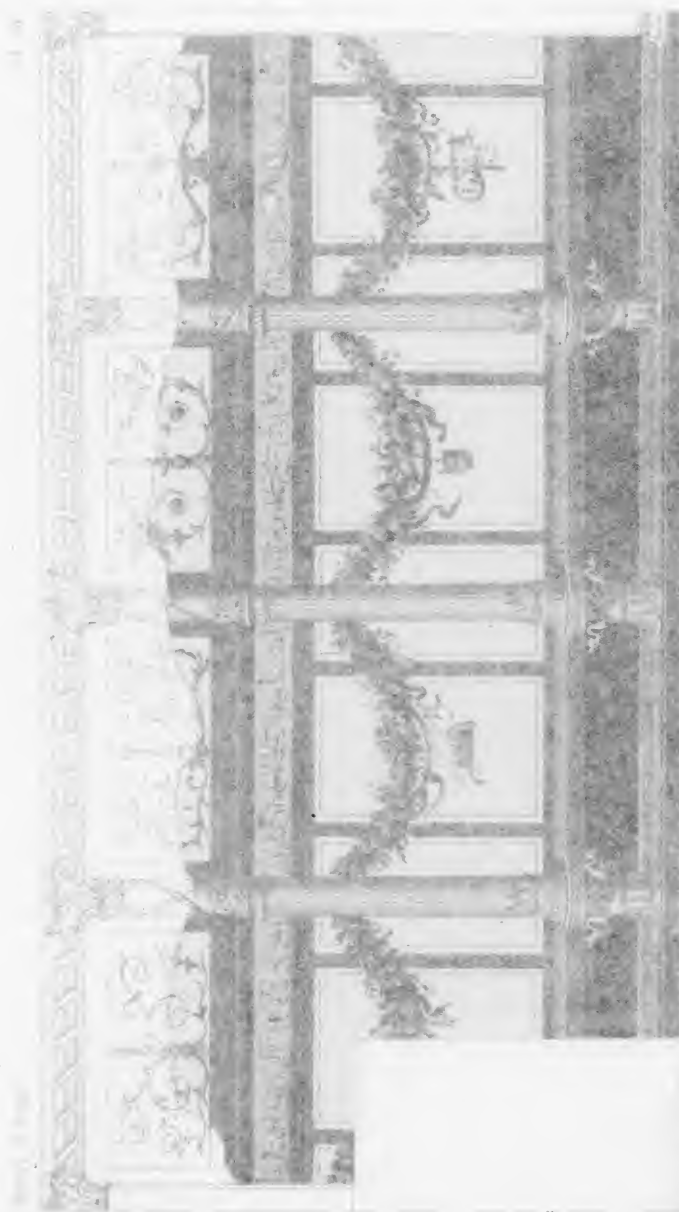


Tomb of Augustus.¹

his life, destined to be engraved on tables of bronze on the front of his mausoleum. This latter we have almost entire in the Monument of Ancyra, and we can read there, if not the honest thought of the founder of the Empire, at least, what he believed to be his titles to contemporary gratitude.

On the day of the funeral, the magistrates took the bier upon their shoulders and wended their way through the Forum to the Campus Martius, where the pyre had been made ready.

¹ Restoration by Reynaud, *Traité d'architecture*, part ii. pl. 47.



was during the interval of adolescence, and not to inaugurate all the power in the hands of one man. This recommendation on his part seems strange, but it corresponded with the idea he had conceived of an imperial republic which should leave counsel and action to the chief citizens united in the senate. The third book, which has been lost, was a statement of the power and resources of the Empire; the fourth, a summary of



Temple of Augustus

the emperor to be engraven on tables of bronze on the front of his monument. This latter we have almost entire in the Monument of Augustus, and we can read there, if not the honest demand of one founder of the Empire, at least, what he believed to be his title to contemporary gratitude.

On the day of the funeral, the magistrates took the honours due themselves and revolved their way through the Forum to the Campus Martius, where the pyre had been made ready.

See also the account of the funeral in the Appendix, p. 27.



VASSIERO G. PINX. Rome 1881

WALL DECORATION FROM A ROOM IN LIVIUS PALACE

Behind them were borne three statues of Augustus, clad in the toga worn on occasion of triumphs, and figures representing his ancestors and all the Romans who had been illustrious, from Romulus to Pompey, coming out of their tombs, as it were, to attend him; after these were borne figures representing the conquered nations, attired in their costumes; then came the senators and the knights, and then the matrons, and at intervals in the procession choirs of boys and girls of the noblest families chanting funeral hymns; after these, the soldiers of the praetorian guard and of the urban guard, and, finally, the vast crowd of the populace. In the Forum two discourses in honour of the dead were pronounced, one by Tiberius, before the temple of Julius Caesar, the other by Drusus from the Rostra.

The procession entered the Campus Martius, passing through the Porta Triumphalis, and arrived at the funeral pile, erected in the form of a square temple four stories in height, the stories retreating as they ascended. It was decorated with pictures and



Mercury-Augustus (p. 153).¹

¹ Bronze statuette in the Museum of Rennes; a specimen of Gallo-Roman art of the first century of our era. The winged and laurelled head of the young god reproduces the features of Augustus and leaves no doubt as to the intention. The eyes were incrustated with silver. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 36, and p. 135.

statues, and covered with the richest tapestries. The bier having been placed in the second story and surrounded with flowers, the



Temple of Augustus.

reached the top an eagle, flying out from the little temple which formed the summit of the structure, directed his flight upward, as though bearing to the skies the spirit of the dead.



Livia as Cybele.¹

in the sepulchral chamber destined for that purpose by the emperor himself at the top of his colossal tomb.

During his life-time the emperor had authorized the provinces to decree his apotheosis; in Rome, he had not ventured at first to do more than lay claim to the title of Augustus; but later he had

¹ Livia, her head veiled and turret-crowned, holds the bust of Augustus in her hand. An engraved stone published in the *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. 6, No. 3.

priests, magistrates, and senators slowly marched around the monument; they were followed by the knights, the soldiers, and the people, casting upon the corpse, the former their military rewards and the latter incense and perfumes. Finally, upon a signal given by Tiberius, the centurions designated for the duty flung lighted torches into the funeral pile. As the flames

reached the top an eagle, flying out from the little temple which formed the summit of the structure, directed his flight upward, as though bearing to the skies the spirit of the dead.

The pyre continued to burn for five days, at least, it was not until the evening of the fifth day that Livia, accompanied by the chief men of the equestrian order, went to gather up the bones of the emperor. Having washed and perfumed them, she placed them in a casket of oriental alabaster and bore them to the mausoleum of Augustus, where they were placed

allowed the district magistrates to place his image among the Lares and Horace to represent him as the son of Maia, clad in mortal form for the purpose of avenging the murder of Cæsar.¹ The poet was not very much in earnest, but there were those who believed in what he said, or

professed to do so: at Lyons a temple was erected *Mercurio Augusto et Maie Augustæ*.² At Rome they could scarcely do less. On the day of the funeral an ex-prætor affirmed under oath that he had seen the figure of the new Romulus emerge from the midst of the flames and ascend into heaven. With the expenditure of only a million sesterces Livia turned her husband into a god. This seems to us monstrous, and justly



Livia veiled, as Priestess of Augustus.⁴

so,³ but we have seen that a powerful person readily received a divine diploma.⁵ Everything was prepared in the public

¹ *Carm.*, I. ii. 41.

² *Musée Lapidaire de Lyon*, Nos. 719 and 720.

³ [Yet, even in our own day, we have approached as nearly to such an apotheosis as Christian manners would tolerate.—*Ed.*]

⁴ Bust in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

⁵ See upon this subject, p. 19, § iii., on *Religious Reform*. Custom established that the senate should judge the deceased ruler. It annulled his acts, *rescissio actorum*, and from that time his name would be omitted in the official list of the emperors; or it confirmed them, and in that case, the people, the legions, and the senate itself swore, in their annual oath of fidelity, to obey his decrees, *jurare in acta principis*. Upon this declaration all his decrees had the force of law, and the confirmation of the decrees was followed by the *consecratio* or apotheosis.

mind throughout the Empire for the apotheosis of Augustus, and the senate proclaimed him *divus*. He had a public cult,



Augustus deified
(Cabinet de France).

festivals, games, sanctuaries, and a priesthood; each city established an Augustal flamen; at Rome there were selected by lot from among the principal personages twenty-one pontiffs, to whom were added Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus. A domestic worship also was paid him in the atrium of each house.

Livia became a priestess to this new divinity, *Augusta sacerdos*; and every morning she

could be seen in Augustus's house, now transformed into a shrine, burning incense before the image of him whose human weaknesses none knew so well as she.¹

III.—THE TESTAMENT OF AUGUSTUS.

*Concerning the deeds of the divine Augustus by which he subjugated the world to the sway of the Roman people, and the expenditures which he made for the State and for the Roman people: a copy of the original document engraved upon two tables of brass, which are placed in Rome.*²

I. At the age of nineteen I raised, acting upon my own judgment and at my own expense, an army, by means of which I restored liberty to the State oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. In return for this, the

¹ The subterranean passage by which she went from her own house to that of Augustus yet exists; a lictor attended her in the fulfilment of her sacerdotal duties.

² M. G. Perrot, who was intrusted with a literary mission to Asia Minor in the year 1861, brought back from that journey many inscriptions, either new or corrected, which he has learnedly discussed in his book entitled *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie, de la Bithynie*, etc. But his best conquest was that of the first complete and accurate copy of the bilingual Inscription of Ancyra: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . exemplar*. This document, from which I have already borrowed extensively, is too important not to be reproduced in its completeness. In this summary of his achievements Augustus naturally makes no mention of the proscriptions, nor of Varus [nor does he mention any general or person inferior to the imperial family. His enemies in the civil war, such as Antony, Sextus Pompey, etc., are alluded to as parties—*factio, praedones*]; the senate and the people appear to have acted in full liberty; and, to read it, we should believe that great victories were gained and great conquests made. The largest space, however, is occupied with the enumeration of the honours and offices bestowed upon himself, and his own expenditures for distributions of money and corn, and for games and public buildings. It was this last point which most impressed the public mind, or which government took most pains to emphasize. At least, beneath the Testament

senate, by honourable decrees, admitted me to its number, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius being consuls, giving me consular rank; the senate at the same time decreed to me the imperium, and, that no harm should happen to the State, charged me to watch over the public safety [as *proprator*] together with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. The two consuls having fallen in war, the people the same year created me consul and triumvir, and charged with organizing the State.

II. Those who had killed my father I sent into exile, punishing their crime by regular legal convictions; when they made war against the State, I defeated them twice in pitched battle.

III. I have carried my arms over sea and land, and made war at home and abroad throughout all the world; being victorious, I have spared the lives of all citizens surviving. Foreign people whom I could with safety spare, I have preferred to keep alive rather than to destroy. About 500,000 (?) Romans have taken the military oath to me, and of this number a little more than 300,000, upon the expiration of their term of service, have been established by me in colonies or sent home to their municipia; to all I have assigned lands or given them the price in money from my own savings. I have captured six hundred ships, not counting those smaller than triremes.

IV. Twice I have received the ovation and three times the curule triumph. Twenty-one times I have been proclaimed imperator. Many other triumphs decreed to me by the senate I have abstained from celebrating, and have contented myself with depositing the laurels in the Capitol, in fulfilment of the vows made by me in the name of the State

engraved on the temple wall at Ancyra is a summary in fourteen lines where the total number is given of the temples built or repaired by Augustus and of the sums given by him to the people, the soldiers, and the treasury. Whence Augustus obtained all this money none cared to inquire; only the lavish hand was regarded, and in the eyes of these mendicants the generosity of the prince was his chief title to fame. [Since the researches of Perrot his copy was used by Th. Mommsen for his special edition of the inscription, which was engraved both in Latin and in Greek on the walls of the temple to Rome and to Augustus set up at Ancyra (Angora). A similar temple and text existed at Apollonia (in Galatia), from which fragments of the Greek version have been recovered. They are of no importance, since the Greek part of the Ancyra text has been obtained, which supplements many small gaps in the Latin. Turkish houses had been built against that part of the temple, now a mosque, and the owners would allow no interference. But since Perrot succeeded another excellent explorer, Humann, the discoverer of the art remains at Pergamus, was specially commissioned (1882) to take plaster casts of the whole text, in which he perfectly succeeded. From these casts, now in the museum at Berlin, Mommsen has prepared his new complete edition and commentary (*Res gestae Divi Augusti*, with 11 plates in facsimile, Berlin, 1883), which may be regarded as final. He there gives his tribute to the excellence and accuracy of Perrot's work, now tested by the evidence of the casts. It is the version of Perrot which is here given, with a few corrections inserted from Mommsen's text. In a learned appendix to this model work of Mommsen, which exhausts all that can be known on the subject, Kaibel has treated of the style of the Greek version, which he shows to be an ignorant and barbarous composition made from the Latin original by some non-Greek person, probably a Roman, who used a bad glossary to give him the Greek equivalents for the Latin words. The Latin of Augustus, on the contrary, is pure, but rather vernacular than elegant. Thus, he uses *profigare* for to *almost finish*, contrary to the classical habit; it should mean to *destroy* (Gellius, 15, 5, quoted by Mommsen, p. 85).—Ed.]

in each war. By reason of successes obtained by me, or by my lieutenants under my auspices, the senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings to the immortal gods. Eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices, their duration being determined by a *senatus-consultum*. In my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have been led before my



Remains of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra.¹

chariot. I had been thirteen times consul when I wrote this, and was in the thirty-seventh year of my tribuneship.

V. The dictatorship which the senate and people offered me in my absence, and later when I was present in Rome during the consulship of M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius, I was not willing to accept. In a period of great scarcity I did not refuse the care of supplying the city with corn,

¹ Perrot, pl. 15. On the next page is given a restoration of this temple by Guillaume. [The great Latin text of the Testament was on the wall of the pronaos behind the pillars.] In respect to the *Karér* of the Galatians, see Perrot's tract, *de Galatia*.

which was so done, at my own expense, that in a few days the people were relieved from the existing danger and from anxiety. The consulship for the year and for life being then offered to me, I did not accept it.

VI. During the consulship of M. Vinucius and Q. Lucretius, later during that of P. Cn. Lentulus, and for the third time during that of Paulus Fabius Maximus and Q. Tubero, by consent of the senate and the Roman



Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra.
(Restoration by Guillaume, *École des Beaux-Arts*.)

people [I was voted, with most extended powers, the sole guardianship of the laws and of public morals. When any powers were offered to me contrary to my country's traditions, I did not accept them; when the senate intrusted me with the arrangement of other affairs, I brought them to a close by virtue of the tribunitian power with which I had been invested. In this office I five times, with the consent of the senate, associated with myself a colleague.¹]

VII. For ten years successively I was triumvir, having the duty of organizing the Republic. I have held the rank of prince of the senate

¹ [This passage is now supplied from the Greek version in Humann's casts, as were many clauses throughout from the older copies. — *Ed.*]

up to the time when I wrote this, that is to say, for forty years. I have been pontifex maximus, augur, member of the college of quindecimvirs and of the septemvirs, of the Arval brothers, of the college of Titian priests, and of the Fetiales.

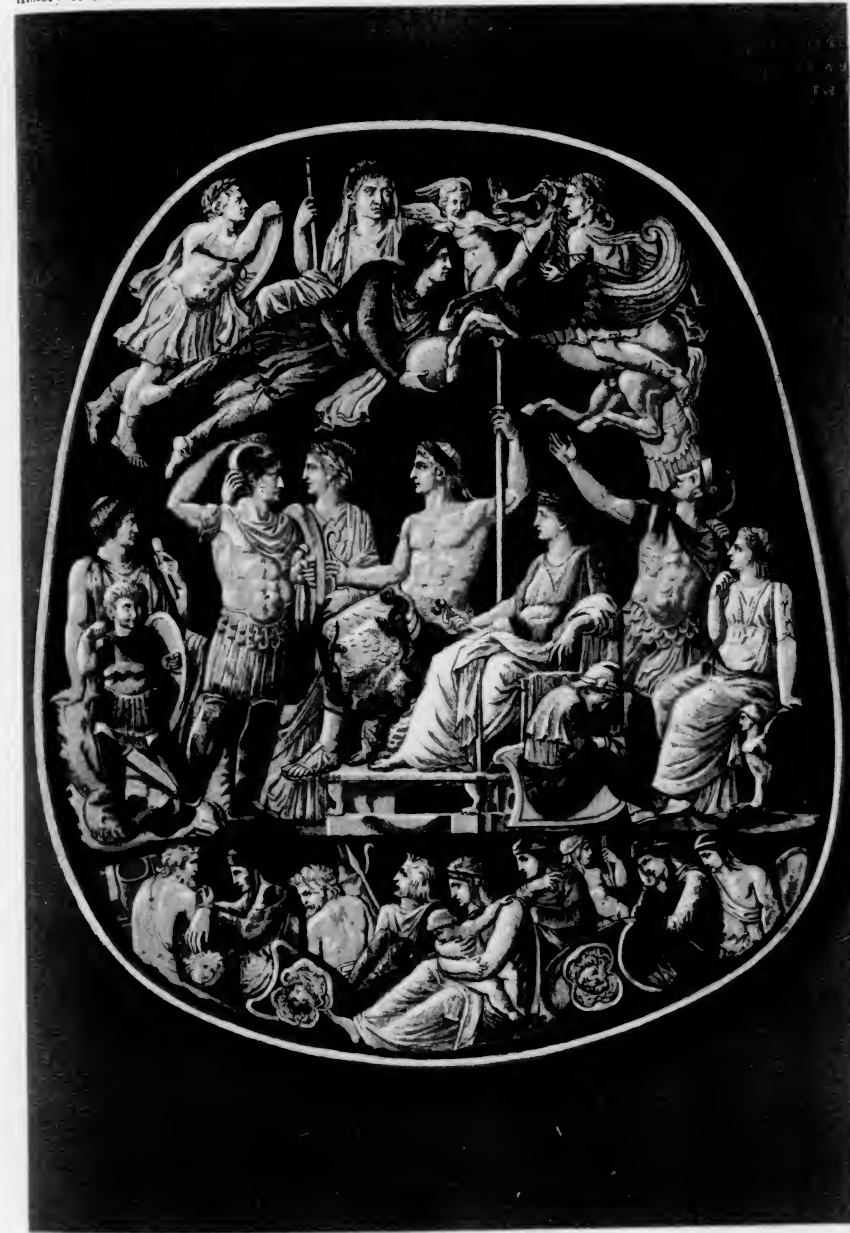
VIII. In my fifth consulate, by order of the people and the senate, I increased the number of patricians. Three times I prepared the list of senators. In my sixth consulate I celebrated the ceremony of the census, M. Agrippa being my colleague; after forty-one years I made the census of the Roman people; in this census their number was 4,063,000. A second time, alone, I made the census, with consular authority, C. Censorinus and C. Asinius being consuls; the number was then 4,233,000 Roman citizens. A third census was made by me, having my son Tib. Cæsar for colleague, during the consulship of Sext. Pompeius and Sext. Appuleius, the number of citizens then being 4,937,000. By the promulgation of new laws I have both revived the examples of our ancestors, which were beginning to be forgotten among us, and have myself given to posterity an example of many things worthy to be imitated.

IX. The senate decreed that prayers should be offered to the gods by the priests and consuls every five years for my welfare, on which occasions games often took place, sometimes offered by one of the four great sacerdotal colleges and sometimes by the consuls. Private individuals as well as cities, all citizens wherever they might be, incessantly offered sacrifices to the gods for my health in all shrines.

X. My name, by a decree of the senate, has been inserted in the Salian Hymn and a law made that I should be sacrosanct and that I should possess for life the tribunitian power. The people offered me the supreme pontificate held by my father before me, but I would not supplant any living man in his office. Some years after, this priesthood being freed by the death of him who had seized it in our civil dissensions, I was put in possession of it, so great a crowd being gathered from all Italy to attend the comitia on this occasion as had never before been seen; this was during the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Valgius.

XI. To commemorate my return, the senate consecrated before the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honour and Valour, an altar to Fortuna Redux, and decreed that upon this altar the priests and vestals should

The adjoining coloured plate—a splendid sardonyx cameo in the *Cabinet de France* (about 13 inches by 12)—represents the apotheosis of Augustus. The cameo, which is the largest known, came from the treasure of the Ste. Chapelle, and is supposed to have been given by Baldwin II. of Constantinople to St. Louis (IX.). Above is Augustus on Pegasus, with Cupid, and Æneas or Iulus in Phrygian dress, with the globe of the world; Cæsar as pontiff with a sceptre, and the elder Drusus armed, are present. In the centre is the family of Augustus in the year 19: Tiberius with the sceptre of Jove beside Livia as Ceres. Behind Livia the younger Drusus is showing Livilla his wife the reception of Augustus by Julius Cæsar. On the other side Antonia turns to Germanicus her son. Behind him are Agrippina sitting in arms, and her son Caius with the *caligæ* which gave him his surname. Under Tiberius and Livia, the lately vanquished Armenia. Below are German and Eastern captives, and next the victories of Drusus and Germanicus.



SELLIER PINA.

Imp. Fraillery.

DANLOUGEZ, chromolith.

APOTHEOSIS OF AUGUSTUS

offer sacrifice yearly on the anniversary of my return from Syria to Rome, and that this day should be called from my name *Augustalia*.

XII. By a decree of the senate, the leading men of the State, with some of the prætors and tribunes and the consul, Q. Lucretius, were sent to meet me in Campania, an honour never before accorded to any one. When, after having successfully arranged the affairs of Spain and Gaul, I returned from those provinces to Rome, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and P. Quintilius, the senate decreed the erection of an altar on account



Temple of Jupiter Tonans (Restoration by Provost, of the *École des Beaux-Arts*), p. 161.

of my return, dedicated to the Augustan Peace, and ordered an annual sacrifice to be offered thereon by the magistrates, priests, and vestals.

XIII. The temple of Janus Quirinus which, according to the command of our fathers, is never closed except when peace prevails over all lands and seas subject to the Romans, had been closed as our annals attest but twice since the foundation of Rome; under my government thrice has the senate proclaimed that it should be closed.

XIV. My sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar, snatched from me in their youth by Fortune, the senate and the Roman people, to do me honour, designated as consuls in their fifteenth year, to enter upon office after five years should have elapsed. The senate also decreed that from the day when they were presented in the Forum they should have a share in the

deliberations of public affairs; the Roman knights also unanimously proclaimed them *principes juventutis*, and presented each of them with a silver shield and lance.

XV. I have paid to the Roman plebs 300 sesterces apiece in execution of my father's will, and in my own name, during my fifth consulship, 400



Juno Regina.¹

apiece from the spoils obtained in war. Again, in my tenth consulship, I distributed to each man from my private fortune 400 sesterces by way of *congiarium*. In my eleventh consulship twelve times I distributed corn bought at my own expense. In the twelfth year of my office as tribune, for the third time I gave 400 sesterces apiece. These various donations have never been made to less than 250,000 men. In the eighteenth year of my office as tribune, which was also that of my twelfth consulship, I distributed among 320,000 men of the city plebs sixty denarii apiece. In the colonies formed of my veterans I caused to be distributed, when consul for the fifth time, 1,000 sesterces to each man from the spoils of war, and the number of those who thus shared in this

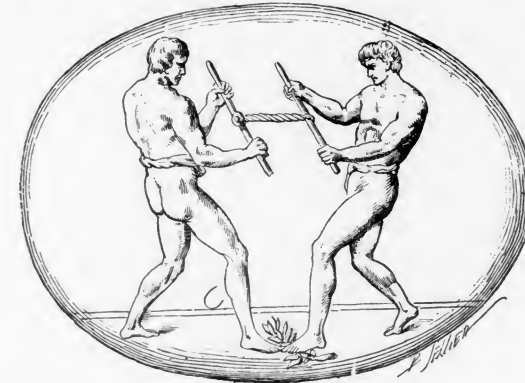
gratuity on occasion of my triumphs was about 120,000. During my thirteenth consulship I gave to those of the plebeians who were registered as sharers in the public distribution of corn the sum of sixty denarii a head, and the number of those sharing in this gift was a little over 200,000.

XVI. For the lands which in my fourth consulship and later, M. Crassus and Cn. Lentulus Augur being consuls, I assigned to the soldiers, I paid an indemnity to the municipia. For the lands which the Italian

¹ Head of a bronze statue, originally overlaid with silver. Found near Vienne (Isère) in 1850 and now in the Museum of Lyons. From the inscription engraved upon the diadem it appears that the questor L. Lilius presented this statue to the colony of Vienne. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 1.)

municipia placed at my disposal the sum was about 600,000,000 sesterces, and for the lands furnished by the provinces about 260,000,000. This I was the first and only man to do of all who up to my time have founded colonies in Italy or the provinces. Later, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and Cn. Piso, of C. Antistius and D. Lælius, of C. Calvisius and L. Pasiemus, of L. Lentulus and M. Messalla, I gave gratuities in money to the veterans whom I sent home to their municipia, and to this end I expended 400,000,000 of sesterces.

XVII. Four times from my own resources I furnished money to the public treasury, and placed at the disposal of those in charge of the treasury 150,000,000 sesterces. During the consulship of M. Lepidus and L. Arruntius, I gave in the name of Tib. Cæsar and in my own, 170,000,000



Contest of Athletes.¹

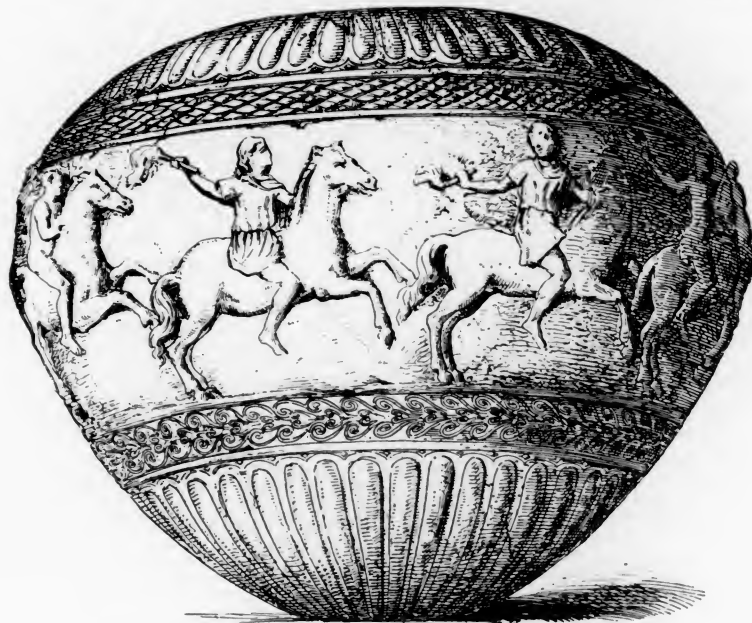
into the military treasury established by my advice for the payment of gratuities to the soldiers who had served twenty years and upwards.

XVIII. The year of the consulship of Cn. and P. Lentulus, the public revenues failed. . . . I bought corn at my own expense and furnished at one time to 100,000 men [at another to more, aid in corn and money].

XIX. The Curia and the Chalcidicum adjacent thereto, the temple of Apollo upon the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico adjacent to the circus of Flaminius (to which I allowed to be left the name Octavian, after him who had previously built one on the same spot), the Pulvinar at the Circus Maximus, the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans, the temple of Quirinus, those of Minerva, of Juno Regina, and of Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, that of the Lares at the summit of the Via Sacra, those of the Penates upon the Velian hill, and those of Juventas and of the Mater Magna on the Palatine, were built by me.

¹ Engraved stone in the Gallery of Florence. (Gorri, *Mus. de Flor., Gem. Ant.*, pl. lxxxiii. No. 5.)

XX. The Capitol and Pompey's theatre have both been restored by me at great expense, but without inscribing my name upon either of these edifices. I have repaired the aqueducts which were falling into ruin at many points, and I have doubled the amount of the water called Marcian by turning another spring into its channel. The Julian Forum and Basilica, which was between the temples of Castor and Saturn, works begun and nearly completed by my father, I have finished; and this basilica having been destroyed by fire I have begun its reconstruction on an enlarged



Vase of Pergamus (Souvenir of the Games in honour of Augustus).¹

foundation, with an inscription of my sons' names, which if I in my lifetime do not complete I have directed that it be completed by my heirs. Being for the sixth time consul I have repaired within the city, by the senate's orders, eighty-two temples, omitting no one that had need of restoration. During my seventh consulship I made the Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum from the spoils of war, and all the bridges over which it passes, with the exception of the [Mulvian and] Minucian.

XXI. Upon my own land I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum. The theatre near the temple of Apollo was built by me upon ground which I bought for the most

¹ Museum of the Louvre. Pergamus celebrated every five years the *Augusteia*, or games in honour of Augustus. (Clarac, *Notice de la Sculpt. ant. du Musée du Louvre*, No. 801, G.)

part from private owners, that it might bear the name of M. Marcellus, my son-in-law. Gifts from the spoils made in war have been offered by me in the Capitol, in the temples of the divine Julius, of Vesta, and of Mars Ultor, which gifts have cost me about 100,000,000 sesterces. In my fifth consulship I remitted to the Italian municipia and colonies the present of gold [*aurum coronarium*] of the weight of 35,000 pounds which they offered me on occasion of my triumphs, and after this, whenever I was proclaimed imperator, I refused the same gift which the municipia and colonies offered me each time with the same liberality.

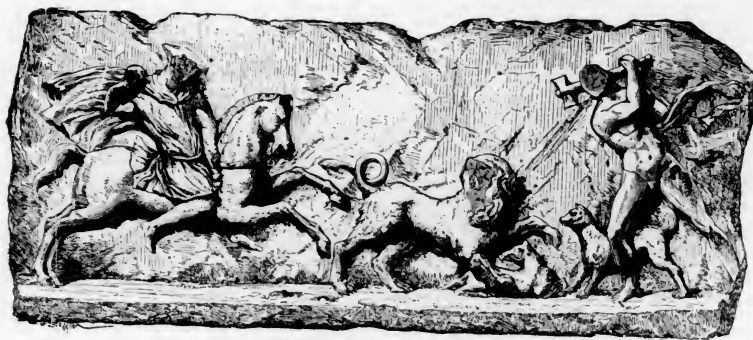
XXII. Thrice in my own name, and five times in the names of my sons and grandsons, I have given combats of gladiators, in which about 10,000 men have fought. Twice in my own name, and a third time in my grandson's name, I gave the spectacle of a combat between athletes summoned from all quarters. I have celebrated the games four times in my own name and twenty-three times in the names of other magistrates. Being chief of the college of the quindecimvirs, M. Agrippa being my colleague, I celebrated in the name of this college the Secular Games, during the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship I celebrated in honour of Mars Ultor the games which since then the consuls have regularly given. . . . Twenty-six combats of African wild beasts have been given by me to the people in my name and in the name of my sons and grandsons, in the Circus, the Forum, or the amphitheatres, and about 3,500 wild beasts have been killed.

XXIII. I have given the people the spectacle of a naval combat beyond the Tiber, where is now the Cæsars' grove, and for this purpose I caused the ground to be excavated for 1,800 feet in length and 1,200 in width. Thirty beaked triremes and biremes and a great number of smaller vessels were engaged in this fight. Besides the rowers 3,000 men fought on these fleets.

XXIV. In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, I, being victorious, replaced the ornaments of which he with whom I had been at war had despoiled them, and which he had appropriated. The number of my silver statues, pedestrian, equestrian, and in quadrigas erected in Rome was about eighty. These I myself removed, and from their value converted into money, I placed offerings of gold in the temple of Apollo, in my own name and in the names of those who had offered me the honour of these statues.

XXV. I have freed the sea from pirates, and in that war I captured and returned to their masters, that they should suffer condign punishment, about 30,000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken arms against the Republic. All Italy spontaneously offered allegiance to me, and demanded me as leader in the war which I ended by the victory of Actium. The same oath was taken to me by the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. More than 700 senators served under me, of which number, up to this day, 83 have become consuls and about 170 have received the office of priests.

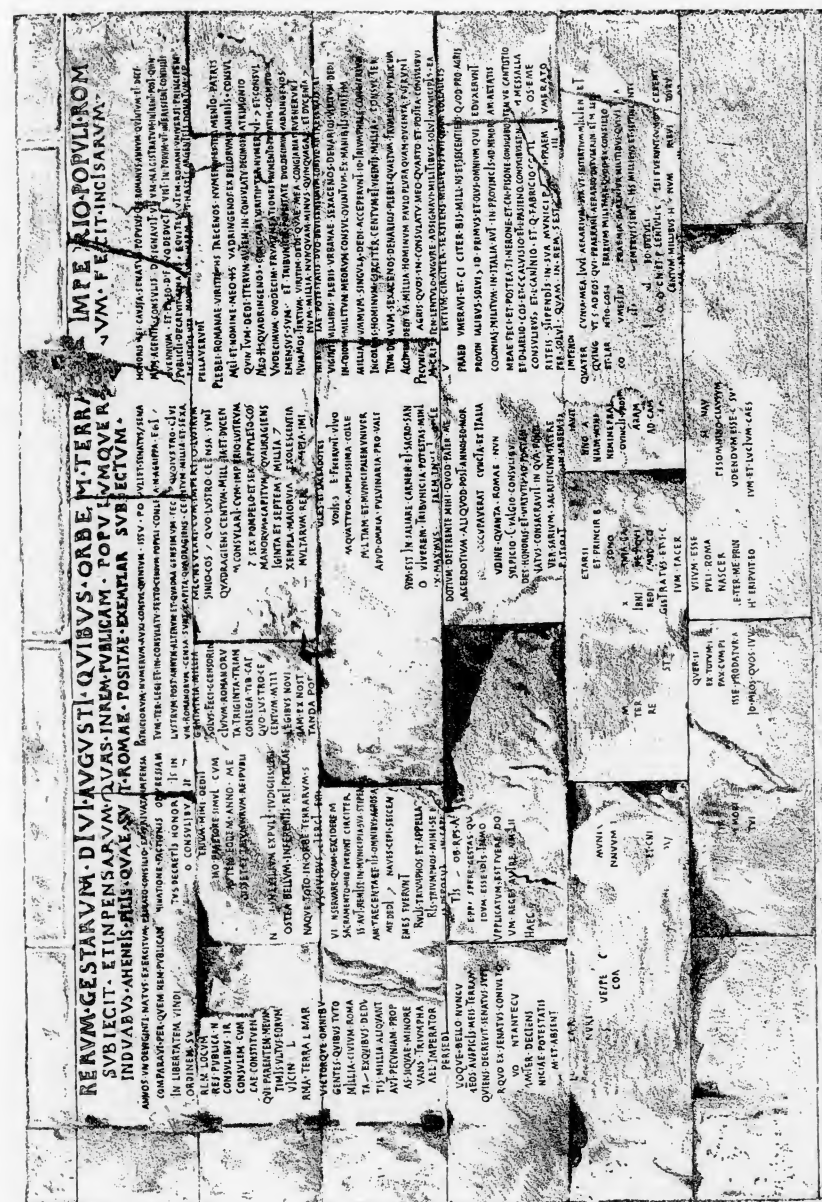
XXVI. I have extended the limits of all the provinces of the Roman people adjacent to countries not yet subjected to our rule. I have pacified all the provinces of Gaul and Spain along the coast of the ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Albis. The Alps, from the region adjacent to the Adriatic Sea as far as the Tuscan, I have added to the Empire without unjustly making war upon any people. My fleet sailed by the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east up the boundaries of the Cimbri, into regions whither no Roman hitherto has come by sea or land. The Cimbri, the Charydes, the Semnones, and other German tribes of that region, have by their deputies solicited my friendship and that of the Roman people. By my orders and under my auspices two armies have been led at about the same time into Ethiopia and into



Lion-hunt (Bas-relief in the Louvre).

Arabia, called Eudæmon [Felix]; the two nations who attacked us have been defeated with great loss in battle, and many prisoners have been taken. In Ethiopia an advance was made as far as Nabata, near Meroe. In Arabia the army penetrated as far as Mariba, on the frontier of the country of the Sabæans.

XXVII. I have brought Egypt under the dominion of the Roman people. Of Greater Armenia, after the murder of its king Artaxias, I might have made a province, but I chose rather, following the example of our ancestors, to give over this kingdom to Tigranes, son of Artavasdes, grandson of king Tigranes, and I employed in this affair Tib. Nero, being at that time my stepson. And afterwards the same people, becoming disorderly and rebellious, were subdued by my son Caius, and restored by my orders to king Ariobarzanes, son of the Median king Artabazes, and upon his death to his son Artavasdes. The latter having been killed I sent into the kingdom Tigranes, of the royal race of Armenia. All the provinces lying beyond the Adriatic Sea eastward, and the Cyrenaica, in great part given up to foreign kings, I recovered, as at an earlier period I had repossessed Sicily and Sardinia, detached from the Empire by a servile war.



Fragment of the Testament of Augustus (G. Perrot, *Explorat. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc.).

XXVIII. In Africa, Sicily, Macedon, the two Spains, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia, Narbonensis, and Pisidia, I have established military colonies. Italy also possesses twenty-eight colonies of the same nature founded by me, which within my lifetime have become very flourishing and populous.

XXIX. Many military standards lost by other generals I have recovered from Spain and Gaul and from the Dalmatians. The Parthians I have compelled to surrender the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and to implore the friendship of the Roman people. These standards I have deposited in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

XXX. The Pannonian nations, among whom before my administration no Roman army had ever penetrated, were conquered by Tib. Nero, then my stepson and lieutenant; I have made them subject to the Roman people and have set back the limits of the province of Illyria as far as the Danube. A Dacian force having crossed this river, were under my auspices defeated and destroyed; and later, my army crossing the river, compelled the people of Dacia to submit to the Roman power.

XXXI. Embassies from the kings of India have been many times sent to me, which has never before occurred under any Roman ruler. Our friendship has been sought, by means of deputies, by the Bastarnæ, the Scythæ, and the kings of the Sarmatæ dwelling on both sides of the Tanais, and by the kings of the Albani, the Hiberi, and the Medi.

XXXII. To me as suppliants have come the kings of the Parthians, Tiridates and afterwards Phraates, son of king Phraates; of the Medes, Artavasdes; of the Adiabeni, Artaxares; of the Britanni, Dumnobellaunus and Tim; of the Sugambri, Mælo; and many of the Marcomanni and Suevi. Phraates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent to me in Italy all his sons and grandsons; not in consequence of a defeat, but seeking our friendship by the offer of his own children as hostages. Many other nations who had never before had any relations of friendship and commerce with the Roman people have during my reign formed alliance with them.



Ariobarzanes.

XXXIII. From me the Parthians and Medes, having sought this by ambassadors, the chief men of their nation have received as kings, the Parthians Vonones, son of king Phraates and grandson of king Orodes, and the Medes Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Ariobarzanes.

XXXIV. In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to the civil wars, having had by general consent all powers in my hands, I gave up to the senate and the Roman people the conduct of public affairs. For this merit I was called, by a decree of the senate, Augustus; it was decreed that the portals of my dwelling should be publicly wreathed with laurels, that a civic crown should be placed above my door, and that in the Curia Julia should be placed a golden shield, with the inscription that it was given me by the senate and the Roman people in honour of my valour and clemency, my justice and patriotism. From that time I have

surpassed all others in public respect, but I have never had more authority in any magistracy than the colleague sharing it with me.

XXXV. During my thirteenth consulship the senate, the equestrian order, and all the Roman people conferred upon me the name of *Pater patriæ*, and directed this title to be inscribed in the vestibule of my dwelling, and in the Curia and the Augustan Forum under the quadriga erected in my honour by the senate. When I wrote these words I was in my seventy-sixth year.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY AN UNKNOWN HAND.

The total of the sums given by him to the treasury, the people, and the discharged veterans amounted to 600,000,000 denarii.¹

He built the temples of Mars, of Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Feretrius, of Apollo, of the divine Julius, of Quirinus, of Juno Regina, of Jupiter Libertas, of the Lares, of the Penates, of Youth, and of the Great Mother; the Lupercal, the Pulvinar near the Circus, the Curia with the Chalcidicum, the Augustan Forum, the Julian basilica, the theatre of Marcellus, the grove of the Cæsars beyond the Tiber, the Portico on the Palatine, and the portico of the Flaminian Circus.

He restored the Capitol and eighty-two sacred buildings, Pompey's theatre, the aqueducts, and the Flaminian Way.

His expenses for games, combats of gladiators and athletes, a naval battle, and the chase of wild beasts, it is impossible to estimate; the same is true in respect to his gifts to the Italian cities and colonies, to provincial cities destroyed by earthquakes and fires, and also to friends and senators to whom he supplied the amount of property needed to secure their rank in the census.

¹ [Equal to 2,400,000,000 sesterces, evidently in round numbers, the exact total of the gifts not amounting to 2,200,000,000 sesterces. This note is probably by some Greek of Ancyra, and the Latin version here seems from its mistakes to be a version of the Greek and not the original.—*Ed.*]

[This famous document is all important in confirming the general verdict of historians as to the character of Augustus. It is eminently the declaration of a little great man, of one who had amassed all the means and materials for greatness, and had nevertheless failed to attain it—*imperator*, says T. Mommsen (*Mon. Ancyra*, p. vi.) *animi callidi magis quam sublimis, quique magni viri personam gesserit ipse non magnus*. He is unable to boast of a single large or fruitful reform, of a single enactment tending to the real improvement of his subjects. What are doles of money, gifts of land, votes of thanks and supplications to the gods? Acts of flattery and of mendicancy to which he habituated the world. He no doubt kept peace and order, he attempted abortive reforms in morals—abortive because they were made from without, and by mere imitation of ruder times. But for liberty of thought or for political development his mind seems a blank, and he can tell of no such benefits conferred upon his subjects.—*Ed.*]

CHAPTER LXX.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

I.—LITERATURE.

EXPRESSIONS such as the age of Pericles, of Augustus, of Leo X. are no longer at the present day misunderstood. These patrons of literature and the arts received from art and letters far more than they were able to bestow upon them; they count for nothing in the great work going on in their time. Intellectual revolutions, like all others, are long in preparation, bursting forth only when the man of signal ability appears. But men of this sort are formed by nature, not by the ruler. We must, however, give a name to epochs in which the race, concentrating its productive energies, brings forth in rapid succession a crowd of master-pieces; and the name is fitly chosen when it is that of a prince who has valued the achievements and courted the society of men of genius. History with good reason accepts the custom, and, say what we may, posterity will never separate these princes from the men eminent for genius, exploits, or virtues, by whom their reigns have been made illustrious.

Of these brilliant groups, shall we say that the noble train which gathers about Augustus—surrounding him, not led by him—is the least illustrious? Plautus is not among them, nor Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust, who all lived earlier, nor Tacitus, who belongs to a later period. But at his side, constantly helpful to him, we see Mæcenæ and Agrippa, diplomacy and strategy; and after them Drusus and Germanicus, young princes beloved of the Roman people and of history. Behind him are three immortal writers: Virgil, who leads the choir of poets; Livy, recounting the laborious lives, the patriotism, and the lofty deeds of bygone times; and Horace, the tuneful singer of good

sense and good taste. Following these, although very far behind



Urania, or Astronomy.¹

we add Trogus Pompeius the Gaul, and the Roman Greeks,

them, we observe Varius, who strove to rival Sophocles, as if the tragic muse could find a place at Rome along with the sports of the amphitheatre;² Tibullus, Gallus, Propertius, elegiac poets whose verses had but little simplicity because they were too learned; Ovid, whose copiousness is too often sterile; Phædrus, a cold but limpid writer; Manilius, who sang the stars, "the confidants of destiny;" Varro, Hyginus, and Flaccus, representing erudition under the only forms known at Rome, the grammatical and liturgical; Celsus, who, as an imitator of the Greek master of medical science, may be called the Roman Hippocrates; Strabo, the great geographer; and Vitruvius, the over-praised adviser of those unknown architects who changed the aspect of Rome. To these

¹ This beautiful statue, for a long time at Velletri, the native place of Augustus, is now in the Vatican (Hall of the Muses, No. 504).

² Varius composed a tragedy, *Thyestes*, which Quintilian has the bad taste to compare with the finest works of Sophocles and Euripides, but which was not played in public, as Ovid's *Medea* never was (viii. 3, 17, and ix. 1, 98). The Roman tragedies were suited only to private representations, being in large measure incomprehensible to an audience gathered from the four quarters of the globe, and representing every variety of beliefs and manners. To the poets mentioned in the text we may add Ponticus, author of an epic on the Theban war, which Propertius (*Eleg.*, I. vii.) flatteringly couples with the Homeric poems; Bassus, at that time famous for his iambs; Corn. Severus, author of tragedies, epigrams, and elegies; Peto Albinovanus, author of a poem on Theseus; Carus, who composed one upon Hercules; Tuticamus, translator of the *Odyssey*, and others. I will not speak of Cornelius Nepos, who

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Nicolaos of Damascus, who wrote general histories for this universal Empire; and lastly, the sturdy republican Labeo and his rival Ateius Capito, founders of the two great schools of jurisprudence, the one advocating strict adherence to the old Roman law, the other speaking in the name of that power then new, yet represented by Cicero as older than the world and contemporary with God himself, namely, equity, or natural justice.

Let us suppose that some skilful painter should represent on canvas the picture we have now sketched, and let it be placed side by side with Raphael's *School of Athens*: the dazzling superiority of Greece must be recognized, indeed, but we shall be able to say that Rome, for her part, can show a brilliant page.

From the train attending Augustus we may detach a few individuals whose action upon Roman society was especially direct, or who represent to us very clearly certain phases in the spirit of the times. A history of literature reserves all its attention for real works of art, and is justified in neglecting whatever does not bear this glorious stamp. But political history, which must deal with ideas, goes everywhere in search of them, even where the literary talent may be of a low grade. For this reason she questions, because of their popularity—that is to say, because of the influence they have wielded—a philosophic theologian like Varro, and even a comedian-moralist like Publilius Syrus, never failing, however, to reserve the first place for the men of genius who have made their age illustrious. Some of these men, who have written for all time, were in those days living at Rome, and while the emperor was providing peace and order, they for their part, with a rare comprehension of the duties of genius, were seeking to second him in his task of pacification, and by a worship of the good and the beautiful to elevate the public mind, so long debased by corruption, by fratricidal strifes, and the overflow of all evil passions. This is not to say that Augustus formally enrolled among his counsellors,

was a poor historian, nor of Julius Cæsar, who, as a writer, must be placed in the foremost rank. Hyginus was one of the emperor's freedmen and had charge of the library of the imperial palace.

with the title of professors of public morals, Horace and Virgil and Livy. Their inclinations harmonized with the intentions of the ruler, and in his own way each one of them, with entire freedom of action, wrought at the common task.

Against assigning this rôle to Horace, the reader may be disposed to allege that frequent levity of language which appears to us more culpable than it did to a people among whom even Cato regarded courtesans as a salutary institution. In spite of this tribute to the coarseness of Roman manners and to his own weakness, Horace is a moral writer. S. Jerome calls him a serious poet, and the ecclesiastical authors of the Middle Ages are wont to quote him.¹ Without rising, it is true, to the severe virtue of the Stoics, he stands between Epicurus and Zeno, in a middle region, somewhat too broad and easy it must be confessed, but one in which many like himself attain to virtue and integrity.²

And so, without much thought on his part, following his own inclination, not any man's orders, Horace, in the Roman world, assumed the functions of the early poets who first disseminated moral truths. The key-note of all his philosophy is that sentiment of fitness which in art we call good taste, and in the conduct of life, good sense; he is never done advising that moderation in desires which holds each man in his place, as the poet himself was all his life content with his clerkship in the quaestor's office. The melancholy of our times is quite unknown to him; never will he repeat those words attributed to one of his masters, Æsop: "God moistened, not with water but with tears, the clay whereof he made man."³ He does, indeed, see Death with fatal foot strike at the door of the poor man's hut as at that of the royal palace, but the sombre visitant only teaches him to make the most of the days still left him; *Carpe diem*, he cries, and

¹ The popes were stricter; the first edition of Horace printed at Rome bears date of the year 1811, during the French occupation [and yet in the previous century the most licentious selections from the classics had been most expensively produced at Rome—*Ed.*]. (Cf. Walckenaer, *Life of Horace*, i. 519, n. 1.) His father, a slave in Venusia, had assumed after his enfranchisement the name of the *tribus Horatia*, to which that city belonged; hence the son's name.

² *Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.* (Hor.; *Epist.*, I. i. 11.)

³ An expression quoted as Æsop's (Niceph. Greg., book xiv. chap. iv.), but manifestly of Christian origin.

adds felicitously: "As old age advances, become gentler and better."

Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta.

He acts upon his own advice and seeks to improve himself. "Let us see," he says to his *villicus*, "let us see which of us two is the better husbandman, you hoeing my field, I my mind—and whether Horace or his field shall come out the better." Withal, none of those theatrical austerities in vogue later, which neither nature nor virtue require. He leads an easy but an orderly life, and surrounds himself with all the elegance of art, of thought, and of nature. He loves not tumult and the crowd, and would have been no braver in the Forum than on the battle-field. A little domain in a beautiful situation, and a shady grove where in the days of a gay youth, somewhat over-prolonged, a Lalage or a Cinara awaited him, but where now only the delicate breath of the Muse agitates the leaves, *spiritum Graiæ tenuem camenæ*; good figs of Tusculum, and the Falernian of the year when Manlius was consul; elegant conversation—where daily more and more philosophy holds a place—with chosen friends, with him above all who was half the poet's soul, or that other whom he desired not to outlive—this, to Horace, was the height of his desires.¹

He has no desire for aristocracy of birth, dignity, popularity:

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor.

And elsewhere:

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.

And, if he seek the favour of the former and would be glad if his verses occupy the leisure of men of rank, he still proudly claims all the rights of genius. He does not blush to be known as a freedman's son and sending his poetry to the bookseller: "Do not fear," he says, "to recall my humble birth and modest fortune. What is denied me as a question of rank shall be given me for my merit." Horace really is, then, the poet of a world which was becoming monarchical and of a newly-formed court; and still he is very far from being a courtier. His position

¹ He said of Virgil, *dimidium animæ mee*; and declared to Mæcenas that he would die with him, which, indeed, with but a few days' interval, he did.

towards Augustus is like that of Racine and Boileau towards Louis XIV.; of greater dignity, in fact, for Horace had neither the office nor the pension of historiographer. He refuses favours, although to the most delicate tokens of appreciation the emperor had added the gift of his friendship.¹ And the patron comprehends his protégé's noble independence expressed in the latter's motto:



Site of the Villa of Horace.²

"I will rule Fortune, and never be ruled by her." Listen to these proud, free words even against the gods themselves: "Ask from Jupiter only that which he gives and takes away, life and fortune; but as for peace of mind, that is ours, to bestow upon ourselves."

Horace, the idler of the Forum, the *habitué* of the palace of

¹ *Carm.*, I. vi. and II. xii. See also *Epist.*, I. vii. Propertius does the same (III. ix.). Whether as flattery towards Augustus or from resentment against Cæsar, we cannot determine, but the fact exists that neither Horace nor Propertius ever make any reference to the dictator.

² From Didot's *Horace*, p. xxiii.

Mæcenas, addressed himself to the man of polite society in every age, and yet served the emperor's designs.¹

Virgil did this even in a higher degree, although living habitually out of Rome, and seeming in mind to dwell far apart



Virgil.²

from his contemporaries. He united in himself merits rarely found together; and yet in the history of letters is scarcely to be found a more harmonious genius. A heart chaste and tender, loving the woods and fields and nature in all her forms, echoing her soul with

¹ He appears, however, to have enjoyed but little popularity either during his lifetime or in the century following. The *graffiti* of Pompeii, which reproduce the verses of Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, quote not a line from Horace. Virgil, who fled from the world, has remained popular, and legend seized upon him even in the Middle Ages; to the people Horace was unknown, because for legend mystery is needful, which there was in Virgil's life, while there was none at all in that of Horace, who gives us the particulars of its daily course in the fullest detail. But he was very popular with men of letters, and is frequently quoted or imitated by Christian writers.

² Bust from the Museum of the Capitol.

his own,¹ he lavishes his affection upon all that he beholds, and animates whatever he sees that he may represent it as loving, suffering, and weeping. Everywhere he finds grief and tears: *sunt lachrymæ rerum*. He detests "the wicked madness of war,"² and he is touched, is grieved, at whatever dies, *mentem mortalia tangunt*,³ whether it be the heifer breathing out her gentle life beside the well-filled crib, or the bird struck down from the clouds, or the bull falling dead in the furrow at his mate's side, who bewails him with fraternal lamentation.⁴ For Cato the earth is a means of gain; for Virgil she is the nourishing goddess, mother of all beings. In the spring-time she receives her celestial spouse, the mighty Æther, descending in fertilizing showers which swell the germs of vegetation and make the harvests ripen. He sees and comprehends the vast cycle of the universal life, and in the enthusiasm of his poetic knowledge he cries aloud with all humanity:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

And there are also chords which vibrate to the breath of patriot thoughts, for all his country's grandeur, for Rome, which he calls the most beautiful of things, *rerum pulcherrima*, for that stately hill of the Capitol which shall endure "so long as the pontifex ascends its steps, the silent vestal at his side."⁵

All this he clothes in the most charming verse, and from the point of view of art Virgil is a greater poet than Homer; nevertheless, the *Æneid* will remain as far from the *Iliad* as marble is from life, since the most skilful artist cannot enter into competition with the work which sprang living from the hands of God or from a people's spirit. Homer could be blind, he sang what Greece had sung. Virgil examined all histories, he laboriously re-awakened the lost echoes of all traditions, and made a work of erudition as well as of poetry. Hence, to animate the fair Virgilian marble, it is needful to give it

¹ *Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus*

Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

Inde hominum, pecudumque genus . . . (*Æneid*, vi. 726.)

Virgil is so struck by the spectacle of this universal life that he goes so far as to say: *Animos tollent sata* (*Georg.*, ii. 350).

² *Scelerata insania belli* (vii. 461).

³ *Æneid*, i. 462.

⁴ *Georg.*, iii. 495 and 518. . . . *Dulcis animas—Mærentem . . . fraterna morte juvenum.*

⁵ *Hor., Carm.*, iii. 30; Virgil, *Æneid*, ix. 448.

what the Romans gave: the very soul of Rome, and of the Augustan Rome. How straight to the heart of the Romans his verses went; whether in his most finished work he sought to do by aid of poetry what the Gracchi had attempted by laws—to revive the taste for rustic labour and the virtues of the husbandman's life, the love for "the divine splendour of the fields"¹—or whether in the *Æneid*, which perhaps was originally called *The Acts of the Roman People* (*Gesta Populi Romani*),² he strove to reawaken in them the worship of the gods and heroes of the country! He gives to them a lesson even in his haughty cry: "Remember that

the Fates made thee to rule the world!" for he would have them recollect that this Empire was obtained by a sober and religious life. Virgil, who so often sought inspiration from the verses of Lucretius, combats from beginning to end of his two poems the atheism of his great predecessor. "Above



Æneas bearing Anchises (pius Æneas).³

all," he says, "let the gods be honoured!" It is the password of Augustus! And, while attesting the sway of the lords of Olympus over the world, he takes pleasure in exhibiting the early shepherds of the nations, those kings of heavenly origin, who, like Cæsar's successor, caused peace and plenty to prevail around them.

If the *Georgics* are the praise of labour sanctified by religion and recompensed by the gods, the *Æneid* is the eulogy of monarchy consecrated by the divine will and protection. The two poems,

¹ *Divini gloria ruris.* (*Georg.*, i. 168.)

² In the verses attributed to Gallus, *de Virgilii morte*, it is said, in reference to the *Æneid*, that it must be preserved, notwithstanding the dying poet's wish: *Fac laudes Italum, fac tua fata legi.*

³ From a painting on a vase made at Nola (Museum of Munich). O. Jahn, *Münchener Vasensammlung*, No. 903.

therefore, were a plea in favour of that threefold restoration of the manners, the religion, and the royalty of early days, which Augustus was striving to accomplish. Thus, in the wise Æneas, whom the gods led by the hand from the Trojan shores to the banks of the Tiber, many recognized the pious son whom Fortune had conducted from the schools of Apollonia to the palace of Cæsar. The figure of Æneas in the poem seems pale only to those who wish to find an Achilles or Ajax in this calm, cold personage,



Tityrus, the Shepherd: souvenir of the *Bucolics*.²

always master of his heart and of his courage, because he is fulfilling a divine mission and bears, with his sacred Penates, the destinies of the Eternal City. This founder is a priest rather than a hero; the gods act in and by him, *pius Æneas*, and upon his death he became the national divinity, *Pater Indiges*.¹

In the eyes of Virgil's contemporaries, the second Æneas, his combats ended and his father avenged, passes, like his prototype, tranquil and gentle through the midst of a world in disorder, calming the passions in which he has no share, bringing back

to earth the order which the gods establish in heaven, and also bearing in his hands the destinies of a new Rome, of which in his turn he is to be the protecting divinity, *divus Augustus*.

I merely touch in passing the *Bucolics* of Virgil, a false style of poetry which appears only in the midst of a *blasé* society, where, under gilded ceilings, men talk of flocks and shepherds. In beginning, Virgil proposed to himself to rival Theocritus; and yet in some lines one becomes aware of the genius which later will unfold its wings and soar to the highest summits.

It is not within our scope to speak of the style and com-

¹ This idea that the *Æneid* is a religious poem and Æneas a pontiff exists in Macrobius.

² From a terra-cotta lamp (Museum of the Louvre).

position of the two poets. It may be observed, however, as a trait of the character of Virgil, that his heroines are much more poetic than his heroes. No man among the ancients, Sophocles and Euripides excepted, has been able to penetrate as he has done the heart of woman, and discover the treasures of affection, of modest dignity, and of courage concealed there. Dido is the most impassioned woman whom an African sun ever burned with its fires; his Andromache is more touching than Homer's, and



Shepherd, with his Kids.¹

Camilla has become the type of the warlike virgins whom the poets celebrate.²

In exquisite delicacy of feeling Virgil is not of his time, and belongs still less to it by another side of his genius. The shock of the civil wars falling upon his frail and nervous organization³ made him not only a poet but also a diviner, *vates*. When after so much bloodshed and destruction, after so many deeds of violence of "the impious soldier," the victory of Octavius gave ground for hopes of the return of order, he saw, with prophetic vision, rise upon the world the morning light of a peace

¹ Group in the Vatican.

² [This interest in female character was a feature in the Alexandrian literature, as may be seen from the *Medea* of Apollonius Rhodius, in so many respects the prototype of Virgil's Dido.—Ed.]

³ He was tall, but with feeble digestion and delicate lungs.

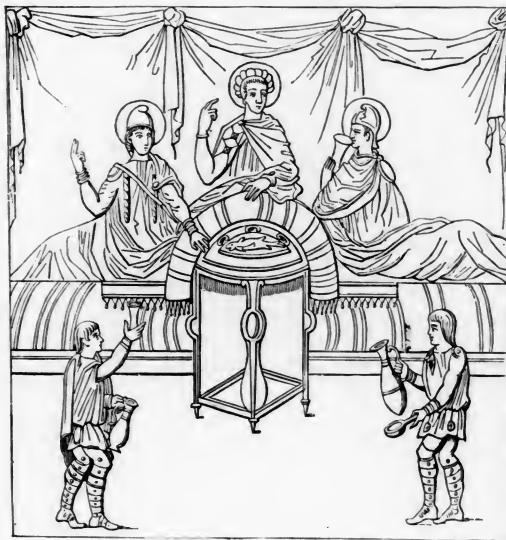
which was to endure for two centuries. Horace celebrates its welcome approach, dear to all eyes: now peace—now pleasure!

*Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus!*

cries the gay guest of Mæcenas. The swan of Mantua utters also his cry of joy, but his great and serious thought mounts higher: he sees the renovation of the ages, the order of the centuries which is beginning, and, as it were, a new race descending from the skies to diffuse throughout the world a new spirit:

*Ultima Cumei venit jam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo....
Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto....
Aspice convero nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque tractusque maris cælumque profundum:
Aspice, venturo letentur ut omnia sæclo!*

It is like Columbus, lost amidst the stormy seas, shouting to his trembling crew the saving cry, "Land! land!" and pointing out amid the mists of the western horizon the new world about to emerge from the depths of the waters.



Dido and her Guests.¹

Virgil, in thus speaking, well expressed an idea which from the recesses of his poet's heart had risen to his head, expelling thence the last traces of sadness and strengthening the hope already there; but in these beautiful lines he also drew inspiration from the Etruscan traditions concerning a millennial

¹ Miniature from the Virgil of the Vatican, from A. Mai, *Virgil. pict. ant. ex. cod. Vatic.*, 1835.

renewal of the world; and perhaps, too, unconsciously, he echoed the vague and mighty emotions with which all the East was astir, about to take form in the grand and divine personality of Jesus Christ. For the purpose of reconstructing the Sibylline books burned in the fire which consumed the Capitol, all the oracles current throughout Greece and Asia had been gathered, and from those lands where patriotism always develops itself in the religious form many Messianic predictions had been brought to Rome. The Hebrew books, and those of the Mazdæans, were full of these prophecies, and the Jews had brought them to Rome, where a prophecy of the sibyl, perhaps set in circulation by Cæsar, announced the immediate and necessary advent of a king.¹

A messiah is the faith of the religious races when oppressed, and according to their natural genius they expect him peaceful or warlike. How many times have the Arabs, even in our own day, believed that they saw, like the Jews of Palestine, a saviour-prophet appear among them!² Etruscan, Persian, and Jewish belief,³ or sibyl's falsehood, this idea of a peaceful redeemer possessed the soul of Virgil at the moment when those long wars seemed to end, and, renouncing the habitual theme of the Golden Age, which the Greek poets placed in the early days of the world, he dared to make it a promise for the future.

*Ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo.*

The race has become habituated to this broader view, and, with its indestructible hopes, persists in placing in the future what formerly it placed in the past. The historian, who also looks towards that quarter of the sky where yesterday's sun went down to discover signs of what the morrow's sun shall be, loves to

¹ Jewish books were numerous in Rome. Horace, the friend of Virgil, repeatedly mentions them. (*Sat.*, I. iv., and I. ix.) Cf. the famous passages of Suetonius (*Vesp.*, 4), of Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 13), confirmed by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5, 4). Cic., *de Divinat.*, ii. 54.

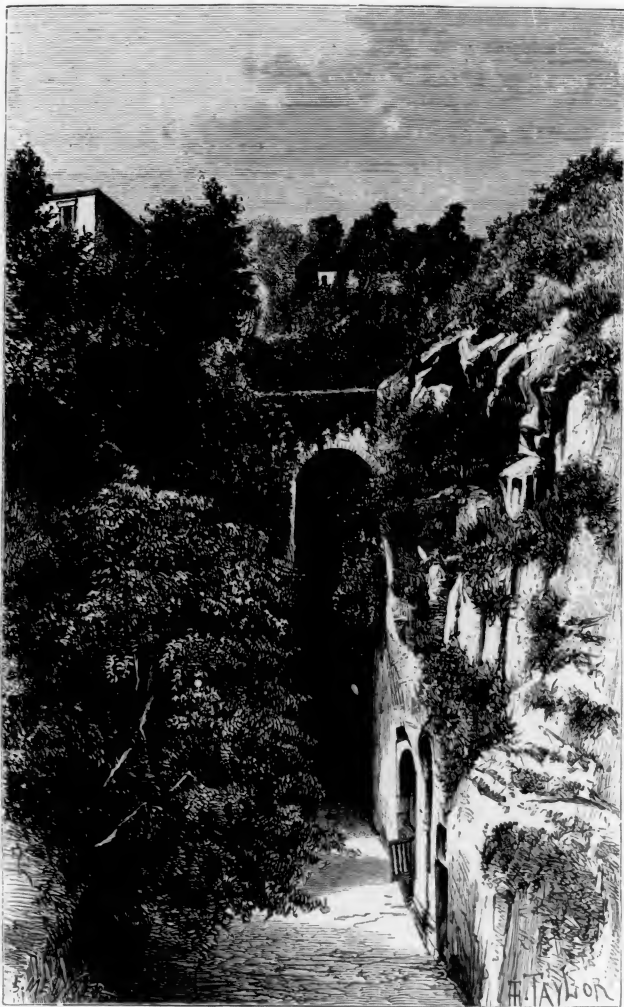
² This is the idea of Abd-el-Kader's curious book. He admires our wealth and our civilization, but reproaches us that we do not believe in messiahs. This work is an example of that peculiar condition of Oriental minds which has given rise to so many religions.

³ If needful, we might discover a Jewish and Persian idea in lines 24-25 of the fourth *Eclogue*, which speak of the serpent's death, as in Genesis, and of the revival of the tree of life:

*Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur animum.*

The *animum* was to the Greeks the tree of life, the *hom* of the Mazdæans.

regard Virgil, not only as the singer of ancient times, but as the



Tomb, called Virgil's, near the Entrance to the Grotto of Posilipo at Naples.¹

poet who had a presentiment of the future, the "gentle master,"

¹ Virgil died at Brundisium, and in accordance with his desire his remains were brought back to the region he had most loved, between Naples and Puteoli. To receive them, a monument was built near the entrance to the grotto of Posilipo, but the ruins shown at present under the name are not his tomb.

whom Dante accepted as a guide, and who has been regarded as one of the precursors of a great moral revolution.¹

Horace and Virgil represent all of Greek that could enter into the Latin genius. Livy, on the contrary, is purely Roman, and the successor of a long line of men who, after serving the country upon fields of battle or in the councils of the State, desired still further to serve her by holding up to future generations the examples of their ancestors. History, like law, was a patrician science at Rome.

It is not known that Livy, who appears to have been of good family, was descended from any of the old Roman houses, but he belonged to them certainly by sentiments and character. He was born at Padua, in the same year that Cæsar received the command in Gaul, and he came to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium, where, like Horace and Virgil, he became the friend of Augustus, who interested himself in the historian's labours, supplied him with documents on the early history of Rome, with which Livy was not well acquainted, and opened to him all the archives of the Empire. From these sources Livy drew discreetly, not having, though really a lover of the truth, either the scholar's curiosity to investigate patiently the remains of the past, or the penetrating critical faculty which divines that which has ceased to be, or even always that impartiality which cares not if a fact wound the pride of the patriot or the author's propriety.

A few words in his preface reveal his very rhetorical, but not very historic method: "The facts," he says, "which precede or accompany the foundation of Rome, have come to us embellished with

¹ One thing a little spoils Virgil for me: he loved money and died a rich man. In the ode, *Ad Virgilium negotiatorem*, Horace, who remained always poor, invites him to supper, on condition that he bring the perfumes, and begs him to relinquish business for a moment:

Verum pone moras et studium lucri.

(*Carm.*, IV. xii.)

Cf., Martial, v. 16. I have spoken of his chastity; I mean as poet, although we must except the second *Bucolic*; but as man it is quite otherwise. (Cf., Martial, VIII. lvi., and Donatus, *Vita Virg.*, cap. v., § 20.) Horace represents Damasippus as addressing to himself a similar reproach:

Mille puellarum puerorum mille furores.

(*Sat.*, II. iii. 325.)

Cf., *Carm.*, IV. i. and x. Tibullus (*Eleg.*, I. iv.) and Catullus (xlviii. lxxxi. xcix.) had tastes not less depraved.

poetic fictions. . . . We pardon antiquity this introduction of the gods into human affairs, which renders more august the beginnings of cities. And, indeed, such is the renown of the Roman people in war, that when they proclaim the god Mars as their founder the nations must suffer it with the same resignation as they submit to our Empire." We readily forgive Livy this haughty language when it is a question of divine origins; but when he forgets the capture of Rome by Porsenna, and the ransom of the Capitol carried away by the Gauls,¹ I distrust him everywhere, and fear that he has exaggerated many victories or concealed many defeats. I regret also that he should copy Polybius at great length, without giving the latter's name, unless we believe, with the candid Rollin, that he did justice to Polybius in some of his lost books.

We must, however, acknowledge that—not to speak of his grand style, which has all the amplitude of Roman majesty—Livy possessed some of the most precious merits of the historian: a vigorous hatred of evil from whatever side it came, whether from the nobles or the people, the senate or the tribunes; the powerful imagination which gives action, life, and colour where the mere annalist would put only a name, a date, a fact; and, finally, the faculty of making himself the contemporary of those whose history he relates: calm in the presence of passions that he may judge them accurately, yet never losing sympathy with all forms of enthusiasm, that he may understand and depict them. In the days of the early Republic, aristocratic liberty would have found in him a mighty orator for its defence. That which he could not now be upon the rostra he was in his books, which are real lessons in eloquence. In them we study the finest forms of language; but his fellow-citizens found there the noblest examples of courage, of discipline, of perseverance, of patriotism—in a word, of Roman virtue.

What was his political creed? He does not tell us. But in his long study of a history of seven centuries² he had learned

¹ See vol. i. pp. 179 and 254.

² The hundred and forty, or hundred and forty-two books of his Roman History, of which but thirty-five are left to us, begin at the foundation of Rome and close with the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius—a space of 743 years.

that institutions are not immutable, nor governments perpetual, and he sought to moderate this inevitable mobility by two forms of control: a respect for morals and a respect for law. This conservative force he required even of Scipio Africanus, the renowned conqueror of Hannibal; and he again demanded it of the contemporaries of Augustus. It was thus that this great historian, whose mind "became ancient by contact with ancient things,"¹ this republican, who praises Brutus and is distrustful of Cæsar, this free citizen of "the greatest Empire after that of the gods,"² this rare soul which loved the past, and comprehended the present—it was thus that he also came to have without seeking it an active part in the monarchical work of the conqueror of Antony.

By a contradiction, which the false position explains, wherein, from the first, Augustus placed the Empire, it suited his policy that the picture of the manners of the early Republic should be placed before the eyes of those of whom later Tacitus said that they rushed to meet their slavery. The man whom the situation compelled to violate public liberties would have been glad to bring back the old time without the old liberty; he who had taken the soul out of the nation would have esteemed it his highest glory that these soulless bodies should have the dignity of citizens, that they should become masters of the world by being masters of themselves. We understand the noble ambition of Augustus to make his monarchy illustrious by republican virtues, to balance the docility of minds by an austerity of manners, the dazzling luxury of an incomparable city by the modest and tranquil pleasures of rustic life; but to wish for things mutually incompatible is surely to fail. His poets and his historians had the success which the most eloquent of men obtain when they talk in one direction while ideas, and needs, and habits all tend in another. The crowd escapes their influence; a few men feel it, and formulate, as we shall shortly see, those noble protests of the conquered past against the victorious present, which will prevent, as did Thræsea, the unanimous establishment of demoralized consciences in the presence of despotism.

¹ xliii. 13.

² *Maximum secundum deorum opes imperium.* (Livy, *Pref.*)

Livy and Virgil, both depicting the ancient time, were destined, however, to have under the Empire diverse fortunes. After the time of Augustus the great annalist of Rome was little read; the partisan of Pompey became an object of suspicion by reason of his manly tone, and we lose three-quarters of his work. All of Virgil's we have retained, for his graceful lines contain in them no danger to tyranny. Among the early traditions his religious soul took most pleasure in those stories of divine things which awakened no imperial jealousy; and when he praised the life of the fields it was not, like Cato, because there the best soldiers and freest citizens were to be found, but rather because there one forgot the Forum "and war, in the repose and silence of the vast country."¹ Livy, less a poet, was more a statesman; and the book which Augustus had encouraged as a national work appeared an incendiary work to the Caligulas and Domitians.²

Varro, another conservative more Pompeian even than Livy, for he served Pompey, scarcely belongs to the Augustan age, since he died five years after the battle of Actium; but he represents a side of the Roman mind which we must not omit, and his works had an influence which at least deserves mention.

Varro obtained from Pollio the honour that alone of living authors he had his bust beside his works in the library of the *Atrium Libertatis*, and could thus "be present to his own posterity." The homage rendered to Varro was beyond his merits. It is true that he lived ninety years, that he published seventy-four works, and ceased to write only when he ceased to live, so that he represents in himself all that the Augustan age knew of the ages that preceded it. "We wandered," says Cicero, addressing him, "like strangers in our own country; thou hast told us who we are and where we dwell. Thou hast fixed the age of Rome and the

¹ *Procul discordibus armis.*

. . . . *Latis otia fundis.*

(Virgil, *Georg.*, II. 459 and 468.)

[Cf. Lucretius's *Pastorum* *otia dia.*—*Ed.*]

² Caligula caused Livy to be removed from all the libraries, and Domitian put to death a citizen whose admiration for the historian was too great. (Suet., *Domit.*, 12.) But it is to a pope that we doubtless owe the loss of a part of the *Annales*. Gregory the Great caused to be burned all the copies of Livy that he could find, through pious horror of the prodigies which the historian relates, and also through fear lest these narratives should serve the pagan cause.

dates of her history; thou hast taught us the rules of the sacred ceremonies and priesthoods, the usages of peace and war, the position of countries and cities, all things human and divine, with the causes which have produced them and the duties they lay upon us." The eulogium is magnificent, but Cicero was complaisant that day; this immense erudition was amassed without judgment and produced without art. The fables that Livy relates with discreet brevity, Varro asserts and expands; and when he attempts vivacity in his treatises by imitating the dialogues of Cicero, his senile attempts displease, as the dull lines of his *Menippean Satires* have the misfortune to remind us of Lucilius and Horace.

Varro, the theologian of the Roman world, borrows his theology from Euhemerus and from the Stoics, without being over-mindful to reconcile the two systems or to conciliate his philosophical ideas with the beliefs of the people. For him there exist three religions: that of the poets, a work of the imagination and domain of fable; that of the philosophers, discovered by reason and explained by it; lastly, that of the magistrates, which is a civil institution. With the first, Varro amuses himself without believing in it; in the second he believes, but does not affirm his belief; the third, through motives of policy, he affirms, and composes his *Divine Antiquities* to defend this official faith against the indifference by which it is assailed.

He admits, however, the unity of God; he believes in "the great soul of the world which blends with the mass of the universe and governs it by reason and will. . . . The earth and the rocks are the bones of God; the sun, moon, and stars his senses; the ether, his soul. From the ether this soul of the world spreads into the different elements, and the divine part contained in each is called God." Are these gods animated with a life of their own or simply manifestations of the one God? The first solution saved polytheism; the second killed it. Varro, who had no more heroism of thought than of action, avoids expressing an opinion.

Doubtless he could have wished that his gods should make a better figure in the world to the eyes of the philosophers, and so we find him indicating that they are personifications of the terrible or the beneficent forces of nature. After all, it was enough for

him if his meaning were guessed at by his friends: hence he does nothing to purify the popular religion, but much to strengthen the bonds laid by it upon the whole existence of the citizen in the interests of the State.¹

We know that in religion, as in all things, the mind of the Romans remained in lower regions of thought, far from its lofty summits;² that they conceived their gods only as guardians of the field and vineyard, and protectors of the house and the family where their ritual was punctiliously fulfilled; that for the great gods of the city and for the domestic divinities alike there was a cult, but there were no doctrines, there were rites, but no dogmas.³ If we seek among them for those sentiments of gratitude and love which are the foundation of all true piety, we shall find only a narrow formalism, the trace of which lingers yet. For the contemporaries of Augustus the religious citizen is he who scrupulously observes all the rites, not the man of virtuous life. From this point of view, the Romans were the most religious, that is to say, the most superstitious of men.⁴

Varro employed twelve books of his *Divine Antiquities* in explaining the organization of the priesthood, the nature of sacrifices, the order of ceremonies, in a word, the whole liturgy. His work, therefore, was the Roman ritual, and as such it had much authority and great influence; for this reason S. Augustine attacked it with so much severity, or at least quoted it so frequently in his refutation of paganism.

The *Divine Antiquities* were a work trivial in point of religious or philosophic conception, important by reason of their detail and as a political idea. At the moment when Julius and Augustus Caesar were proposing to bring order into the State, *ordinare*, Varro essayed to bring order into religion. What was the result of his efforts? He confirmed the crowd in their superstition, men of

¹ *Religio a religare.* (Servius, in *Aeneid*, viii. 349.)

² Vol. i. p. 94.

³ *Religione, id est cultu deorum, multo superiores* (Cic., *de Nat. Deor.*, ii. 3); and here *cultus* is taken in its limited sense of rites. The entire passage is explained in this way.

⁴ *Religiosi dicuntur qui faciendarum prætermittendarumque rerum divinarum, secundum morem civitatis, delectum habent.* Festus (s. v.) adds: *nec se superstitionibus implicant.* This does not destroy the force of what is said in the text, the word *superstitio* being applied to practices and beliefs contrary to the State religion.

intelligence in their indifference, and rulers in the doctrine that it was necessary for the public good to observe traditional rites. This was all that Augustus required.

Varro deals with philosophy as he does with religion; he loves not to look up, and never willingly lingers upon the abstract speculations of Pythagoras and Plato; he hastens to the rules of practical life, sometimes finding noble thoughts along his path: "We do not live for the sake of living, but to accomplish noble designs;" and this, too, which is Christian before Christ: "We should wish for others what we desire for ourselves, for our wives and children and fellow-citizens; and this affection, extending outward from the family to the city, should not be limited there but should embrace the whole group of nations that form humanity, and rise to the gods themselves, whom philosophers represent as the friends of the virtuous man."¹

We have here the word of the future spoken by one of the most valiant defenders of the past; but had he left us only this Varro would have deserved a place in this brief summary of Roman literature. He interests us, however, for another cause. His innumerable works, in which is found everything—religion, philosophy, history, rhetoric, grammar, science,



The God Sylvanus, Guardian of the Fields.²

¹ *Sent.*, n. 115. [This was a current Stoic principle, and no doubt translated from Greek.—*Ed.*]

² Statue of the Blundell Coll. (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 449, No. 820, A.)

rural economy, in verse and prose—guided, under the Empire, the education of the West, in which respect he resembles Cicero, but without his art.”¹

One form of literature, that of the theatre, can teach much in respect to the social condition of a people. Religious and patriotic in the Athens of Æschylus, it became in Byzantium a school of depravity. What was it in the Rome of Augustus? We are not able to judge by the few drawing-room tragedies which remain to us, but we know that the plays composed by Publius Syrus, a Syrian slave, had the same fortune as certain of Varro’s books, since S. Jerome informs us that in his time they were still read in the public schools.

Syrus had been carried to Rome on account of his beauty, an excellent recommendation, he says, and later was enfranchised, like Phædrus and Terence, on account of his intellect. He went about Italy for a long time, as Molière in the French provinces, composing and performing his comedies (*mimes*). Attracted to Rome by the splendid games given by Cæsar, B.C. 45, he was victorious over all his competitors, even Laberius, and up to the first days of the Empire he reigned upon the stage. His pieces are all lost, but we have some eight hundred pithy maxims of his, which Seneca quotes frequently. “Syrus,” he says, “is the greatest of dramatic poets when he abstains from the low jokes fitted for the ‘gallery;’” and Petronius, in comparing Syrus with Cicero, does not hesitate to call him the loftier.

I do not over-estimate the utility of the fine sentiments which men often repeat without conforming to them; at the same time it is needful, in order to form a true idea of a social condition, to know what was regarded as perfection, as well in morals, as in art, poetry, and law. Moreover, these maxims which the generations hand down from one to another may be indeed but the drop of water which falls incessantly and seems to vanish in a little mist; but look closely, and you will see that the drop of water is piercing the granite. Here are some from Syrus:²

“Listen to thy conscience and not to vain opinions, for it

¹ [Of his works only *de Re Rustica* and fragments are extant.—*Ed.*]

² Interpolations have been made in this collection; some of these sentences do not belong to Syrus. [Many of them are Stoic commonplaces and sayings from Menander.—*Ed.*]

will punish even where there is no law. He who loses honour has nothing more to lose. It is more needful to heal the maladies of the soul than those of the body, and the important thing is to live well, not to live long; a noble death gives immortality.

“A great fortune, a great slavery; wherefore disdain all that thou canst lose. Fortune lends, she never gives. He is richest who has the fewest wants.

“To command oneself is the noblest empire, and a manly soul does always what it commands itself to do.

“Expect from another what thou thyself wouldst do to him. Imitate not that which thou blamest in others, nor make of their woe thy rejoicing. Keep thy word, even to an enemy, and have only good thoughts towards him; it is better to receive an injury than to do one. Forgive others often, thyself never, for one must live at peace with men, but at war with one’s own vices. Let us rival each other in gentleness and goodness, for this is the noblest emulation.

“Gods look to see if the hands are pure, not if they are full.”

Other traits are very subtle:

“A man dies as often as he loses one of his own. The closest kinship is that of souls. Love, like tears, springs from the eyes, and falls upon the heart.”

Or energetic:

“Honours adorn the upright man; they brand the knave. Where the accuser is the judge, force, not law, prevails.”

In thus speaking, Syrus condemned in advance Sejanus, and Nero’s judges. He saw still further when he desired to put humanity into the law: “The extreme justice is almost always an extreme injustice;” and further yet when he said: “Discuss all that thou hearest; prove all that thou believest.” This is the very utterance of Descartes.

Certainly this was good seed falling by the wayside; but who knows whether it may be carried by the wind to some fertile corner where it can germinate?

The old Greek poets endowed man, for good as well as evil, with a superhuman grandeur. In those days the country claimed

the whole citizen, and did not suffer him to forget himself in love. Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, who sang of heroes, ignore that individual and fascinating passion. But in the peaceful and sensuous cities of the Alexandrian East, poetry delighted to depict the raptures and the miseries of the heart, and its influence came into Rome with Propertius and Tibullus. Fatigued with the spectacles of so many scenes of blood and tragic adventures, men sought oblivion in pleasure, and sang of love where once only manly strains had been heard. Neither Julius nor Augustus Cæsar had any share in bringing about this change, which the new tone of manners and mental condition had produced; and political history need not occupy itself with these writers, mere artists in language, who expressed only personal sentiments. The historic muse asks nothing from Catullus, although his little masterpieces place him very high in Latin literature; still less from Propertius, whose accents are sometimes those of real passion; and Tibullus, whose poetry resembles those delicate fabrics worn by the beautiful Roman women which were said to be woven of the wind; nor even of Ovid, who lived longer than these poets, of lives brief and fragile like their poetic inspiration. He, for his part, had a curious secret to relate to us, the secret of his exile; but he did not tell it, and we are seeking the solution to this day. Two of Ovid's works, however, show both the efforts of Augustus to re-animate the old beliefs and the vanity of his reform of manners. Ovid wrote for the prince a sort of religious and national calendar, the *Fusti*, and for his contemporaries, a manual of libertinism, the *Ars amatoria*,¹ which found many more readers and especially many more disciples. "Venus," he says, "now dwells in the city of her son Æneas." From a literary point of view, it is enough to say that Ovid, who had too much wit and too little genuine feeling, announces by his marvellous and brilliant facility the coming of decay. Yet here and there in his verses are found, if not energetic accents, at least the echo of some strong thought; this, among others, which has become the axiom of modern science, after having been first of all

¹ He explains to us himself that his *Art of Love* was performed with dances and postures, like a series of detached pictures.

a philosophic view of Pythagoras: "All things change, nothing perishes."¹

To the list of the poets of this time we can add neither Augustus nor Mæcenas, although they both essayed to speak the language of Horace. The prince was unsuccessful; of Mæcenas, we have this strong line remaining: "I care not for my tomb, nature buries those whom life has abandoned."² The counsellor of Octavius during the days which preceded the Second Triumvirate had something better than the soul of an Epicurean.



Arrival of Æneas in Latium.³

Looking at the Augustan literature as a whole we see that it imagines little and copies much; its voice, a tuneful echo, has scarcely any original notes, and the best among those who represent it remember far more than they invent: of two hundred fragments which remain to us of Greek lyrics, more than a hundred are imitated by Horace.⁴ This constant pre-occupation of all the Roman writers with the works of Greek genius impaired their originality; memory destroyed inspiration. Art expelled nature, and with it true passion. Still this literature merits the place which is given it in the annals of the human mind; if it has not the majestic energy of works born of the mighty breath of the imagination and of a people's faith, it gives us one of the most perfect models of the literature of a polished society.

We must also observe that, fairly balancing all things, the literature of this period maintained its self-respect. The poet is often trivial, and art is not morality. But we may notice that the worst of Horace is in his *Epodes*, which he did not make public, and that the theatre, where licence later went so far, was

¹ *Omnia mutantur, nihil interit* (*Metam.*, xv. 165.) Seneca (*Epist.*, 108) and Persius (iii. 84) have repeated it. [Properly the doctrine of Heraclitus.—*Ed.*]

² *Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos.* (Seneca, *Epist.*, 92 *ad fin.*) Augustus wrote much in prose, and in verse composed a poem on Sicily, a collection of epigrams, and a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, which he burned. (Suet., *Octav.*, 85.)

³ Coin of Antoninus. Æneas bearing his father Anchises towards the circular temple of Vesta. Below, the sow and her thirty young, presaging to Æneas the fertility of his race.

⁴ From the age of Augustus the Roman grammarians divided their literature into two parts, one national, the other called by them exotic, as being imitated from foreign works.

still kept within such bounds that a great collection of noble sentiments has been extracted from the comedies of Publilius Syrus.

To conclude, this literature, which had dignity, was not lacking in independence. Liberty, which had voluntarily withdrawn herself from public assemblies, had taken refuge with letters, for they are privileged to guard, even under the ruins of the temple, a spark of the sacred fire from which the noble exile may, some day, re-kindle her extinguished torch. Society resigns its powers into the hands of a single man; but the human mind never does this. In the presence of Augustus, Horace sings "the fatal day (that of Philippi) when valour gave way, and the still threatening countenances lay in the dust."¹ Virgil places Cato foremost in the Elysian Fields,² and Livy is permitted with impunity to celebrate the deeds of the great aristocracy whose places Augustus occupies, and gets no harder censure for it than the surname of the Pompeian. Timagenes attacks the emperor and his friends with keen shafts: Augustus warns him to be more guarded, and as he redoubles his violence, forbids him the imperial presence; but Pollio receives the author, and all the city runs after him.³ We have just seen that the imperial library was not closed against either Catullus or his imitators.

Labienus, however, need not trust this tolerance; if he goes too far his book will be burned by a decree of the senate,⁴ and in virtue of the law concerning treason Cassius Severus will be exiled into Crete for having attacked the most intimate friends of the prince; but it is certain that he must have allowed himself very strange liberties, for Tacitus condemns him. A law was passed rendering defamatory libels punishable;⁵ misdemeanours of opinion thus fell under the imperial legislation. They were already dealt with in the time of the Republic, since the Twelve Tables; and we ourselves, after twenty-three centuries, are not decided

¹ Eulogies upon L. Sextius, Q. Dellius, Pompeius Grosphus, and Cassius Parmensis, all of the party opposed to Octavius, are found in the verses of Horace.

² . . . Pios, his dantem jura Catonem (*Aeneid*, viii. 670).

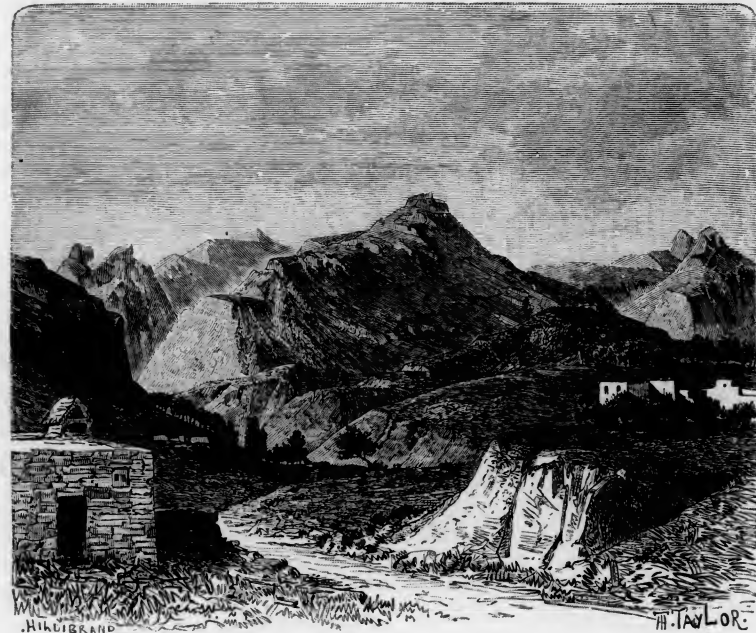
³ Seneca, *de Ira*, iii. In respect to the moderation of Augustus see Suet., *Octav.*, 31, 33, 51, 56, 61, 66; Seneca, *de Benef.*, iii. 27; Val. Max., VII. vii.; and Macrobius, *Saturn.*, II. iv.

⁴ Seneca, *Controv.*, v., *præf.*

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72.

whether, when it concerns the Government, it is better to prosecute them or to pass them by.¹

Mæcenæ has been considered a sort of Minister of literature; but only those inferior writers whose inspiration comes by order are subject to discipline, and under these supervisions only an official literature can be produced, which perishes at its birth.



Landscape in Crete (Spratt, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 213).

That Mæcenæ regulated this may well be believed; he had little difficulty in doing so, for servility was the great evil of the time. Does not Augustus complain of seeing his name compromised by unskilful flatterers,² as later Tiberius was indignant at finding his senate too submissive? But we will not confuse the great minds with this rabble, to whom oblivion has done justice. The relations

¹ Dion, in the discourse of Mæcenæ (lii. 31), is opposed to prosecution, and Tacitus maintains that the prohibition to read certain books made all their popularity: *Conquisitos lectitatosque donec cum periculo parabantur, mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit* (*Ann.*, xiv. 50). This we too have seen.

² Horace (*Sat.*, II. i.) speaks of precautions that must be taken to praise Augustus in a manner which will be agreeable to him.

of Augustus and Horace show in what manner the prince treated true poets, and if certain of their lines shock our modern democratic pride, we must always make allowance for hyperbole with these southern temperaments.

Louis XIV. directed Colbert to write to the eminent scholars of his time. Augustus wrote himself to Virgil begging the latter to send him the opening passages of the *Aeneid*, and to Horace to complain that he was not admitted to share with Mæcenas the poet's friendship. "In your verses you do not willingly converse with me. Do you fear that posterity may consider it a disgrace to be my friend?" And elsewhere: "Thou hast proudly refused my friendship, and yet I have not repaid you with the same disdain."¹

II.—SCIENCE AND ARTS.

Augustus loved and encouraged intellectual work; still he appears not to have suspected the immense achievements made by the Greeks in the domain of science; he was too Roman to perceive and appreciate them. In the sciences the Romans have really produced nothing. "All that they know," Strabo says, "they owe to the Greeks, without having added the least thing, and wherever a gap exists do not hope that they will fill it."² Martianus Capella says even more forcibly: "If we except Varro and some other illustrious persons, there is not a son of Romulus whose threshold science has ever crossed." If she did come, it was but as a casual visitor, for she brought them not a particle of the inventive spirit. Vitruvius added no more to the geometry of Archimedes than did Celsus to the medical science of Hippocrates; and Nigidius, who in Cæsar's time made some studies in mathematics and natural history, is especially known by a treatise on astrology which is a theory of divination. Being a senator, he could occupy himself with prodigies without derogation; as for pure science, that was suited to freedmen. King Juba, who was

¹ Suet., *de Viris ill.*, fragm. The poet had refused to be the emperor's secretary. [Are these details trustworthy?—Ed.]

² vi. 190.

educated at Rome, and had the reputation of being one of the most learned men at the court of Augustus, firmly believed that a dead man had been raised to life by the virtue of a certain Arabian plant.¹

Thus mathematicians are rare, but there are swarms of astrologers. All the world consults them, Varro among the rest, who desires his friend Tarutius to cast the horoscope of Rome; and Augustus, who firmly believes in his star, since he knows that his future greatness had been predicted in accordance with the scheme of his nativity.

For the study of nature we have Cato, Varro, Columella, who occupied themselves only with rural economy. They make no attempt to obtain from nature any of her secrets; they seek only to make her more productive. Physics and chemistry did not exist.²

Physicians, it appears, were numerous, being, according to Martial and Celsus, specialists for every part of the body and every form



Musa, the Physician of Augustus, as Asclepius.³

¹ C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 479.

² It is remarkable that the window-glass found at Pompeii which has been analyzed by M. Bontemps has the same composition as our own: silica, 60; lime, 7; soda, 17; aluminium, 3. M. Dumas indicates for ours: silica, 63; lime, 9; soda, 17; aluminium, 4. But glass was not a Roman [but an Egyptian] invention.

³ Statue in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, 17. A statue erected to Musa by public subscription was placed near that of Asclepius. "It was usual," says Vitruvius (i. 2, 20), "to place the sanctuaries of Asclepius near a spring which would serve for ablutions and baths of the sick."

of disease; even women practised,¹ and this custom lasted long in Italy. But, men or women, they all dealt with the science of medicine as the mathematicians did with astronomy, treating the sick at random or on preconceived theory. The most famous of them, Aesclepiades of Bithynia, a friend of Cicero and of all the Roman nobles, was the very type of a famous charlatan.

Aesclepiades.²

He, however, uttered a half-truth of importance: "Nature is the physician;" and he sought to cure in an agreeable manner, *jucunde*, by regimen rather than severe medicines. Musa eclipsed his fame by saving the emperor's life in 23 B.C. through the use of cold baths. The compilation made by Celsus has only the merit of preserving to us much Greek science and giving an important place to anatomy. Surgery was at this time much more advanced than medicine, practising lithotomy, the operation of trepanning, many obstetrical resources, and the operation for cataract.

For the purpose of attracting physicians to Rome Caesar gave them the freedom of the city, and Augustus immunity from taxation. "But this art," says Pliny, "did not harmonize with Roman gravity."³ The Greeks alone carried on this lucrative profession. If by chance there were physicians who had not come from the Peloponnesus or from the Asiatic coast, they were compelled to borrow from the Greeks their idiom

¹ Cf. Orelli, *Inscr.*, Nos. 4230-31: *Iatromata prima, medica prima*, etc. The organization of the medical service in the Empire will be explained, chap. lxxxiii., § 4. The law allowed physicians to furnish medicines, and required them to sign prescriptions. Hence the great number of physicians' seals which we possess.

² Bust found near the Appian Way (Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Philosophers).

³ *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 8.

as well as their recipes in order to obtain patronage; and it seems that they spoke at Rome the language of Athens as the French doctors in Molière's time spoke in Paris the language of Rome.¹

In the arts the Romans had, like men grown suddenly rich,² the taste of Mummius for statues and pictures: they would have them everywhere; but they were as incapable of comprehending the chaste beauty of the Venus of Melos as they were of producing the work, for when we see Scaurus collecting 3,000 statues for the theatre in one day, and the city containing perhaps 70,000, we cannot help believing that quantity was to them the point of importance;³ and when Valerius Maximus speaks of Fabius *Pictor* as occupied in a pursuit which he calls "sordid,"⁴ I cannot but fear he expresses the general opinion of a people who had not, for the arts, that singular esteem without which neither great artists nor beautiful works are produced. Instead of founding genuine schools of painting and sculpture they allowed an immense traffic in art to be established, which filled the cities and palaces and villas with marbles produced at the lowest prices in the Greek and Asiatic studios, where work was done for exportation, and with paintings executed also by Greeks, either freedmen or else slaves, who gave at least an extreme gracefulness, if not grandeur to their figures and decorations. The Roman influence appears in sculpture only by one merit, to which the Greeks seem never to have given a serious thought:⁵ their busts are portraits, and by the low, square foreheads, and the hard, obstinate faces, we easily recognize the race that subdued the nations of the earth. In statuary, as in every other respect, the Romans sacrificed the general to the special, art to nature, the ideal to the real; but it is only in the region of the ideal that we must seek that

¹ [I have noted elsewhere the parallel use of Doric Greek for prescriptions at Athens, when the school of Croton was in fashion, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 278.—*Ed.*]

² The arts decline, Pliny well says (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 32) *quoniam rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur*.

³ *Populus copiosissimus statuarum* (Cassiodorus, *Variar.*, vii. 13; *Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. p. 592). Otf. Müller, Raoul Rochette, and Jacobs admit this number.

⁴ *Sordido studio . . . deditum* (VIII. xiv. 6).

⁵ Except in their "Iconic" statues, which were rare, since a man must have been victorious three times at Olympia to obtain one. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 9.) [And also in many famous busts of philosophers, as may be seen in the British Museum or at Naples.—*Ed.*]

primitive type of human beauty that God, it is said, "made in his own image," and Phidias found in Homer.

There is no doubt, however, that sculpture produced extremely beautiful works in the Roman epoch, from the statue of the Elder Agrippina in the Capitol, whose attitude is so proud and noble, down to those of Antinous which Hadrian multiplied throughout the Empire. But the hands were Greek that made them, as they



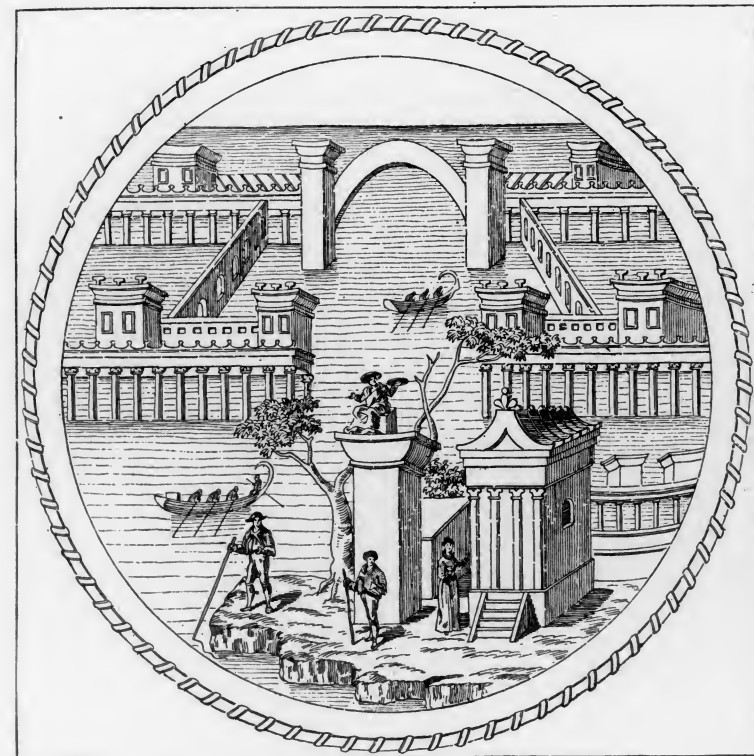
Agrippina (of the Capitol).

made also the beautiful engraved gems of which some bear the name of Dioscorides, and the magnificent cameos of Augustus, Germanicus, Tiberius, and Claudius, which are the ornament of our museums. This Dioscorides engraved the seal which the successors of Augustus used because the head of the prince was so perfect a likeness.

Painting was even less Roman than sculpture, if that be possible. The great pictures which were seen at Rome were spoils of war, except a few that had been purchased. Among the buyers

we mention with pleasure Agrippa;¹ and are compelled also to mention Tiberius for a work of Parrhasius.

Art cannot live long in servile hands. Vitruvius, in the time of Augustus, was already complaining of the bad taste of the painters, and a half century later Pliny said: "The art



Marine painting (from Pompeii).²

of painting is at the point of death. . . . The painters are being driven out by marble-workers and gilders."³ And what he himself relates explains this rapid decay: "In the time of Augustus," he says, "there was at Rome a certain Ludius who first conceived

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4.

² Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 5th series, pl. 20.

³ Vitruvius, vii. 3; and Pliny: *artis morientis . . . ars nobilis . . . nunc vero in totum marmoribus pulsa, jam quidem et auro* (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 1 and 11).

the idea of decorating the walls of houses with charming paintings. He represented there country houses, porticoes, trained shrubs, woods, thickets, hills, ponds, canals, streams, shores, as each man desired. Figures walked about or sailed in boats; arrived at the villa on donkeys or in carriages; fished or snared birds; hunted or harvested. Beautiful villas rose from the marshy shore; men carried women thither upon their shoulders, and as they walked



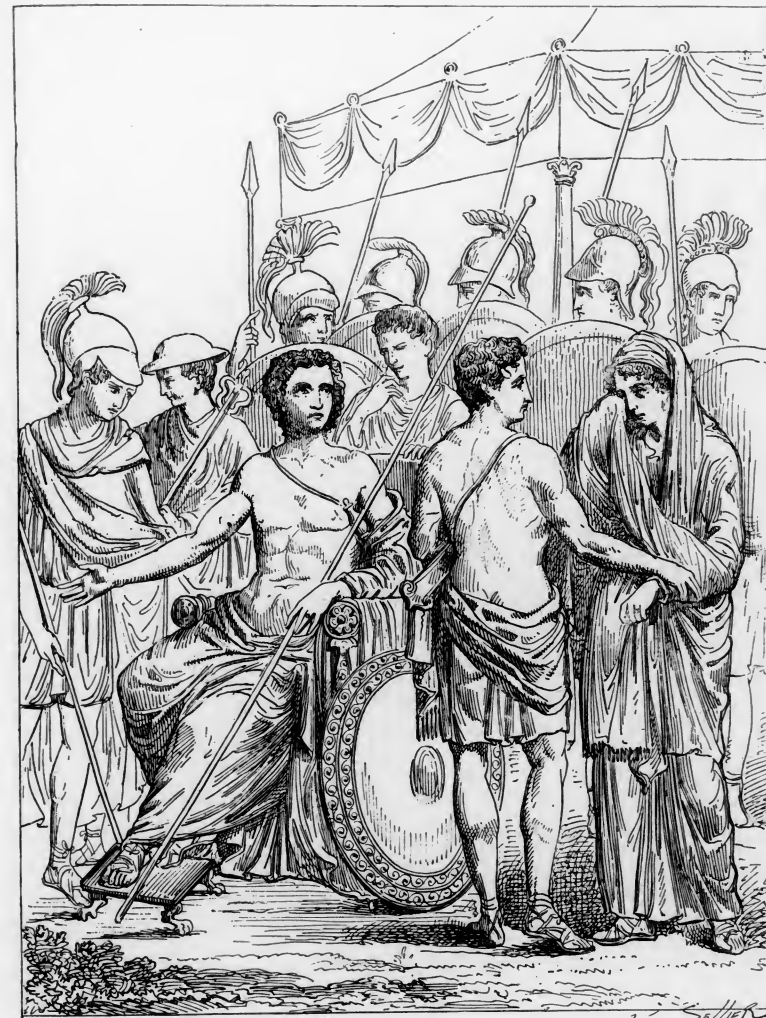
The Dealer in Loves (p. 204).¹

slipped or stumbled. He paints in this style a thousand other ingenious or amusing subjects, and also maritime cities of very pleasant effect, and at very little expense." Alas! these paintings so pleasing to Pliny,² even to Augustus—for in his house recently discovered on the Palatine is to be seen a picture of this kind: a street in Rome, women going out, other women looking down

¹ From a painting discovered at Stabii in 1758. (Monaco, *le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 25.)

² *Amoenissimam picturam . . . blandissimo aspectu . . . argutiae facietissimi salis* (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 37). Ancient Italy loved frescoes and painted illusions just as modern Italy does. From July, 1867, to May, 1879, 843 of them were discovered in Pompeii. (See catalogue of M. Sogliano in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata del Vesuvio*, 1879). In 1867, M. Helbig counted and described 1,968 paintings in Herculaneum and Pompeii.

from a balcony upon them¹—these charming paintings were



Briseis taken away from Achilles.²

cheap, I admit, *minimo impendio*, but they were by no means art,

¹ See, p. 152, design of a fresco in the house of Livia.

² From a painting in Pompeii. (Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 2nd series, pl. 72.) Achilles, surrounded by his myrmidons, looks at the youthful Briseis, who is led in by Patrocles.

and it is natural, this being their taste, that the Romans should have had artisans instead of artists. At the same time, we know that Raphael sought inspiration for the *Loggie* of the Vatican from arabesques found in the baths of Titus; and though the paintings in Pompeii were commonplace, some in Herculaneum and the Farnesina¹ are very graceful and charming, the *Dancing Girl*, for instance, the *Dealer in Loves*, *Briseis taken away from Achilles*, etc.

An art highly esteemed by the Romans of the present day, mosaic, covered in Italy and the provinces the pavement of the villas. They are found everywhere, and are extremely beautiful.² The *Battle of Issus*, discovered at Pompeii in 1831 in the house of the Faun, is justly celebrated.

III.—LAW AND ARCHITECTURE.

There is one science in which the Romans have no rival and one art to which they gave, using former elements, a new form—architecture. But of these two glories of Rome, one is anonymous, for though we have grand edifices we have no great builder, one alone excepted, Apollodorus, the architect of Trajan and Hadrian; the other is attached to many names, but to no book. The *Digest*, in which is preserved for ever the juridic wisdom of Rome, has caused the loss of the innumerable volumes from which this wisdom was collected; they disappeared after their substance had been taken for the purpose of concentrating all in one impersonal work.³

Architecture and law having this in common, namely, that the originality of the Roman genius is exhibited in them rather than in literature, we have placed them together at the close of this chapter, disregarding the ordinary rules of classification. But

¹ The construction of the quays of the Tiber brought to light in 1879, in the gardens of the Farnesina, the remains of an expensive house of the last days of the Republic or of the Augustan period.

² We have given in preceding volumes the mosaics of Otricoli, Italica, and Constantine.

³ With the exception of the *Institutes* of Gaius recovered by Niebuhr, the *Liber Regularum* of Ulpian, and the *Sententie* of Paulus. A very great number of eminent juriconsults are named in the *Corpus juris*, but of their books only fragments remain. In the compilation of the *Pandects* or *Digest*, abstracts were made from 2,000 treatises on jurisprudence, and 3,000,000 sentences were reduced to 150,000.

since in the time of Augustus this science and this art are still in formation, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out the path upon which they enter, rather than describe their monuments, of which the most important did not yet exist.

* Rome had at an early period the Twelve Tables, and the *jus Ælianum*, which contained their formulas and a commentary upon them.¹ Then, by the side of the decemviral laws, was developed a new legal system founded upon different principles. By their conquests the Romans came into relations with foreign nations, whose interests they were obliged as magistrates to regulate. The necessity was thus imposed upon them of comparing the different legislations, and on finding certain provisions everywhere existing they came to think that these had their foundation in human nature. They then understood the eternal rivalry which exists between the narrow law which the State decrees, *jus strictum*, and the natural equity, *æquum*, which humanity demands, which reason imposes, and which the ages progressively apply. From the union of these provisions, peculiar to certain nations, but in reality suited to all, they composed the common law of all civilized peoples, *jus gentium*, which was established, not instead of the older law, *jus civile*, but along with it. Scaevola, the great juriconsult, commenced this revolution² more than a century before the battle of Actium, and from his time equity was incessantly invoked to soften the rigour of the decemviral law, which, though never expressly abrogated, found itself by degrees transformed into a new code.

The most active agents in this transformation were the prætors. In respect to all things not regulated by law or usage, that is to say, in most cases, the Roman magistrates had within the limits of their office a discretionary power. In order to avoid the arbitrary they were required to make known by an edict, before taking office, the principles which they proposed to follow, and a Cornelian law (67 B.C.) prohibited them from disregarding this edict in their decisions. The larger part of what we should call

¹ See vol. i. 217 sq.

² See vol. ii. p. 275 et *supr.* Cicero says of the juriconsult Sulpicius: *Jus civile semper ad æquitatem et facilitatem referebat* (*Philipp.*, iv. 5), and of Crassus: *Multa tum contra scriptum pro æquo et bono dicit* (*de Orat.*, i.).

the administrative law of Rome had no other basis than these edicts of the prætors. In them were inserted a crowd of rules of civil law, formulas of actions adapted to this or that contract; the prætors promised to intervene in certain cases to relieve from forfeitures or to grant privileges, to impose stipulations, to authorize legal possession, etc. If the letter of the law was opposed to the new principle which they sought to introduce, they escaped from the dilemma by a fiction. Thus the edict of the prætor appeared to be founded upon the civil law, while by judicious innovations it gave satisfaction to the new needs indicated by the juriconsults, "in order to secure to a conquered world the best conditions of peace."¹

There came a time when the edict of the prætor, the annual law, *lex annua*, as Cicero calls it, in the preparation of which the most experienced juriconsults took part, formed a considerable body of laws. The larger part of the edict became traditional, *edictum tralaticium*, the new prætors, as a rule, respecting the work of their predecessors or limiting themselves to the addition or removal of a few articles. Thus was formed the prætorian right, mobile and supple, at the side of the immutable right of the Quiritary law.

At Rome, the censors, the consuls, the foreign prætor, and the curule ædiles—in the provinces, the magistrates sent out to govern them and the quæstors, all had the *jus edicendi*. To these multiplied sources of legislation must be added the laws voted by the centuries; the *plebiscita* voted by the tribes, although, contrary to the custom in modern states, legislation but rarely interposed to modify the civil law; and lastly, the decrees of the senate, which often regulated questions of private right touching on religious or administrative obligations, the finances, or the government.

There resulted from this variety in the sources of law a confusion which was avoided only by very profound learning. The study of the law became the Roman study *par excellence*, and its masters were the *wise* or the *juriconsulti*.

¹ *Æneid*, vi. 852. Papinian says of the prætorian *jus*: . . . *Est quod prætores introduxerunt, adjuvandi, vel supplendi vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam* (*Digest*, I. i. fr. 7, § 1).

A juriconsult was ordinarily a man of good family who, not having been able or not having chosen to become an orator, fled the tumults of the Forum and placed his learning at the disposal of those who wished to be enlightened on doubtful points, instructed as to the best forms of contracts or actions, or to be secured against the flaws which abounded in all legal procedures.¹ Horace shows us the gate of the juriconsult besieged from early dawn, *sub galli cantum*, by an eager crowd of clients. He gives his advice with authority, and it is received with respect; these are oracles which he utters seated on his throne, for so was called the seat of this legal pontiff, *sacerdos juris*.² In civil cases his opinion usually ended the suit. "What is finer for an old man," Cicero exclaims, "after having passed through an honourable career, than to be able to distinguish himself at the close of his life, to direct by his counsels, if not peoples and kings like Apollo in Ennius, at least his fellow-citizens, and to say with the god, 'Are men in a state of uncertainty, I dissipate the cloud, I enlighten, I fortify their souls, and they walk no longer at random in the gloomy paths of life!'" Elsewhere the great orator, who was not always equally just towards the juriconsults, gives this life the name of a civil militia, and rightly, for the lawyers of Rome conquered an empire vaster and more durable than that which her legions subdued.

Was it not they who, by their commentaries, made of the prætorian edict "the living voice of the civil law," and whose *responsa* and treatises furnished the most abundant material to the compilers of the Pandects? They established schools frequented by paying pupils, of which some became famous.³ Under Augustus their authority increased. We have seen that this prince appointed official juriconsults, whose *responsa* were given in the emperor's name, and these jurists had the duty, as Gaius strongly expresses it, "of making the law," that is, by determining the meaning of texts.

The most famous of the jurists of that time was Labeo. It would be satisfactory to have a portrait of this learned man, whose

¹ This is what Cicero expresses in three words: *respondebant, scribebant, cavebant*.

² *Digest*, i. pr. § 1. [*Solium* was the word.—*Ed.*]

³ *Stationes jus docentium* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, XIII. xiii. 1).

father, the friend of Brutus, killed himself after Philippi, but we have neither his life nor his works. It is said that he refused to accept the consulship at the hands of the emperor, whom he esteemed but did not love: we know that he occupied only the office of prætor, and his haughty reply to Lepidus on the subject is historic.¹ He composed more than forty treatises, one of which was a commentary on the Twelve Tables, and numerous fragments of them are preserved in the Pandects.

Labeo and his rival Capito, who was much in favour with Augustus and Tiberius, were the chiefs of the two schools of jurisprudence, the Proculiani and Sabiniani, which in the end were merged in the vast unity of the Roman law.² It is not without interest to notice, as yet another trait of the restoration attempted by Augustus, that his favourite jurist stood out for the old laws, interpreted literally, and in a narrow and rigorous sense, while the son of the man who lost at Philippi sought more freely for the spirit of the early laws, and yielded more to the new principles which reason, applied to the interests of the eternal city, revealed.

The Roman jurists have great merits: a comprehension of social needs so clear that they were able to foresee the forms these needs would take; a reasoning so close that they drew from the text all its necessary consequences; a method so rigorous that it may be compared to that of the geometers; that it has given the laws of Rome the appellation of "written reason;" and lastly, a clear, precise, simple style, almost like that of an inscription, which seems designed to leave nothing to arbitrary or sophisticated interpretation. But, it must be owned, these *prudentes* are too reticent, and the jurists of Rome do not belie the general character of the Roman mind, that is to say, a common-place tone and the lack of philosophic views. Was Gaius a Stoic? and did Ulpian belong to the Epicurean sect? It is so thought by some, but no one can affirm it; we may say, however, that the legal mind which analyzes, discusses, and classifies is the opposite of the Stoic, which establishes no difference between a mortal sin and the most trifling misconduct. The

¹ See p. 168.

² Cf. Pomp. (*Digest*, i. 2, 47), and Tac. (*Ann.*, iii. 75).

jurisconsults of Rome search out texts and not matters like these, sublime truths or dangerous delusions, pure gold or worthless dross, which are only found outside the beaten paths. Their genius is altogether practical, and their utility is their glory. After all, this definition of jurisprudence, *Ars boni et æqui*, and these three precepts: To live honestly, to injure no man, and to render to each what is his due, are more useful for the ordinary conduct of life than the most brilliant creations of the philosophic mind. The ideal of the Greeks is the beautiful, τὸ καλόν; that of the Romans is the honourable, *honestum*, that is, all that promoted personal dignity. If we must grant that in the work of the ancient civilization the Greeks have the most beautiful part: thought, art, and science, the Romans have certainly the most useful, the law, with, however, an important reservation, namely, that this law, so equitable for the interests of each man, was placed by the jurists under the principle of the emperor's absolute authority, *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet*, thus becoming the instrument of despotism in the Roman Empire, and later in modern monarchies.

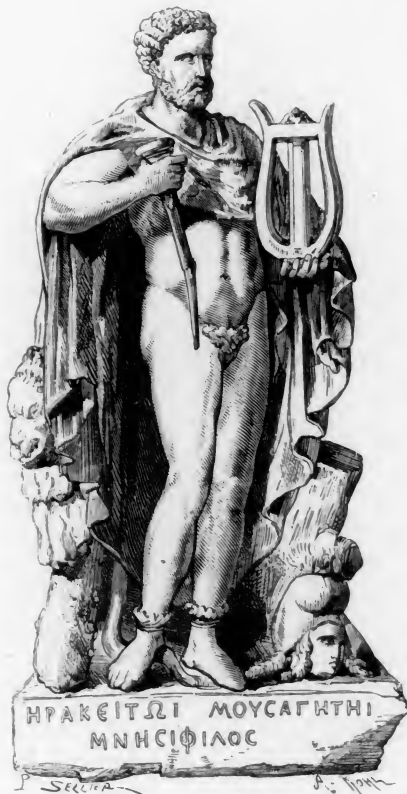
But with the evil came its remedy. All this legislation is animated with a reasonable spirit which some day will destroy the principle of the emperor's absolute right; and it is chiefly to the Roman laws that Latin Europe owes that philosophic, or rather socialistic, spirit which has had its highest expression in France.

From Rome's greatest science we pass to architecture, her favourite art. If we except the wall of Servius, the Cloaca Maxima, the aqueducts, the military roads, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the theatre, the portico, the curia of Pompey, and, on the Appian Way, the strange tomb of Cæcilia Metella (*Capo di Bove*), ancient Rome had but few great constructions. Julius Cæsar began the building of monumental Rome with his Forum and his temple of Venus Genitrix, with his Basilica, which Augustus completed, and especially with his great Circus.¹ Cæsar sent home from Gaul to Æmilius Paulus 8,000,000 sesterces to complete a five-naved basilica, which was decorated with a prodigious quantity of columns of Phrygian marble, and he aided

¹ Seven hundred yards long, 300 broad, surrounded by a two-storied portico, where were placed two obelisks which, in 1587, were found twenty-four feet under ground.

Curio in the building of two contiguous theatres, which a powerful mechanism caused to turn when filled with spectators, so as to inclose an arena for the combats of the amphitheatre.

Augustus promoted all work of this kind. He enumerates his constructions proudly in his Testament.¹



Hercules Musagetes.²

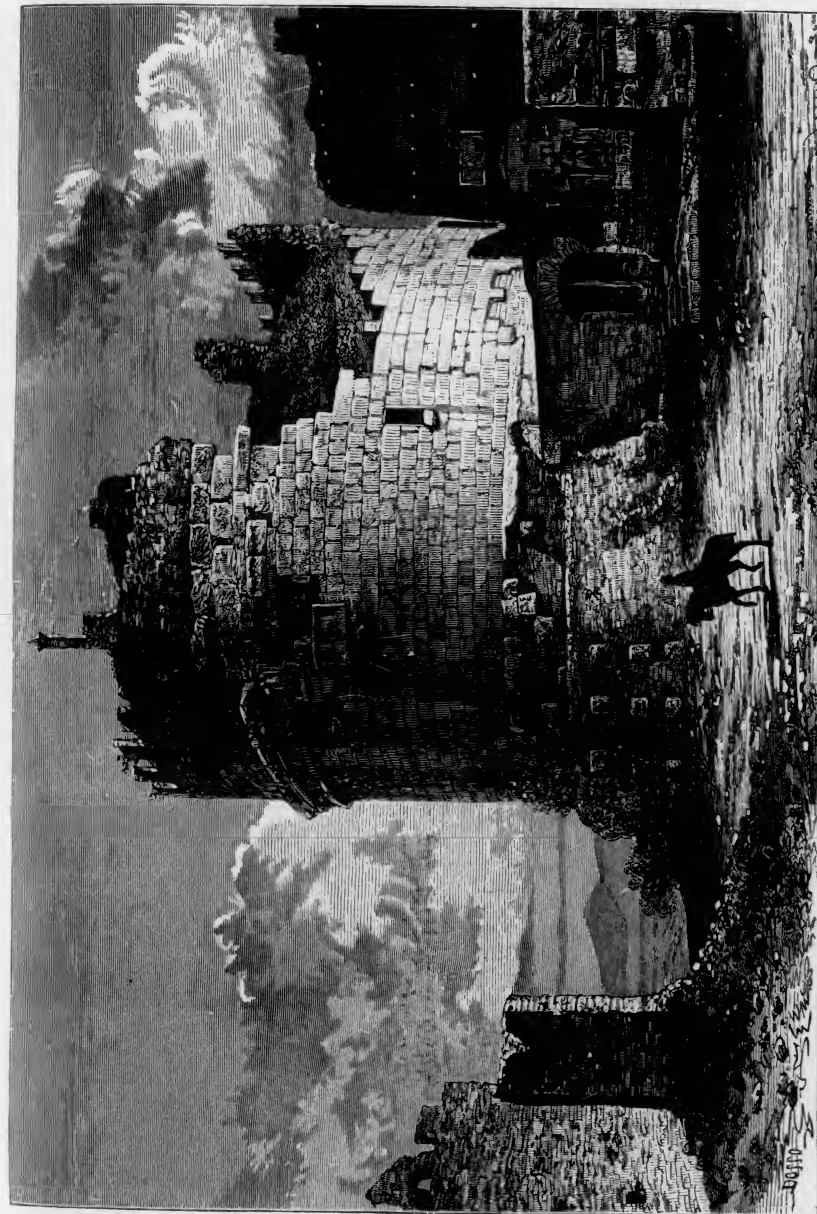
Giordano; Pollio, the *Atrium Libertatis*; and in the valley which lies between the Quirinal and the Pincio, Sallust laid out his famous gardens.³ It is to be wished that we could describe the theatre of Marcellus, which, with its three orders, one over the

Many persons of importance followed his example in order to gain his favour. Mæcenæ improved the sanitary condition of the Esquiline, and built a palace there surrounded with splendid gardens; when to this the emperor added a grove and a basilica with spacious galleries, this place, destined for the punishment and burying-place of slaves, became one of the most beautiful promenades in Rome. Temples were built by Philippus to the Hercules of the Muses; by Cornificius, to Diana; by Planeus, to Saturn. Balbus erected a theatre whose ruins themselves alone make the *Monte Cenci*; Taurus, an amphitheatre, which some day will perhaps be discovered under the *Monte*

¹ [Cf. above, p. 161.]

² From Montfaucon, vol. 1, 2nd part, pl. 137, fig. 1. See in vol. ii. p. 62, another Hercules Musagetes, from an engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*.

³ The *Horti Sallustiani* became imperial property, and one of the beautiful statues of Antinous has been found there.



Tomb of Cæcilia Metella, on the Appian Way.

other,¹ and its portico and summit a colonnade, must have been one of the most remarkable buildings in Rome.

The Pantheon of Agrippa, however, stands in all its perfection. In the interior this round temple awakens admiration by its great dome, the largest existing, which seems to rest upon the ground,



The Pantheon, according to du Perac, in 1575.

as at the horizon the dome of the sky seems to rest upon the earth.² At the top it opens with an orifice twenty-seven feet in diameter, so that the enormous mass seems to be balanced by some miracle, and the entire temple is lighted only from the top. It was evidently Agrippa's design that the first monument of the new Rome should symbolize the world whereof the Empire of Augustus

¹ The placing of different orders one above another was a Roman invention. It was never done in Greece. [A second story of pillars was not uncommon.—*Ed.*]

² The arch does not go down to the ground; it rests upon a *podium* or circular wall, 73 feet in height.

occupied the larger part.¹ The single eye of this dome of stone is at such a height from the ground that in spite of its wide aperture the temperature of the building never changes. "The most violent storms send down scarcely a breath upon the head of one standing beneath, and in a shower you will see the rain fall vertically upon the pavement of the rotunda and trace a wet circle there. The cylinder of drops falling through the space of this great building makes one conscious how immense it is. It is in conceptions like these that the Roman was truly great."² Unfortunately the multiplicity of details in the ornamentation enfeebles the general effect. Such was the quantity of bronze found in it that Pope Urban VIII., after much had been taken away, still found enough there to cast a number of cannon and the immense baldachin in S. Peter's. But it must be owned, this allegory in stone, majestic from the interior, from the exterior appears flat and heavy. It has been well said by M. Ch. Blanc (*Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, p. 86): "... A cupola, seen from without, by its curve deprives you of a part of its extent, since, instead of developing itself, it enfolds itself, and appears less in size than it is. Only its diameter is seen as it really is. A singular thing is that a rectangular temple like that at Paestum is made larger by its outlines, while a circular one is made smaller, so that the two buildings deceive the eye in opposite ways, the one concealing its smallness, the other its size."

Nor was the site happily chosen; it was near the old Goat's Pool, the place where Romulus, on being assassinated, was made a god. Tradition recommended this corner of the Campus Martius, where there was already another heavy edifice, the Thermæ of Agrippa, which was close to the Pantheon. The Greeks certainly would never have built it there, for they understood that buildings gain much from the site, but Agrippa, who was the least Greek³

¹ *Illa incluta Roma
Imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo.*

(Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 781-2.)

² Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*.

³ *Vir rusticitati proprior quam deliciis* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 4). Two things diminish much the effect of the Pantheon: the region about it having been raised, you go down to the building instead of going up to it; and, secondly, the stucco or marble with which it was covered externally having fallen off the wall appears in its nudity, showing the poor material of bricks of which it is made, without doubt concealed by Agrippa. In the *Piante iconografiche*

of all the Romans, proposed to obtain his effect from the imposing mass of the building rather than from the elegance of its proportions or the fitness of its surroundings.

This circular form reappears again in the tomb of Cæcilia Metella and in the mausoleum of Augustus, a great pyramidal tower covered with white marble and as high (100 mètres) as it was broad at the base, but divided into three stories by retreating steps, each of which was planted with cypress-trees. On the top the statue of Augustus surmounted a small round temple in which stood an urn destined to contain the emperor's ashes. The conqueror of Egypt doubtless wished for himself a tomb resembling the royal sepulchres of Memphis; unless, perhaps, the architect found the suggestion of his monument at the gates of Rome in that tomb of *Capo di Bove*, so easily turned into a fortress by the mediæval engineers.¹

After all these constructions Augustus boasted that he had left a city marble which he had found brick. The eulogy is merited; Augustus, without doubt, put much marble into Rome, but did his architects put there a Roman art, and what place does that art hold in the general history of architectural ideas? The question is so necessary in the study we are making of the character of the Roman society that we shall be pardoned for delaying upon it for a moment.²

The art of the Greeks is marvellously simple and strictly logical. To them the exterior of the building is given by the

di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI., published in 1880 by M. Rossi, the Pantheon is raised by five steps at the entrance and four in the entire circumference; but I believe this design to be an arbitrary restoration of an artist about the close of the 15th century. All the plans of the 16th century represent the base of the Pantheon as lower than the adjacent ground.

¹ The temple of Mars Bisulter, built by Augustus on the Capitol to contain the standards of Crassus, was also round but very small. The excavations made since 1861 by M. Pietro Rosa in the Farnese gardens upon the Palatine, where at the close of the last century was found the house of Augustus, have brought to light the remains of the temples of Jupiter Victor and Jupiter Stator, some courses of the wall of *Roma quadrata*, and more recently the house of Livia. The walls of many rooms are covered with stucco and with the best mural paintings left us by antiquity. This house of the empress is extremely small and simple, confirming what historians relate of the modest habits of the prince.

² Hegel says: "A people may have absolutely disappeared from the earth and from history, leaving behind them but a single monument, and this monument may permit us to penetrate the recesses of their thoughts." Had we, for example, but the Thermæ of Caracalla and the Coliseum of Titus, we should understand at least half the character of the Roman society of their time.

building itself, as in the human figure the envelope depends upon the bony framework, which it reproduces, softening it by harmonious lines. The Greek temple is a unit, structure and ornamentation coming from a single idea. Thus one of Plato's ideas, as it were, creates spontaneously the form which expresses it.

The Romans are not artists of this kind; they love the beautiful and employ it, but they always make it subservient to the useful, and this preoccupation sometimes destroys the unity of the plan. Many of their edifices seem to have had two architects, the one constructing, the other decorating; one preparing the skeleton of the building, the other adding the decorating envelope.

Rich, mighty, and numerous, the Romans desired to have in their vast capital monuments corresponding to their Empire; like it, imposing by their mass much more than by the ideas which they awaken, and overloaded with borrowed ornament, as their literature is a reflection from Greece, and their elegance an exotic luxury stolen from Tarentum and Syracuse, from the kings of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.

What was this mausoleum of Augustus? A mass of earth



Coin of Selinus.¹

and stone, of trees and columns, everywhere betraying effort and an attempt at grace, as if the architect had sought to trick out a Pharaonic pyramid to please the taste of the fine gentlemen of Rome. And this Pantheon of Agrippa, so heavy and massive, this challenge to all future builders,² never became a mighty work of art, speaking to the eye and to the mind, till Michael Angelo took it to place it on the summit of S. Peter's.

¹ ΣΕΛΙΝΟ. Apollo standing, holding a patera and a branch of laurel. On the reverse, ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Apollo, discharging an arrow, in a biga driven by Diana. Tetradrachm of Selinus.

² The dome of S. Paul's in London is 34 mètres in diameter; that of Saint Sophia, 35; of S. Peter's and of the Duomo in Florence, 42; and of Agrippa's Pantheon, 43. In Paris the dome of the Invalides is but 23 and of the Pantheon but 21. [But the domes of S. Paul's and S. Peter's are placed high in the air and start from the roof, whereas Agrippa's is set almost on the ground.—Ed.]

The Greek crowned Cape Sunium with an edifice, and carried the Parthenon to the top of the Acropolis, he built the temple of Apollo on the rocks of Parnassus, and those of Agrigentum and Selinus on the hills which were the rampart to those cities, with the design that the gods from their sanctuaries should be able to embrace in their glance the harbour and all the people placed under their protection.¹ If he were obliged to build on a plain he at least isolated the building, and gave it, as at Paestum, the



Remains of the Library and of the Public Palace (p. 219).

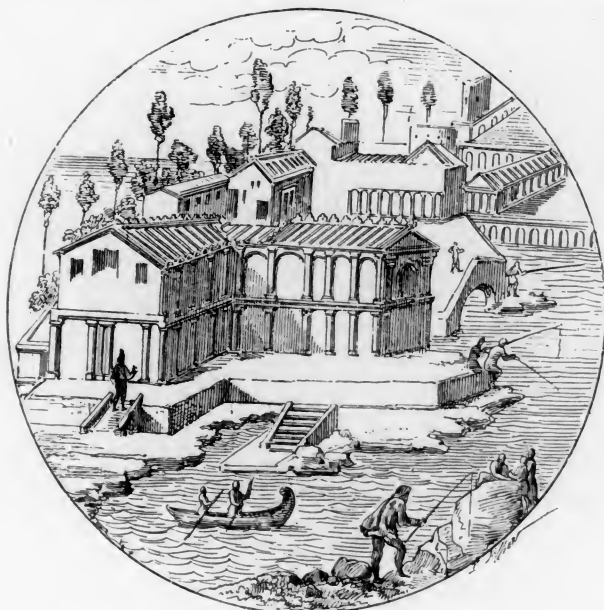
sea for a background, or, as at Olympia, a smiling landscape for its frame.

The Roman cares little if chance places his temples in low sites where air and space are lacking, and their mass is not clear-cut in the light which bathes the hill-tops. He has nine hills, each one of which is a natural pedestal for an architectural work, and, with the sole exception of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he was compelled to place within the fortress of the Capitol, he accumulates them all in the Forum and the Campus

¹ At Corinth the old Doric temple stood upon the slope of the hill which bore the citadel; at Rhamnus it was built at the extremity of a plateau descending to the sea with an abrupt slope; at Crotona, Metapontum, and Syracuse the same arrangement was made; at Eleusis it was situated on the levelled top of a rock on the slope of a hill overlooking the bay.

Martius, originally two swamps. These temples were vowed during battles to obtain the favour of a god; the god has the dwelling which was promised to him, and that is enough.¹

But for himself the Roman is more exacting. If he is rich he will place his country house in some lovely spot on the hills of Tibur or Tusculum, looking down into a smiling valley, or facing that Bay of Naples which never palls upon the admiring eye. In his city he requires buildings convenient for his pleasures



A Roman Villa.²

or his business, and public buildings capable of sheltering multitudes because his sky is sometimes inclement, and of lodging the various branches of the public service because his wants are numerous.

He therefore builds:

Basilicas, with nave and aisles, for judges, advocates, suitors, and dealers;

¹ However, after Augustus had built upon the Palatine around his house, this hill must have presented an imposing sight.

² From a Pompeian painting (Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th series, pl. 32).

Porticoes, where the "royal people" may parade, sheltered from sun or rain, their idle royalty;¹

Libraries and *museums*, because they have this taste common to polite societies of enjoying other men's wit;²

Palaces and enchanting *villas*, where the emperors and consuls live and the millionaire freedmen;

Circuses and *theatres*, often too large when a play of Terence



Porta Tiburtina (now S. Lorenzo's).

is performed, and *amphitheatres* never too large, since there the Roman finds his chief delight, the hunting of men;

Monumental *gates* to adorn the entrance to the city, and thick *walls* for its defence; *sewers* to keep it wholesome, and *aqueducts* to bring from the mountains the clear, fresh water which the

¹ In the Campus Martius it was possible to walk nearly three miles under the porticoes.

² Publius Victor enumerates in his list twenty-nine public libraries at Rome.

Tiber cannot supply,¹ and even *tunnels* to catch the springs in the heart of the hills;²

Military roads and bridges, by means of which the soldiers and merchants and the sovereign will of Rome might readily make their way from the centre of the Empire to its extremities;

Triumphal arches, to receive its victorious legions on their return, and *votive columns*, to keep alive the memory of distant expeditions;

Barracks for its standing army, and *diribitoria* for the distributions made to its beggar populace;

And lastly, *thermae*,³ where are collected all the refinements of idleness and southern luxury. At all hours of the day the crowd gathers there, seeking in the marble basins and the perfumed halls air and water of every temperature. Then, the body being well rubbed with oil and the limbs supple, the Roman walks slowly, amid a population of statues, through gardens cooled by fountains, or takes his exercise in the *palaestra*, unless he prefer to read under a portico, in some solitary corner, or to listen, in the academic halls adorned with precious mosaics, to rhetoricians declaiming, to philosophers discussing, or to some poet soliciting for his lame verses the facile applause of an indolent audience.

The Greeks created an incomparable religious architecture, and a statuary of gods and heroes which expresses the divine; they have established in construction the eternal principles of the beautiful, and for this reason Greek art will for ever remain

¹ The aqueducts of Rome, counting those only which are mentioned by Frontinus, were about 270 miles in length, of which 30 were upon arches. These arches, which were very expensive constructions, could have been avoided by the use of pipes, as Frontinus recommended; but the people were indifferent to the cost when it was a question of display, and rather than hide their conduits of water under the ground they caused them to traverse the Roman Campagna upon majestic arches. They, however, frequently employed pipes. For the construction of the aqueducts the law allowed the taking of material from the adjacent country upon the payment of indemnities to the proprietors, the amount being settled by arbitration. A strip of land, fifteen feet wide, was reserved on each side for the service of the aqueduct; this was the *servitus aqueductuum*.

² At Antibes a tunnel nearly 5,000 mètres in length was excavated. Later we shall speak of the outlet of Lake Fucinus.

³ In the time of Constantine there were fifteen *thermae* in Rome. Those of Agrippa, behind the Pantheon, occupied an area equal to half the Palatine hill, about 36,000 mètres. The baths of Caracalla covered a space six times greater, that of a considerable town. See Blouet, *les Thermes de Caracalla*, who gives a fine restoration of them.

the pure and sacred spring.¹ The Romans claim a different honour: they have created civil architecture and of public utility, so that if we are bound to the former by that which is highest—ideas, we are bound to the latter by that which is very imperious—needs. There is no man of us who would not prefer to have been a Greek; but we are very glad that the Romans existed.

A first difference has been shown in the employment of the art; there are others produced by the nature of the materials employed in construction.

Thanks to Pentelicus, Hymettus, and Paros, the Athenians built with marble, and used this stone with such skill that, after twenty-three centuries, one must look closely to find the seams in the columns or the walls; every layer is added by the hand of an artist. The soil of Latium, on the contrary, condemned the Romans to build in brick, consolidated with rubble and ties of stone, which an artisan, intelligently directed, was well able to lay.² But the Greek temple could only be built where, as in Greece, the earth contained marble or limestone easily wrought. The Romans were able to build everywhere, because they could always find stone for the facing, or at least obtain ashlar and rubble, earth for bricks, lime for their indestructible cement, and hands to do the work. From this it resulted that, with materials so easily used and yet so durable, there was nothing to prevent them from giving their public buildings those colossal proportions which are not always one of the conditions of beauty, but from which the artist can obtain very imposing effects.

Thus the great charm of the Roman Campagna is above all in those immense aqueducts which, descending from the hills of Tivoli and Albano, traverse with so much grace and majesty the

¹ I mean the spring whence the artist obtains inspiration, not the model which he should servilely copy, for architecture is required in each country to modify its forms in accordance with the conditions of light, of temperature, of dryness or humidity, which constitute the climate. A Greek edifice, a Greek statue even, is incongruous in St. Petersburg, although in architecture and in sculpture the same principles must be employed there which were discovered or applied in Greece, just as, in order to reason well, a man must reason after the methods of Socrates and Aristotle, whatever be the language in which he speaks.

² This is the mode of construction indicated by Vitruvius, ii. 8. Brick is eternal, he says, and with truth.

Latin plain. Some half-destroyed hall in the baths of Caracalla has in its desolation an imposing grandeur; and the Coliseum, built of brick and Tiburtine stone, produces upon one an impression more profound than that made by the pyramids of Ghizeh.

As is a people, so will be their art; the domination of Rome shows itself in these roads, going straight on, like her will, without turning aside for any obstacle,¹ and in these constructions, massive and destitute of grace—I was about to say, destitute of art—which show so much strength, rise so high, and weigh so heavily upon the earth which bears them.

The architecture of the Romans, lending itself to all the needs of civil life, spread like their language, laws, and manners, throughout western Europe, where it, like them, has left imperishable traces; and where the ruler has been sufficiently liberal, or citizens and a city rich enough to use hewn stone instead of the brick, or to decorate the edifice with precious marbles, the ruins of their buildings are worthy to be compared with the grandest and most beautiful of the world.

This character of materials enabled the Romans to add to Greek art new elements: the arch and vault, borrowed by them from the Etruscans.² The Greeks were acquainted with the vault, which existed in the East in the earliest times, for example, in Nineveh and Egypt; but they did not employ it because it interfered with their combinations, at once so simple and beautiful, of vertical and horizontal surfaces and lines; perhaps, also, because the vault requires strong abutments, which require much strength, space, and material.³ The Greek is economical, not after the fashion of the early Roman, who reckoned even with his gods, but as an artist who knows that nature never expends more strength than

¹ Thus these roads, whose *agger* or road-bed was a solid construction averaging over three feet in depth, had grades of 15 to 20 per mètré and embankments over the marshes, rising in some places to 30½ feet for a distance of 12 miles, as in a part of the Appian Way made by Trajan, with culverts, viaducts, and tunnels like that of Furlo, which Vespasian built under the Apennines for the Flaminian Way. In France alone have been made in twenty-five years 440 tunnels, with a length in all of 120 miles; but we possess powerful means of attack, while the Romans, having neither powder, nor dynamite, nor perforating machines, were obliged to depend solely upon the pick and the wedge.

² Lübke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 157.

³ The little monument of Lysicrates at Athens is roofed with a cupola. The temple of Esculapius at Epidauros, the rotunda of Epimenides at Sparta, and the Prytaneium at Athens were also circular buildings, but the vault is an exception in Greek architecture.



Tivoli.

she has need of, and that art should seek to produce, like nature, great effects with small efforts.

The arch and the vault added to the column and architrave give room for new combinations: the round arch and the broken arch, of which the Western mediæval period made the Norman and the Gothic; and the cupola, which in the East became the special characteristic of the Arab and Byzantine styles.

The pillage of the world permitted Rome to lavish upon her edifices of the Forum and the Campus Martius the rarest marbles, and all the quarries of the Empire were worked for her: a considerable store¹ of these marbles has been found even on the road to Ostia; but private individuals and provincial cities, even Rome herself, often built in rubble and brick. To conceal under rich materials the sombre masses and dull outlines of the useful materials, they united all the decorative elements that the Greeks and Etruscans had invented, devised more, and employed them all in profusion. Hence so many columns, entablatures, small arches, and architraves, even in places where they contradict the general plan;² so much precious marble applied in panels to the walls, so many panelled ceilings, so much stucco, bearing elegant paintings, sculptures, and ornaments of metal, chiselled ivory, mother-of-pearl, pearls, and even gems; and, lastly, all these mosaics, which may be indeed a great labour, but are never a great art.³

In the time of the Republic the Doric order prevailed in the temples: it was thought to be too severe; the Ionic, with its light spirals, appeared too delicate; and, under Augustus, these parvenus in art could not be satisfied with less than the exuberant richness of the Corinthian. "Thou couldst not render Venus beautiful," was said by some one to a poor imitator of Phidias; "thou hast made her rich." It is the method the Italians have

¹ Specimens of marbles which are now lost are found there. The quarries of Carrara, worked from Cæsar's time (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, i. 36), possibly sooner (Strabo, i. 5, 22), rivalled those of Paros and Pentellicus. Mamurra, the *prefectus fabrum* of Cæsar, decorated his house on Mount Cælius with these marbles.

² Ch. Blanc, *Gramm. des Arts du Dessin*, p. 270.

³ All Pompeii was covered with stucco. This is true, however, of many of the Greek temples. See in Suetonius the description of Nero's Golden House. [Any one who has seen the Ravenna mosaics will not agree with the author.—*Ed.*]

followed in many of their churches, and it seems to suit also the administrative display of our great halls and the vain desires of our sudden fortunes.

Thus the Romans cast over their edifices of brick or stone a splendid garment, a floating drapery not always following the movements of the body. To the Pantheon, where all lines are curved, all surfaces concave, Agrippa attached a rectilinear portico, which cannot make part of the edifice. It is supported by Corinthian columns which are monoliths, and it is rich and imposing, but at the same time absolutely out of place.¹

This tendency of the Romans to consider the structure and the decoration apart has had disastrous consequences. Condemned to a subordinate existence, art became a trade, and after languishing for some time disappeared. At the end of the century of the Antonines it is sought for, and rarely to be found; later there are only builders who know how to move enormous masses of stone, and even audaciously to carry them to prodigious heights, but who are unskilled in decorating them. Science remains because it is transmissible, and when it is supported by the religious sentiment it still produces very grand effects; art, which is personal and very delicate of nature, did not survive the barbarism of manners; it came back to life only at the breath of the Renaissance, which called antiquity from its grave. Since that epoch, when a charming art bloomed which was too soon abandoned, Roman architecture again found favouring social conditions, and it is this style which to the present day has been dominant in European buildings.

Now we can easily answer the question asked at the beginning. The Romans were not creative artists.² Nevertheless, in composing from borrowed elements an art which they have carried from the Petra of the Nabathæans to the Lutetia of the Parisii—an art whence proceeds, by natural generation, a portion of Christian and

¹ This is the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc, of Dr. Schnaase (*Ist diese Vorhalle ein Zusatz, ein angefügter Schmuck, der nicht aus dem Ganzen hervorgegangen ist*, vol. ii. p. 352), and is the involuntary feeling of every spectator. M. Ch. Blanc well says: "Architecture is not a construction that is decorated, but a decoration that is constructed."

² We must further add that their architects were Greeks. Pliny asks for one from Trajan to carry on the works at Nicæa; the emperor replies (*Epist.*, x. 49): "Look in Greece;" *ex Græcia etiam architecti ad nos venire soliti sunt.*

of Mussulman art, which prevails among us by reason of its easy adaptation to our wants and our tastes, which, lastly, though lacking in the highest elements of beauty, yet expresses grandeur and power—the architects of Rome deserve a place beside her legists and her writers. The laws, the literature, and the edifices of Rome are indeed the legacy of a great Empire.

At the same time, this Roman heritage is not that of a society which aspired to that ideal, the mere search for which for ever does honour to those who pursue it. If, in fact, we consider this society in its whole intellectual life, we are forced to recognize that it had neither philosophy nor science, although it came after the magnificent development of the sciences and of philosophy in the Hellenic world; that it would be without art had not the Greeks brought to it their marbles, their pictures, their statues, with what was left of their genius; that its literature, brilliant as it is, lacks the creative breath; that its festivals were the obscenities of the comic drama and the sanguinary games of the amphitheatre; that its religion was less an act of gratitude and adoration than a sort of constraint exercised upon the gods to secure their favours.¹ Moreover, notwithstanding Horace and Virgil and the architects of the "marble Rome" of Augustus, Roman gravity seems to us heavy; this practical genius, for ever directed towards utility, seems to be held down by its own weight in those mid regions of thought whence never spring the electric flashes that light up the world; and in the general history of civilization this people descends from the first to the second rank of nations, but it descends, like Moses, bearing in its hands the tables of the law.

It is an imperishable honour for the Romans that they founded the civil law, as the Jews wrote the religious law, and the Greeks that of thought and art.² But we who desire to be—and who are—at once the heirs of Rome, Jerusalem, and Athens, should not forget the lesson which springs for us from this study of the genius of the Romans at the finest epoch of their history,

¹ . . . *Obligat ille* (Augustus) *deos* (Ovid, *Fast.*, ii. 62).

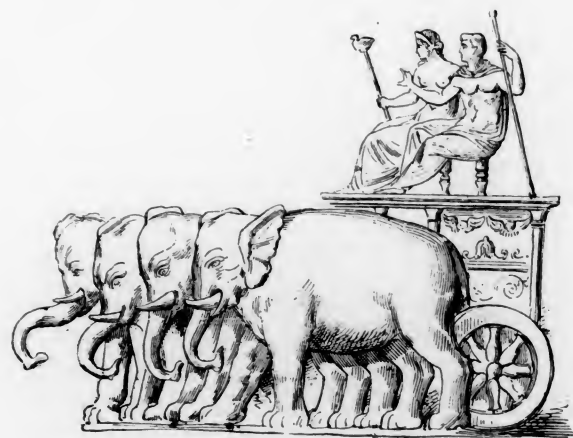
² The Greek Orders and the Canon of Polycletus were the laws of architecture and statuary, as the *Organon* of Aristotle remained till the time of Bacon and Descartes the rule which guided reason in the search for truth and its exposition to others.

and by this memorable example should learn how great is the loss of enthusiasm, and impulse to the genius of a people when they abandon those high theoretic speculations which the crowd call valueless. Another great empire whose rulers at one time divided the world with the Roman Cæsars, China, presents in its history the same taste for utilizing all knowledge, the same disdain for pure science. Both have been condemned to see their civilization stand still; while Attica, that little corner of earth scarce visible between the two colossi, has shared in the movement of the world.

However, if in originality and power the Age of Augustus falls below that of Pericles, and in art and boldness of thought below the Renaissance; if the Age of Louis XIV. is more complete, and in certain regards superior, this period was nevertheless one of those brilliant epochs of humanity in which it is a pleasure to take refuge from the cares of impending age and from the griefs of one's country.¹

¹ This chapter was written in Paris, November and December, 1870.

² Reverse of a coin of Nerva (enlarged).



Jupiter and Juno in a triumphal car drawn by four elephants.²

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE WORK OF AUGUSTUS AND THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

I.—AUGUSTUS ACCOMPLISHES AN INEVITABLE REVOLUTION BUT HE DOES NOT ORGANIZE.

THE years following the battle of Actium were the critical period of the ancient world. Upon the direction then taken by Roman civilization depended the future of innumerable generations. Would it turn towards the East, and fall back into the ways of the Asiatic monarchies, or towards the West, and take up the federal and free institutions of the Greek, Italian, and Gallic races? Would the conquering city remain under its master a sovereign and privileged city, or was it about to become a great state, having solidarity in all its parts, in whose midst the coming of the modern nations should be peacefully prepared? This was the problem which presented itself to the founder of the Empire, unless he should prefer, like the man of mere ambition, to make himself the servant of events and follow them with self-seeking docility while constantly turning them to his own advantage.

We have examined in the preceding chapters the work of Augustus, and by the care which he took in preparing the memoirs of his life, a summary of which was engraved on the walls of temples, we must believe that he expected public gratitude.

This gratitude he merited from his contemporaries, for it was a great thing to have given to that vexed world a half-century of peace; but does he merit it equally from posterity?

It has been the practice at once unduly to exalt and unduly to depreciate this man. His long prosperity did not depend upon favourable chances, for fortune serves those only who know how

to control her; and these persons are of two sorts: the strong and the skilful, the latter not so great as the former, but, in some circumstances, more useful. Of this number was Augustus. He sought to render durable the domination established by Cæsar, after having reconquered it. He occupied almost a half-century in gently leading Rome to royalty, while four years sufficed Napoleon to go from the consulship to the Empire; but in France the old institution was monarchy, and though ideas were opposed to it, manners tended that way; at Rome, it was a republic, and the memory of that institution was hard to efface. It was necessary to bring manners, ideas, laws, and administration into harmony with the new order of things. Upon manners—those, I mean, of public life—Augustus acted through Mæcenæ, through Sallust, and through all those of his friends who were disinclined to accept office and exhibited traits fitting them for the work: no ambition, no intrigue, a disinterestedness either sincere or affected, and a limitless docility—turning attention and hope away from the Curia and the Forum, where nothing was now done, and towards the royal palace, where all things were given away. Upon ideas, he acted through Horace, and through Virgil nobly conquered to his cause, and only paid a legitimate debt when he swore by the Muses, for, under his reign, they were monarchical. Lastly, by his laws, his regulations, and his vigilance, he caused justice to prevail in the administration, order in the finances, peace in the provinces, gathering up all power into his own hands, but so discreetly that he made himself appear to be merely the first citizen in the Republic, and was great while affecting to be humble.

We have read in his Testament what he himself thought of the nature of his authority, or, at least, what he wished others to think: "After having suppressed the civil wars, I gave back the government to the senate and the Roman people; . . . from this time, although I surpassed all other citizens in public consideration, I had no more power than those who were my colleagues in the magistracies."

This was really his last thought, for he adds: "When I wrote these lines I was in my seventy-sixth year." Still, we cannot believe that the great deceiver was himself deceived by

the falsehood of his life. He perfectly knew that he was master, and that absolutely; but he desired to lead astray the judgment of posterity, and by a just return, that posterity reproaches him for the hypocrisy of a policy that had in it no grandeur.

A revolution is justified when that which it establishes is more valuable than that which it sweeps away. According to this principle, Augustus at Actium was in the right, and the Empire was an advance for the world. We say it boldly, quoting against Tacitus, Tacitus himself, Pliny, Josephus, Strabo, Philo, Aristides, Dion Cassius, and all the provincial authors;¹ setting over against Caligula and Nero, not only Vespasian and Trajan, but the happiness of an Empire that was too vast to be disturbed by the follies and cruelties of one man. Let us turn our attention away for a

moment from the tragedies of the palace and the senate house, and we see Domitian making excellent laws which Nerva confirms; and under Caracalla, Papinian editing the edicts.

Accordingly, we commend Augustus for taking up Cæsar's task; we praise him for his liberality of mind, and his taste for

Peace.²

¹ . . . *Is optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale [ambitus comitorum, expilati socii, cives trucidati] patimur* (Tac., *de Orat.*, 37, and cf. 41).—Strabo, *liv.*, vi. *ad fin.*; Philo, *Ley. ad Caium*, 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xxi. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5; Dion, *liii.* 19. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη καὶ γὰρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. See vol. iii. p. 668 sqq.

² Statue in the Museum of Brescia (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 770 F, No. 1902 B).

art and letters; for his upright administration, and for his skill in making the Romans pass from their anarchical liberties to the tranquillity of a fruitful peace. But we have a right to call to account a founder of empire for what he did not do. When a man ascends so high, it is that he may have a fair view, especially in the direction whence comes the future. Had the first emperor the broad, deep views of the man of first-rate ability? After Antony's death everything was possible to Augustus; what did he do with this power? Occupied with the single care of saving his fortune by concealing it, he lived from day to day for himself only, without thought for the morrow, here and there replastering the old edifice, instead of taking hold of it with a powerful grasp, and establishing it upon new foundations capable of bearing it for centuries.

Doubtless the Empire of the Cæsars was doomed to die; such is the law of endless transformation. But, by the exercise of prudence, the fatal limit may be set back. Four centuries, half of them passed in wretchedness and disgrace, are not a people's lifetime; the Empire might have lasted longer and better. What state was ever made ready as it was, by nature and man, for a strong and glorious existence? Frontiers easily defensible against enemies who at that time were of little importance, and within the rampart of great rivers, deserts, and high mountains, peoples who, happy in their obedience, since they found in it repose and riches, knew no other name for the power above them than the beautiful appellation, the Roman Peace, *Pax romana*.

Thus, within and without, there was no peril to be feared; all that was evil, since it was neither in the enemy nor in the subjects, existed therefore in the constitution of the State; and a cruel experience has shown us what unlooked-for successes can be given to a people by a firm and skilful organization which suffers no atom of national strength to be wasted, whilst courage, devotion, patriotism—all the resources of a rich and industrious country—are paralyzed or rendered useless by an inefficient organization.

II.—ELEMENTS NEGLECTED BY AUGUSTUS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Many causes have been assigned for the decay of the Roman Empire; all that have been given—the economic conditions and manners of this society, slavery, the insubordination of the legions, the state of public finances, the barbarians, etc.—are true, above them all ranks another cause, which alone would have rendered its fall certain. The Empire perished because there was no other State institution than the will of the emperor.

In the ancient republics of Italy and Greece, and among the tribes of Spain and Gaul, power was a function of liberty. It protected general liberty by subordinating, in case of need, the individual liberty to temporary dictatorships. Augustus rendered his permanent. In the East, where the king is the son of Heaven, religion and powerful castes protect him; at Rome, how will the monarch be protected? In that world where ideas of equality have so long prevailed, no man, among those who think, seriously accepts the apotheosis of the ruler, and he stands, without a priesthood or a nobility, alone and undefended, facing 80,000,000 of men—a double danger to himself, for, in this isolation he is exposed to all the blows of conspirators; and, at the height whence he sees the world at his feet, he may turn giddy and lose his reason. Thus are explained the assassination and the madness of so many emperors. It is computed, that up to the time of Constantine, two-thirds of them died a violent death, not to speak of the Thirty Tyrants, who all came to an untimely end.¹

It appears that the imperial institution of Augustus was, from the beginning, fatal to the emperors; and it must be added that this could not have been otherwise. In states where law prevails, parties and men agitate to change the law; but where the ruler is all, it is the ruler himself whom they change; thus riots and assassinations become the law of the imperial succession. It was, therefore, for the interests of nation and ruler alike,

¹ Forty-one out of fifty-nine. According to the list prepared by Brottier, of 108 persons belonging to the Julian house by blood or alliance, from Cæsar to Nero, thirty-nine, or more than a third, perished by a violent death.

to find, for founding an imperial monarchy, something beside the concentration in the hands of one man of all the old republican powers, with their dangerous associations. It was still further necessary, since the city had become a world,¹ to prepare the formation of a new people of the Empire to take the place of the former citizens. Now, this new organization did not presuppose ideas foreign to that epoch of history. When we shall have shown the already existing institutions which might have been developed, and shown the fatal results produced by certain institutions at that time established, we shall have adequate means of pronouncing a verdict upon the first of the Cæsars. As the successors of Augustus inherited his policy, we shall at the same time form some idea of the character which the Empire derived from its founder, and bequeathed in turn to many modern states, in which the legists of the mediæval period, by aid of the imperial laws, reconstructed absolute monarchy.

And first, since Augustus was so desirous that the Republic should seem to be maintained, and preserved so carefully all its outward forms, why did he, in two important points, repudiate the national tradition—namely, in the constitution of authority, and in the progressive extension of citizenship?

If the revolution accomplished at Actium, and accepted by all men, had for inevitable consequence the concentration of authority, it required neither a life-long and absolute possession, which exposes the State to the peril of being ruled by a feeble or capricious hand, nor heredity, which brings the risk of rulers minor in age or in wisdom. Hereditary monarchy is a conservative force only in those countries where exist independently, as in the France of the Valois and the first Bourbons, great bodies which, being interested in the support of the throne, make themselves its defenders; or, among people, like the English, Belgians, and Dutch, whose municipal, provincial, and, consequently, State institutions are so strong that royalty merely serves them as an ornament—a sort of keystone to the arch, making complete an edifice, which, however, like Agrippa's Pantheon, would in any case still stand firm. Rome had no great political bodies, which

¹ *Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat* (Rutilius, *Itin.*, 66).

are the work of time; and Augustus did not know how to give it those institutions which could be the work of one man. Monarchy found, therefore, in Rome none of those conditions which are necessary for its regulated existence; hence, the existence it had there was one of disorder.

However, since this immense Empire demanded unity of rule, a combination should have been sought which included neither heredity nor the life-tenure of power, both of which were particularly odious to the Greco-Roman world, where all depended on election and manhood.¹ Hence there should have been established for the government that which

existed in the civil law for the family and in respect to the appointment to certain offices. The senators were appointed by the two censors, the dictator by one of the consuls, the augurs by their colleagues, and adoption, *adrogatio*, gave means of constituting a legal family, even at the expense of the real heirs. Augustus thought of this. During a serious malady he gave his ring to Agrippa, as the worthiest; and we



Rome and Augustus.²

have seen that he caused his powers to be renewed every ten years, but without ever having the courage to relinquish them. As he grew older, the selfishness of paternal affection obtained the mastery; family interests predominated over the interests of the State. He wounded the great Agrippa by his favours to the son of Octavia; and Tiberius, who up to that time had shown nothing but talents, by preferring to him the young Cæsars. Still, to his latest hour his mind vacillated between two contrary ideas: the greatness of his house, which he wished to maintain, and the security of the Empire, to which he felt that hereditary power was but a poor guarantee. In his Testament he again advised that all authority should not

¹ At the age of sixty the citizen ceased to vote. Festus, v. *Sexagenarius*; Macrobius, *Sat.*, i. v.; and Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 23: *Ipse leges monent quæ majorem LX annis otio reddunt*. At sixty-five men were exempt from the capitation tax. Ulpian, in the *Digest*, 4, 15, 3, *præm.*

² From an engraved stone in the Museum of Vienna. (Arneth, pl. iv.)

be confided to any one man, and that to the republican magistrates should be left a considerable influence and power of action.¹

But to be just, we must recognize that, if the entirely Roman system of adoption gave us the Age of the Antonines, it gave us also Caligula and Nero; and that abdication, after ten years of power, was very difficult in a country where there existed no constitutional force capable of compelling it. Excellent in theory, these institutions require, in order to be applied, an abnegation which is not in human nature, or else institutions stronger than the individual. Augustus himself had not the disposition



The Young Caesars (Caius and Lucius).²

to resign office, and he sought no means to render the resignation of his successors obligatory. Upon other points, he was even more deficient in foresight. The ancient senate, the Gracchi, Drusus, Caesar more than all, even the kings, from the earliest times had desired to broaden the foundations of the Roman dominion by constantly increasing the number of citizens. Everything counselled a perseverance in this course; but Augustus stopped short in it; he was very sparing of the citizenship, refusing it to *protégés* of Tiberius and even of Livia, and in his Testament recommended that no new citizens be created.³ Yet the entire history of the Republic, the explanation of all her prosperity

¹ Dion, lvi. 33, and Suet., *Octav.*, 37: *Quo plures partem administrandae reipublicae caperent.*

² From an engraved cornelian in the Gallery of Florence. (Gorii, vol. i. pl. 2.)

³ According to the Monument of Ancyra, the census of the year 28 B.C. gave 4,063,000 citizens; that of the year 8 B.C. gave 4,233,000; that of the year 13 A.D., 4,937,000. This is, in forty-one years of peace, an annual increase of about 20,000 citizens, a total falling much below average annual increase of populations, since at this rate two and a half centuries must have passed before the Roman population would have doubled. Even if Augustus had not himself said that he had made it a rule to be very sparing of the citizenship, we should see from the figures given above that his concessions of this right must have been few. It is proper to add that with the political question, in the matter of citizenship, there was also a financial question. Citizens paid neither capitation nor land-tax; in increasing their number the public revenue was therefore diminished. But there was no ground for hesitation between a political measure of the highest necessity and a fiscal interest, easily to be provided for in other ways.

is summed up in these words: the successive admission of the plebeians to the patrician city, and of the Italians to the Roman city. This is the national tradition, and Augustus abandons it, at the moment when the Cæsarian revolution made it needful and possible to bring about a new advance. After the victory of the plebeians and of the Italians came the hour for the provinces. By the fault of Augustus, they were compelled to wait two centuries for it, and when it did come, it was too late; the equality of rights decreed by Caracalla was nothing but the equality of burdens.

The Roman people was recruited in another way, namely, by enfranchisements. Livius Andronicus was thus acquired, Cæcilius, Terence, Horace, Syrus, Phædrus, Tiro, the friend of Cicero and probably editor of his letters, Epictetus, and many others of servile condition or origin who were an honour to arts, letters, and philosophy. The freedmen were often an element of corruption, but they were also an element of progress, for they were the result of a sort of natural selection, which designated for liberty the most highly-bred and intelligent of the slaves. Augustus still further endeavoured to dry up this spring. He limited the number of testamentary enfranchisements (*lex Furia Caninia*); he fixed the age at which the master could give liberty, and the slave receive it; and his Testament discouraged manumission.¹ It was a system logically followed out. Augustus conceived the Roman State in a manner as exclusive as certain patricians of the early days, and four centuries earlier he would doubtless have applauded the words of Manlius threatening to assassinate the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the senate. Ancient Roman life he wished to restore in all its characteristics, *except* its great public policy and its free institutions: here we have the measure of this narrow intelligence which could neither read in the past nor foresee the future. Look carefully through the long enumeration of his acts which he caused to be engraved on brass to make his fame eternal, and you will find there not one political idea—a proof that he had no clear conception of the work of which events made him the instrument.

However, the world could not go on at random. A great

¹ See vol. iii. p. 734 and notes, and p. 761 and notes.

state cannot subsist and be defended save on the condition of having ideas which unite many citizens with institutions which direct many wills towards the same end, and arm many hands for a common effort. These general institutions Augustus might have given to the Empire; and these common ideas, a more able administration would have carefully fostered.

The ancients, who so perfectly organized the city, had but a very insufficient conception of the State. Their most famous cities, Athens, Sparta, Carthage, founded no durable [or rather, extended] dominion, for the reason that, comprehending only a sovereignty personally exercised by each citizen in a determined place, they reserved political rights for the few, and maintained the distinction between conquerors and conquered, which prevented them from ever forming a great nation. Rome rose to greatness and permanent power by the contrary policy; but she only half solved the problem: she assimilated to herself a part of the vanquished, giving them her own civil laws, but she did not form a homogeneous whole by new political institutions.

Between the State represented by the ruler with his sovereign will, and the thousand cities which kept their own interior administration, there was needed an intermediate body, placed below the formidable power of the emperor, but above the humble and timid magistrates, whose authority, views, and interests did not go beyond the walls of their own city. This body existed everywhere, in embryo only, it is true; but if Augustus had given it a broad and serious life, if, as Cæsar sought to do, and as Mæcenas, it is said, and Claudius proposed,¹ Augustus had made choice of some of his functionaries and some of his Conscrip-t Fathers from out of the provincial assemblies²—not as a matter of individual patriotism, but in virtue of established rules;

¹ Claudius in his discourse at Lyons, Mæcenas in that which Dion attributes to him (lii. 19). From the fact that Mæcenas certainly did not pronounce this discourse, it does not follow that he had not the idea of opening the senate and the equestrian order to the chief men of the provinces, the Roman citizenship to the subjects, an idea which was in the tradition of Cæsar's policy and one of the necessities of the new government.

² If the Roman senate had been composed of the most important persons of Rome, of Italy, and of the provinces, it would have had, like the English House of Lords, a power of its own and an important influence, whereas, like the French Chamber of Peers and the Senate of the First and Second Empire, it had only a borrowed influence that the ruler and public opinion gave and withdrew as they chose.

if he had attached by some tie the senate of Rome to the provincial senates, in a manner to make this assembly truly the supreme council of the nation, he would have substituted for the purely municipal constitution of the Empire, a strong and vital State organization. For lack of this tie, all the cities remained isolated, indifferent to the general interests, and so, destitute of that related life which makes of a collection of atoms a systematic organism.

This idea, which Tacitus would have accepted, since he, like Cicero, desired a mixed government of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy,¹ was so practicable that what had not been done by the first emperor at the opportune moment was attempted by later rulers when the favourable time had passed. By the famous edict of 418, renewed by a rescript of Gratianus in 382, Honorius ordered the magistrates and *curiales*, that is, the land-owners of Novempopulania and Aquitania, to send deputies every year to



Head of Faunus, found at Arles.²

the city of Arles, to submit to the prætorian præfect of Gaul their views on matters of public importance; and some eminent scholars derive from this edict the origin of the states general of Languedoc, which lasted until the time of the French Revolution.³

¹ He wished it, but believed it difficult to maintain. (*Ann.*, iv. 33.) This is the government which would have been established if Augustus had given to the provincial assemblies the right to deliberate independently upon the affairs of their province, and a share in filling the senate and the great public offices.

² Museum of the Louvre.

³ Caseneuve, *États génér. du Lang.*, p. 14; Hauteserre, *Rer. Aquit.*, iv., chap. ii.; dom Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, vol. i., proofs; Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.*, i., 148.

We may assert that like orders were sent out to other provinces. Unhappily, in 418, the barbarians had already penetrated into the Empire and the inevitable dissolution had begun.

Where would be to-day the Roman Catholic organization without the provincial synods, which have been the bond connecting the individual churches—without the general councils, which have introduced order among the religious provinces—without the oecumenical councils, which have made the unity of the universal church, and secured to the pontifical monarchy fifteen centuries of existence? And these synods copied the provincial assemblies of the Empire, as the churches at first imitated the *collegia* of the cities, with their free elections, their monthly assessments, and their common cemeteries.

The evil of the Roman Empire was the preponderance of the military order; it was necessary to balance this by strengthening the civil order with the elements which existed everywhere, which were as natural as they were needful to the various populations. Why could not that which was so useful in the church have served the State as well? But Augustus feared the formation of a provincial spirit, which he considered an embarrassment, whereas he might have made of it a support. His successors followed the same course; they dreaded these assemblies and refused them on principle all share in political affairs, which Dion in the third century expresses thus: "The subject peoples are to be masters of nothing; they are never to meet in public assemblies, for they would have no good ideas and would incessantly excite disturbances."¹ With such suspicions as these strong states cannot be made. And so the Roman colossus was broken by enemies whom Cæsar's legionaries would have been able to scourge from the battle-field.

We note, as worthy of remark that the two greatest nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, suffered from the same evil: in Greece, the division of the territory into a crowd of cities, regarding each other as foreigners or enemies; in the Empire, the isolation of municipalities under the absolute authority of the prince. In the last hour of their existence both had

¹ Dion, lii. 30.

recourse to the same remedy to save themselves, in attempting to constitute a state at last, the one by federations, the other by a sort of representative government.¹ They were unsuccessful; but what might have happened for the former if Philip of Macedon had found before him the Achaian League extended over all Greece, and for the latter, if, four centuries and a half before Honorius, Augustus had sanctioned an institution which was then alive in all hearts and all minds?

In respect to the recruiting of the orders and of the public service from the provincials, this idea of Cæsar, which Augustus rejected, became to himself and his successors a necessity, to fill the gaps that the carelessness of families and the cruelty of the emperors made in the ranks of the nobility.

Tacitus shows us, under Tiberius, many new men in the senate;³



Epona Victory found at Lyons.²

¹ See the author's *Greek History*, vol. ii. p. 409, where the eighth period of that history commences (272-146, B.C.) entitled: *Efforts impuissants pour s'unir et se sauver*, [and also Freeman's *Hist. of Federal Government*, vol. i. *passim*.—Ed.]

² Museum at Lyons. Figurine 22 centimètres in height, found in 1866, whose pose and proportions recall those of a statuette of Victory, surmounting a *vexillum* of the column of Trajan. M. Martin-Daussigny concluded from this (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pp. 112-114), that this Victory was the decoration of a Roman standard. It has also been supposed that it was a fragment of a small bronze copy of the altar of Augustus at Lyons. Cf. above, p. 24.

³ *Novi homines e municipiis, coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro assumpti* (Ann., iii. 55, ad annum 22).

Caligula, according to Dion,¹ filled up the equestrian order from the noblest and richest of the provincials, and granted to many of them the *lati-clave*; lastly, we know from the discourse at Lyons that Claudius was disposed to make this idea the principle of his administration. But this recruiting, to which later Rome owed some of her best rulers, was not the result of a general plan of government: executed at random, and as a matter of personal favour, it had not the advantages of an organization binding the provinces together, and utilizing all the influences of intelligence and fortune.

We have enumerated the emperor's scrupulous rules, assigning to each man his place, and keeping him there. This watch over social conditions, these encouragements given to vanity by distinctions at the disposal of the ruler, were of the purest monarchical spirit. But Augustus should have taken one step further, and established the hierarchy of civil functions, as he rendered permanent the hierarchy of military functions. The republican constitution admitted neither the one nor the other, for in civil life it knew no subordinate powers, and for military life it only admitted them as temporary. Each magistrate in the Republic was independent and sovereign, saving only his responsibility to the people; military grades were valid only for the campaign; the man to-day a consul and receiving a triumph, to-morrow served as legionary tribune. A subordination of powers is, on the contrary, one of the conditions of royalty. Augustus had a vague instinct of this, not a well-defined view; and although we find in his regulations the germ of "the divine hierarchy" of Constantine and of his successors, who made the maintenance of ranks and classes the principal object of the State, we may say that the first emperor did not give to his monarchy the administrative organization necessary to that form of government. Free institutions, that is to say, the soul, being lacking to the social body, it was at least necessary to maintain it, to wrap it about with a multiplicity of cords all joined in the ruler's hands.

To maintain and defend this vast dominion, then, which was subject later on to such furious attacks, Augustus had to

¹ lxx. 9.

choose between two systems: either, on the one hand, free institutions in the cities, provinces, and states, which would have produced union between low and high, and in the very heart of the country; or, on the other, a monarchy carefully organized, in which the ruler's agents were everywhere present, and union was created between high and low by administrative ties. He attempted neither the one nor the other—preserved, while ameliorating it, the system which conquest had produced, and contented himself with giving a head to the State and a master to the proconsuls. The pillage of the provinces was arrested, but the strength and duration of the Empire were not provided for.

In another way the subjects of the Roman Empire might have been called upon to unite their sentiments and interests. In accordance with Greek and Roman ideas, the defence of the country was the citizen's first duty. By imposing this obligation upon the provincials, and causing their youth to pass regularly through the discipline of the camps, Augustus would have endowed his Empire with a military organization preserving manly habits among the people, and bringing together the different races and nationalities. He did indeed create a standing army, but later we shall see what the results were of this institution which, disarming 80,000,000, took away from them the care of defending themselves. To continue in our present line of thought, we will merely say that general assemblies would have kept political life alive; that a provincial militia would have prevented the loss of the military spirit; finally, that the two institutions united would have given birth to patriotism, which is the honour of prosperous times and the resource in times of misfortune.

If it be objected that there could be no organization capable of making the Copts on the banks of the Nile and the Gauls on the shores of the Seine lead the same life, we shall say further that it may indeed be true that these institutions would not have saved the Empire, but they would, at least, have hastened the formation of the great modern nations, and that these latter, organized, armed, and disciplined, would have become strong enough themselves to resist invasion.

We look to see what there was that could serve as a bond of union among the different Roman nations. We find that the

Latin language was spreading through the West,¹ the Greek through the East, and the Roman law everywhere. But this law regulates only individual family or municipal questions, and these two languages, useful instruments of traffic, will not serve for the expression of those fraternal sentiments which compose the greatest of social forces, patriotism.

Among the ancients, the city formed the citizen by the traditions piously preserved around the domestic hearth, or constantly revived in the agora or the forum, in the rites of religion, or in popular songs, by eloquence, poetry, and art. But, to so many different nationalities, separated by history, by religion, and for a long time yet, by language, what could the priests of the Empire and its philosophers teach, its artists and poets, its statesmen and men of letters? That which institutions did not do, was it to be done by education?

The pagan religions were without influence upon the moral direction of life, because the question of good and ill desert had no place in the midst of these religious conceptions, where the gods were considered only as the personification of the brute forces of nature. The priests would have been obliged to turn these beliefs to the edification of the worshippers if the pagan cult had admitted preaching; but, in the temple, the priests only performed rites; they did not teach. This duty had been taken up by the poets and philosophers, often with great danger to morals by the former, and with great danger to the gods by the latter. Their books, more suited to destroy than to build up, to separate than to unite, were, however, the only books of education known to this society.²

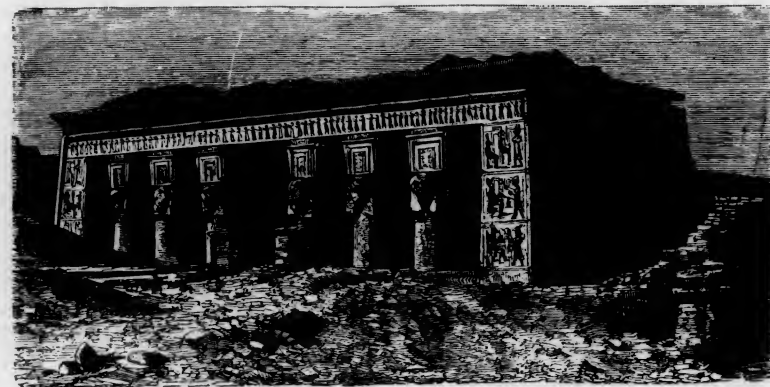
In ancient Greece, the popular songs, the great national epics,

¹ The Latin spread also in the East, and more widely than we suppose. There has been found in Nicomedia a Latin inscription of the year 2 n.c. From the second century of the Christian era, at many points, Ancyra, for example, there are found as many Latin as Greek inscriptions, and in the list of municipal officers at Cyzicus, the Latin names are at least as numerous as the Greek. (G. Perrot, *Galatie*, pp. 6 and 75.)

² The boy was removed from the women at about the age of seven; till twelve or fourteen he followed the instruction of a grammarian, and his school-books were the classic poets. From the school of the grammarian he passed to that of the rhetorician, who taught him the art of discourse; after this he attached himself to some philosopher, who made him acquainted with the system in vogue and with what he needed to know for public life. These schools were private and absolutely free enterprises; under the Empire, there were professors of higher instruction, paid by the State and by the cities. The communes had also primary public schools. See below, chap. lxxxiii. § 4.

the poems of Hesiod, Tyrtæus, and Pindar, were in every mouth; in the Middle Ages, the legends of the saints, the *chansons de geste*, even the *fabliaux*, were an education to the crowd. In modern nations, the school, the book, the newspaper, the pulpit, the platform, all influence education and form public opinion. Imperial Rome had nothing of this kind. The letters and philosophy of the refined remained without effect upon the multitude.

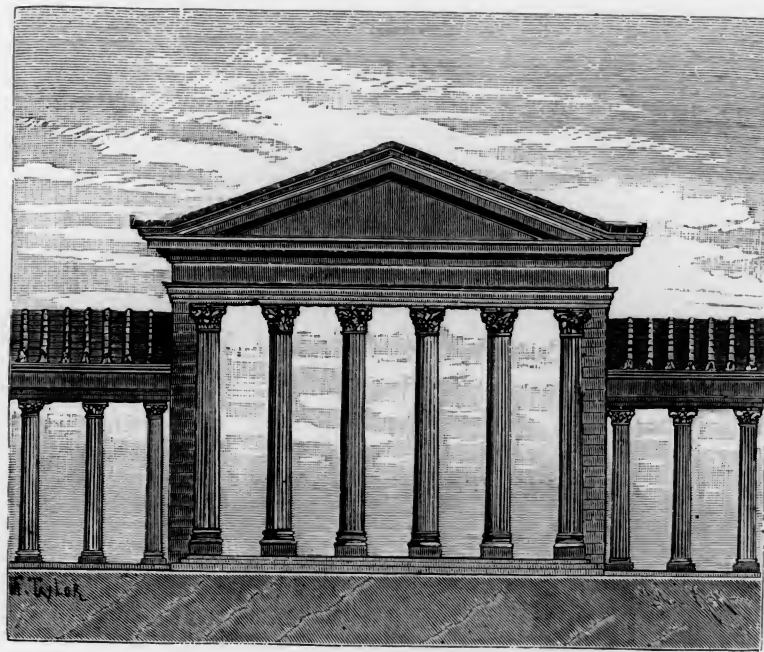
Nor had art greater influence; like literature, it was but an affair of elegance and amusement. An Egyptian temple, covered all over with inscriptions and sculptures, historic or religious, spoke to the eyes and to the soul, and, in presence of these



An Egyptian Temple (Denderah).

sanctuaries of religion and patriotism, the inhabitants felt themselves a nation: a Christian church, with its Biblical narratives emblazoned upon the windows, carved upon the portals, on the capitals, painted on the walls of the chancel, was a great book, understood of all, even the ignorant, and in which all read that they were brothers. What did the baths of Agrippa, the portico of Octavia, the Julian basilica, the amphitheatre of Taurus, say to the crowd? What could the Pans and Satyrs say, the homicide Antinous, and the seductive goddesses? Among all these nationalities, therefore, there was nothing in common, save the necessity of obedience and the utility of peace. This was enough to stand, while peril was far away; it was not enough for living

a strong and glorious life. Augustus seems to have understood that, without any moral tie, the thousand cities which his Empire contained, must remain divided; and he made an effort to unite them by giving them two new divinities, Rome and the emperor; at the same time, by his poets and historians, by his discourses and edicts, he proposed to their imitation the superannuated ideal of the old Roman State, that aristocracy now crowned with a



Octavia's Portico (details by Reynaud).

king, with its manners and customs of a Latin municipium, and its narrow spirit of the ancient conquering city. He only succeeded in maintaining a sterile pride among the inhabitants of Rome, and in awakening with some of them the republican spirit of the late period, without causing a general sentiment of a common country to spring up in the hearts of the provincial.

Under the Republic, this people and this soul existed. The cry, *Civis Romanus sum*, was a formidable appeal to the justice of earth and heaven. Under the Empire, no man dreamed of

uttering this protest, for though there were indeed Roman citizens, that is to say, privileged persons, scattered throughout the provinces, there was no Roman nation, therefore, no imperial patriotism. The official religion which Augustus created was not capable of forming one, for to the altars of Rome and the Emperor the people came only to attest their absolute resignation.

Freed from all care of public affairs, since one man thought and acted for all, each lived an isolated life, seeking his ease and his pleasures, and regarding any social duty as a burden. There were no more intrigues, no more tumults; the Forum was quiet; but, towards the close of his reign, Augustus found difficulty in obtaining candidates to fill the magistracies. He was obliged to use constraint to keep his senate full, and to obtain the presence of the senators in the house. No one wanted to be ædile or tribune; but, neither did any man want to take arms, even when Italy and Rome trembled at news of the disaster of Varus. Everything crumbles away in free states that lose their liberty: the military spirit and the political disappeared together; there are no soldiers, because there are no citizens; and citizens have ceased to exist, because one man is all—both law and country.¹

¹ "There was no one found desirous of entering the senate, even the sons or descendants of senators; but he constrained (*κατηνάγκασε*) those who had the property qualification to become senators." (Dion, liv. 26.) "As none of those who were of age to bear arms were willing to be enrolled (*μηδεὶς . . . καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν*) he caused lots to be drawn, and those upon whom the lot fell, one in five of those under thirty-five years of age and one in ten of those older, were despoiled of their possessions, and branded with infamy; many refusing still to obey, a number of them were punished with death. Also, by lot, he enrolled as many veterans and freedmen as possible." (*Ibid.*, lvi. 23.) Another time Augustus caused to be sold the person and property of a Roman knight who had cut off the thumbs of his two sons, *pollex truncatus*, whence our word *poltroon*, that he might exempt them from military service. (Suet., *Octav.*, 24.) Under Tiberius, no man wished to accept the office of governor of a province. Thus, Lepidus and Blesus refused the African proconsulship. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 35.) Lamia will not go into Syria, of which he has been appointed governor (*Ann.*, vi. 27); and Claudius is obliged to decree that all governors shall be gone from Rome by the middle of April (Dion, lx. 17). This emperor, having as censor expelled a number of senators, most of the persons expelled considered it a good fortune, *εὐὰ πείραν*. Another, wishing to retire to Carthage, was compelled to remain. (*Ibid.*, lx. 28.)

III.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF AUGUSTUS.

We have found in the establishment of the Empire many gaps through which the strength and life escaped from this body; one more inquiry remains to be made, namely, into the consequences of the institutions of Augustus.

By establishing the rigorous classifications of which we have spoken, by establishing a kind of heredity in the senate and the army, Augustus deprived himself of the means of finding men. The characteristic of republics, or at least of free institutions, is to produce them, since then all things are open to all men and talent takes its own place. The characteristic of courts is to make courtiers, who by degrees fetter the prince with a thousand invisible threads, whatever may be his strength and his will, and hinder him from looking outside of his surroundings and approaching the valuable men who will wait to be sought out. A Mæcenas and an Agrippa may be found under an Augustus, a Sully under a Henry IV., a Colbert under a Louis XIV.; but the prætorian præfect whom Nero appointed was Tigellinus, and Louis XV. made Soubise a marshal of France. The favourites of the emperor become the masters of the Empire.

It is true that Augustus in established at Rome an aristocracy of wealth, which the other cities made haste to imitate,¹ believed that he had found a principle of conservation for his government and a method of recruiting his officials. The Republic did not ask of Cincinnatus or Fabricius the amount of their property before making them senators; Fabius Buteo did not concern himself to know whether the senatorial census was lacking or not to the citizens who had received civic crowns, whom he enrolled as senators, after the battle of Cannæ; and Cæsar, in giving the laticlave to certain centurions, regarded their services and not their fortunes. Augustus, more critical, required 1,200,000 sesterces

¹ Pliny is well aware that the whole imperial constitution rested on an aristocracy of wealth; after extolling the ancient times, he says: *Posteris . . . rerum amplitudo damno fuit: postquam senator censu legi captus, iudex fieri censu, magistratum ducentque nil magis exornare quam census* (*Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 1). This judgment is expressly confirmed by Dion (liv. 17). See vol. iii. p. 735.



Antinous of the Belvedere, found upon the Esquilino (p. 245).

for senators and 400,000 for knights; it was the means by which he made part of them his pensioners. And besides, since the senate had now no longer the power, it was essential to give it something else which would seem splendid and produce an effect on the crowd. But an aristocracy of wealth never becomes a political body subsisting by itself, save in a commercial and manufacturing state, where the worth of gold is known and those are honoured who have honestly gained it. At Rome fortune was not the product of free and honest labour. It was often derived from the worst sources, usury, legacy hunting, foul trades, mendicancy at court. In the first rows of the amphitheatre, whence the honest poor man was driven, Juvenal saw barbers, the sons of gladiators, public criers, men of infamous trades, who with gold picked out of the mud had bought the right to sit among the equestrian order.¹

And so in the very presence of Augustus the son of a freedman does not hesitate to scoff at this mock nobility: "If you lack six or seven thousand sesterces of the equestrian census," says Horace, "you are of the common herd, although you may have courage, character, eloquence . . . and yet the children in their games say, 'Do well and thou shalt be king.' . . . This is what the Curii and the Camilli also say, those men of masculine courage. . . . To-day old and young alike cry, 'First, let us seek for fortune, virtue is of no importance; hail to wealth!' To whom the Syrian slave makes answer, 'Fortune! but she is wont to stultify him upon whom she lavishes her favours!'"

Furthermore, for wealth to become a force its security is indispensable; and by the law concerning treason, the threat of confiscation was to be held out over all.

In the most important place appeared the senate. Augustus seemed to give everything up to it. But we have seen that in reality he retained everything in his own hands, and that this almost sovereign assembly was entirely at his discretion. It remained, however, the shadow of a great name, *stat magni nominis umbra*; and Augustus, well as he knew the powerlessness of these men whom he loaded with honours to conceal their disgrace, took

¹ Martial, *Epigr.*, vii. 64; and Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 153. *Curia pauperibus clausa est; dat census honores* (Ovid, *Amor.*, III. viii. 55). Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 1.

from them—in order that they might be always under his eye and hand—a liberty which the meanest citizen possessed: no



Augustus seated.¹

senator could absent himself from Italy without special leave of absence from the emperor.²

¹ Museum of Naples.

² This prohibition was still in force in the time of Dion (lii. 42).

I have said nothing of the people, and for the reason that they were absolutely of no importance, and never even became of consequence through riots.¹

The populace of Rome had passed through three historic stages, which may be designated by these three words: the *plebeians*, the *poor*, the *proletarii*.

By dint of constancy and the true political spirit, the plebeians had conquered political, civil, and religious equality.

The poor struggled against the rich, as in our time labour is arrayed against capital: this was the epoch of the civil wars in which liberty perished.

The *proletarii*, instead of honour and patriotism, had nothing left but desires for the gratification of the senses.²

The Roman people had become the proletariat and the soldiery, two different forms of the same social condition. Augustus, who regularly established these two classes by making the distributions of corn an institution at Rome and by separating the army from the people, did not foresee that to give the imperial power its origin in the consent of the people and the legions for its sole defence, without other intermediate institutions save a servile senate, was to put at the base of the social edifice a blind and violent force, which would shake it perpetually and make and unmake emperors.

"In human governments there are only two powers of control, the power of arms and the power of laws. If the latter is not supported by a judicial body without fear and without reproach, the former must prevail, and thus lead to the triumph of military over civil institutions."³ Justice, confused with the administrative power, remained in the emperor's hands; hence the numerous condemnations which were mere odious means of vengeance or of spoliation.

We come now to the real creation of Augustus, the standing army, which took away the need of civil institutions, gave the Empire its true character, and determined its destiny.

¹ However, even in the third century, according to Ulpian and Gaius, the foundation of the imperial power was still the legal fiction of the popular consent: *Quod populus ei et in eum omnem suam potestatem conferat.*

² *Fulgus cui una ex re publica annonæ cura* (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 38).

³ See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, n. 1612, and the excellent book of M. G. Picot, *la Réforme judiciaire en France*, p. 366, and Appendix ix., 1881.

Military institutions are, so to speak, the *résumé* of a people's civilization, and the formation of a great army foretells the formation of a great empire. Greece triumphed over the Asiatic hordes with her citizen soldiers, and her victory gave us the Age of Pericles. But the divided Greeks could not resist the phalanx of Macedon, [and its companion cavalry] which conquered Asia and gave us Alexander. In its turn this heavy mass fell in pieces under the attack of the legion, the most finished engine of war known to antiquity, and Rome ruled from the Thames to the Euphrates. In modern times, the infantry of Turenne, Condé, and the Republic made the power of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon, as the skilful



Soldier on Horseback, wearing the helmet and carrying the spear and a buckler, ornamented with a star.¹

organization of Prussia, with its whole nation under arms and disciplined, was the cause of the recent misfortunes of France, since she had not in time replaced a worn-out system by a new one. Augustus had the art of comprehending what the times required: the soldier-people of the Republic, with its legions levied yearly, had conquered; he formed a standing army to maintain the Empire.

The manner in which he organized it is well understood: about 300,000 men, divided into twenty-five legions and the

¹ From an engraved stone. (La Chausse, *Racc. di Gem. Ant.*, ii. pl. 135.)

² *Canitiem exprobatas* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 18). In the year 23, Tiberius shows the legions almost uniformly composed of veterans: *multitudinem veteranorum* (*Ann.*, iv. 4; *Hist.*, iv. 14).

auxiliary cohorts, were posted along the frontiers on the verge of the Empire. This was well; but these soldiers were legally retained twenty years under the standards in active service, and often as veterans for their whole lives; an orator of the Pannonian legions complains in their name that they are kept in the service thirty and forty years; others, on occasion of some disturbance, exhibit their white hair;² and Civilis, to decide the Batavians to

attack the camps, tells them they will find there only *senes*, old men. The sum promised to retiring soldiers: 5,000 denarii to the prætorians, 3,000 to the legionaries, clearly proves that but a very small number of soldiers were thus dismissed annually.¹ Very few of these veterans returned to their native city. The successors of Augustus often retained them under the standards till their death,² or gave them, instead of money, lands along the line of the frontiers, for the purpose of fringing them with a Roman and military population.³

From this organization it resulted that the soldiers, bound almost for their entire lives to a trade, no longer as formerly for a few years to a civic duty, formed a distinct people in the Empire, with manners, ideas, wants, and immunities peculiar to themselves,⁴ while citizens and provincials regarded the military life with disgust, and a time came when they even fled into deserts rather than be enrolled in a legion. To keep the army full with so long a duration of service 25,000 recruits yearly, or even less, were enough, a levy imperceptible in a population of

He himself contributed to this: *Missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans* (Suet., *Tib.*, 48). In the *Mon. Anc.*, No. 17, Augustus says that he gave rewards . . . *militibus qui vicena plurave stipendia emeruissent*.

¹ The normal veteran standing would have removed from the ranks every year one-twentieth of the legionaries, or 15,000 men; and one-sixteenth of the prætorians, or 740 men. Now, $15,000 \times 3,000 = 45,000,000$, and $740 \times 5,000 = 3,700,000$; a total of 48,700,000 denarii, which must have seemed a very large sum to the emperors, and which they sought to reduce by limiting the number of dismissals. (Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 48.) The annual pay of the legions was about £2,000,000 sterling; to this must be added the expense of the auxiliary cohorts, the higher pay of the under officers, centurions, tribunes, and legates, the expenses for the fleets, for engines of war, for corn furnished gratuitously, and, lastly, for the rewards to veteran standing. I do not speak of the *donativa*, an old republican custom which the Empire could not repudiate, which was the due every time the ruler was proclaimed *imperator*, whether on the day of his accession or upon every victory of his lieutenants. Marquardt (*Staatsverf.*, ii. p. 94) estimates the annual expense for provisions, arms, and clothing furnished gratuitously by the State as nearly 40,000,000 denarii. It is quite probable that the military expenses of the Empire were not less than £8,000,000.

² In this case, the veterans remaining in camp were exempt from all service save when the enemy attacked. (Suidas, *s. v. Βερσάνας*.) The *evocati*, or veterans recalled to service, wore a vine branch like the centurions (Dion, *lv.* 24). Domitian granted the privileges of the veteran standing, that is to say, the *jus civitatis et connubii*, to auxiliaries who had served twenty-five years, at the same time keeping them under the standards. (L. Renier, *Dipl. Milit.*, p. 220.)

³ Octavius did not think on the morrow of the battle of Actium of establishing his veterans upon the frontiers; and so it is said in the Monument of Ancyra that he sent 300,000 of them home to their towns, or established them upon lands that he had bought for them.

⁴ For instance, the *castrense peculium*, establishing for the first time to the son a property of which the father could not dispose.

80,000,000 souls, and easily made without disturbing the citizens in their indolence, either by taking, as Vegetius says, wretched fellows unfit for private servants, or by accepting those restless and turbulent men who prefer the hazards of a life in camps to the duties of civil life, and seek the peril of battle for the sake of pillage or adventure.¹ But these mercenaries and these valets will carry into the armies sentiments quite different from honour and patriotism. This was manifested by the insurrections which broke out immediately after the death of Augustus. Besides this, the monarchical principle was introduced into the army, that is to say, favouritism, and a sort of hereditary succession: officers of good family had the precedence over those who were merely soldiers of fortune.²

By making the military service a profession he separated the

¹ *Plerumque voluntario milite numeri suppleantur* (Digest, xlix., tit. 16, leg. 4, § 10), according to Arrius Menander, who seems to have lived near the close of the second century. A little later Dion Cassius made of this practice a settled principle of the government. "It is necessary," he makes Mæcenas say, "to disarm the citizens and remove them from the strong places, and to enrol the more indigent, those whom poverty would constrain to live by plunder" (lii. 27). Later Vegetius (i. 7) says: "All our misfortunes come from the negligence or the cowardice of the commissioners, who make soldiers of wretches whom private individuals would scorn as valets." This evil, however, was of long standing, for as early as the year 23 A.D. Tiberius explains to the senate that volunteers of good character are lacking, and hence even vagabonds must be accepted. Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 4: *Voluntarium militem deesse; ac, si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant*. The legions remaining encamped along the frontiers, their auxiliaries were recruited chiefly among the neighbouring populations, who, along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Atlas, were real barbarians. Now, many of these barbarians passed into the legions, obtaining the title of citizens, of which the character went on altering more and more at each generation. We shall see in chapter lxxvii. what the legionaries of Vitellius and Vespasian had come to be . . . *truces corpore, horridi sermone*, and how they conducted themselves at the sack of Cremona and of Rome. "Most of the soldiers of Vitellius," says Otho, "are Germans." (*Hist.*, i. 84.) And Tacitus shows us entire cohorts of Germans attacking Placentia . . . *cantu truci, et more patrio nudis corporibus* (*ibid.*, ii. 22); lastly, Suetonius, in the council of war held by Otho, advises to prolong the war for the reason that the Germans of Vitellius could not support the heats of summer (*ibid.*, 32); and later, Antonius recommends that the campaign be hastened, in order that time should not be left for the enemy to call in fresh troops from Germany, *Germaniam unde vires* (*ibid.*, iii. 2). At Cremona, the third legion, which comes from Syria, worships the rising sun; a proof that it is composed of Syrians. One of the causes of the insurrection of the Syrian legions against Vitellius was the rumour that he proposed to send them to the shores of the Rhine, and replace them by the army of Germany: *Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti* (*ibid.*, ii. 80). We find also, it is true, a great number of cohorts who seem to have been levied in different provinces; thus, the inscriptions show Spaniards in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pamonianians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia, etc.; but these cohorts were afterwards recruited in the regions where they were encamped. See Henzen, *Sugli equiti singolari*.

² See vol. iii. p. 734.

soldiers from the citizens and formed two nations within the Empire; the one becoming feeble, timid, and base; the other becoming strong and insolent, if not always against the enemy, at least against the emperor.

And so, when the days of disaster arrive, and the barbarians break the thin line of the *castra stativa*, they will see before them only timid and cowardly multitudes who tremble at the sight of a sword, as they have been wont to tremble before their emperors. Less than three generations after Vercingetorix the Gauls seemed to Tacitus to have lost their courage, *imbelles*.¹

Whenever absolute power has sought to establish itself it has resumed the Roman principle of standing armies, disarming the citizens or leaving them unarmed, and this principle has destroyed as many empires as it has founded. It was a national militia that made the fortune of Greece and Rome, that saved Switzerland in her mountains, Holland upon her canals, the United States in their vast territory; and it was the standing army separated from the rest of the nation which, exalting the ambition or the confidence of its chief, caused Charles V. to die in solitude, Louis XIV. in sadness, and Napoleon in captivity.²

The tumults among the legions which disorganized the Empire, and the success of the barbarian invasion which overthrew it, were the consequences of the organization which Augustus gave to his military forces. This leads us to remark that all the institutions which he considered elements of order very quickly became elements of disturbance: the legions in the provinces, the prætorians in the city, the senate in the Curia, which was a permanent hot-bed of conspiracies; that, finally, what had appeared to him as an absolute guarantee of security—the isolation of the cities and the disarming of the provincials, proved to be but a cause of weakness to the Empire.

¹ In the year 21 (*Ann.*, iii. 46). Many cities, however, retained arms and a police soldiery. See the author's *Mémoire* on the *Tribuni militum a populo*, in vol. xxix. of *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, and chap. lxxxiii. of the present work.

² Unfortunately for France her late enemies were able to unite both principles: the constitution of a regular army, which secured military science and discipline, and the arming of the entire country, which gave them numbers and strength.

IV.—VAIN EFFORTS TO RESTORE THE OLD CONDITION OF SOCIETY.
THE RULE OF AUGUSTUS IS AN ABSOLUTE MONARCHY WITH
A REPUBLICAN EXTERIOR.

Was the emperor more happily inspired when he attempted to restore the early manners and beliefs? Even at Rome he failed, and with much more reason in the Empire. There were many reasons why this should be so, that, among others, which Davus gives to his master when he reproaches Horace with for ever extolling the ancient times, while he was incapable of imitating them.¹



Roman Matron.²

Ovid says to him, "the expenses of your games; you will find many infamous things bought with good money."³ The most

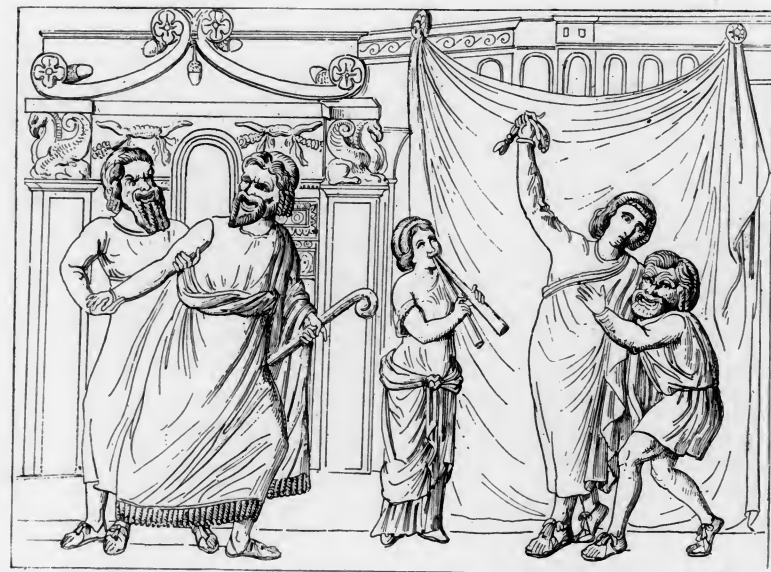
¹ *Sat.*, II. vii. The poet had already said (*Carm.*, iii. 24): . . . *quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?*

² From a bas-relief in the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, No. 407.)

³ *Trist.*, ii. 509. Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 69, 71: *Ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique, etiam ab uxore, conquirentur.* Πολλαὶς γυναιξιν ἐχρήτο (Dion, liv. 16). This historian, who is very favourable to Augustus, says, in relation to the reforms of the ruler: "He did not disturb himself at the contradiction existing between his words and his conduct." (*Ibid.*) Cf. *id.*, lvi. 43, and the story of Zonaras in reference to Athenodorus. When the

extolled work of Augustus, his laws *de adulteriis* and *de maritandis ordinibus*, was a great but useless effort; the laws did little good, since manners remained unchanged, and much harm, since they gave birth to the race of informers; and in authorizing the ruler to penetrate into private life they furnished his successors with the means of striking down as adulterers those whom they could not indict as conspirators.

In the same way, in order to undertake the impossible task



Theatrical Scene.¹

of restoring life to a moribund religion, it is necessary at least to believe in it. But for a long time the enlightened class had ceased to have faith in the gods of Olympus. More than a century before Augustus, Polybius had said: "That which has made the safety of Rome has been the exaggerated fear of the gods. . . . I cannot doubt that the legislator in thus acting has sought to control the multitude. If states were composed solely of wise men, institutions of this kind could be dispensed with;

senate requested him to arrest, by severe regulations, the disorderly conduct of the women, it appeared mere pleasantries (Dion, liv. 16).

¹ From a bas-relief in the Farnese Collection.

but since the crowd is filled with ungovernable passions and blind frenzies, it has been necessary to restrain them by the fear of the unknown with all its paraphernalia of alarming fictions." A little later the Pontifex Maximus, Scævola, regarded the popular religion

as a tissue of follies; useful follies, according to Strabo, and to be respected in the interests of government. Varro thought as he did.

Olympus was now, therefore, only a store-house of *bric-à-brac* filled with costumes, figures, theatrical machines which still were alarming to women and children; and whence the statesman or the poet, according to the need of the moment, obtained the *burattino* necessary for the best effect of an ode or an oration.¹

Hence there were no candidates for the sacerdotal offices, even for those formerly most gratifying to family pride. Augustus with

difficulty recruited the college of vestals;² and being unable or afraid to do anything with Claudius made him an augur. He himself was not devout, in spite of his devotions; it is remembered

¹ In the *Cæsars* of Julian (c. 27) Silenus, reproaching Augustus for having given Olympus a "heap of gods," calls him a "maker of dolls."

² Bronze statue whose antique pedestal is adorned with silver leaves. (*Bronzes of Herculaneum*, p. 35.)

³ Dion, iv. 22.



The Neptune of Herculaneum.²



The Gods of Olympus, from a Pompeian Fresco.

that he banished Neptune from the games of the circus because the sea-god had favoured Sextus Pompeius; and in the days before he was an important person in the State, he had played with his friends at the twelve great gods of Olympus, omitting in the representation none of their scandalous adventures. "The gods in heaven veiled their faces not to look upon these scandalous adulteries."¹ I know not what Cæsar would have done with the old religion, he who openly in the senate denied the immortality of the soul, and whom no fatal omen announced by the priests ever turned away from any enterprise.² Augustus, after he became emperor, believed, as so many others have done, that he could find a power, *instrumentum regni*, in these superstitions which he himself despised, and he essayed to consolidate the official religion with feigned consideration, in order to gain over the innumerable people who lived by it as well as those who continued to take pleasure in it—a false calculation, ever repeated and ever disappointed, for which, however, Augustus should not be too severely blamed, for at that hour, when there was not as yet a glimmer of light on the horizon, we cannot reproach him that he did not foresee the religious future of the world. This old creed rejuvenated by sceptical poets,³ these pious legends which were now but old wives' fables, *aniles fabulæ*, or magical incantations; these gods whose decayed images were regilded, all this religious rubbish furbished up, and the moralities which the ruler scattered throughout his decrees, his edicts, and his public addresses to conceal the old age of a worn-out religion—that worst of decrepitudes—this all seemed well to him, and sufficed his essentially Roman mind, without depth or brilliancy. Provided he could throw over this corrupt social condition a decent veil, it mattered little to him what was beneath.

Fifty years earlier the same mistake had been made by Sylla,

¹ Suet., *Octav.*, 16.

² *Nec religione quidam ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus est* (*ibid.*, 59).

³ Cf. Hor., *Sat.*, I. v. 101–103:

. . . . Deos didici securum agere ævum,
Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id.
Tristes ex alto celi demittere tecto.

Saint Augustine said with good reason: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepersisse* (*de Civ. Dei*, ii. 12).

whose attempt at restoration had been as futile as that of Augustus was to be.

For now the days of Rome were ended and those of the world were beginning. Augustus had only a confused idea of this. Heir of a revolution, and having the duty by organizing it to make it triumph, he looked back and not forward. He had conquered the oligarchy, had caused himself to be appointed perpetual tribune, and he now essayed to found a new aristocracy. At an epoch when State necessity demanded an equality of rights, he established as a rule of the imperial government the separation of citizens and provincials into two peoples. On the eve of the day in which Christianity was to abolish all respect of persons he made enfranchisements more difficult and the concession of citizenship rarer. He was so short-sighted as to believe that, to save Rome and the Empire, it would be enough to introduce order by the aid of old ideas and hypocritical institutions. He therefore expended half a century of effort in striving to revive the old Roman society, with its magistrates, its orders of citizens, its costumes, its religious festivals, at the same time depriving it of the principle of liberty, and imposing upon it a contrary and deadly principle, that of the absolute power of an irresponsible monarch.

From out the order of things founded by Augustus was evolved by degrees an idea till then unknown in the Roman world—an idea which came to the surface again in the modern nations after the great shipwreck of the Middle Ages, namely, the State identified with the person of the ruler, the public functionaries regarded as his servants, the national treasure as his private fortune, the territory of the Empire as his estate. Some even went further and called this man, whom they themselves had made so great, a god. We cannot cry out against this, for under another form we do the same with our "men of destiny." Have we not lately seen the leader of an invasion take Heaven as the accomplice of his iniquities, and attest daily that he was fulfilling a mission "with the aid and by the grace of God!"

Octavius did not disdain the advantage to be derived from this base complaisance. At Rome he did not venture to take to

himself, by his title of Augustus, more than a part of the respect granted to divine beings; but in the provinces, and especially in the East, where every idea assumes the religious form, he authorized his apotheosis, which permitted his successors to obtain the same in Rome itself.¹

Thus the first emperor, to sanction the power born of the civil wars, timidly attempted what the sacerdotal castes and absolute royalties did openly, namely, to take the gods for his accomplices. The Emperor of China is the Son of Heaven; Louis XIV. and James I. asserted that they were guided by divine inspiration. Likewise Augustus was more than mortal, and Olympus received him after his death.² His successors performed miracles which are gravely related by Suetonius and Tacitus. Vespasian healed maladies,³ as kings in the mediæval period touched for epilepsy; Marcus Aurelius sent dreams which revealed the future; and the most sceptical of the emperors was believed to restore sight to the blind.⁴ Must we regard this as a huge and intentional trickery? We have shown how this cult was developed out of existing beliefs. Many doubtless sneered in secret, and sometimes openly, as Seneca, relating the grotesque arrival in Olympus of the divine Claudius. But the crowd, which is the same in all ages, takes delight in marvels, and the majority willingly accepted the new divinities; some because there always seems to be something divine in the great events which begin a new phase of humanity, others because paganism had degraded Olympus with so many vices that, in truth, after having brought the gods down so low, and having raised the chief of the Empire so high, it required no effort for men who believed in fauns and satyrs to believe in the master of twenty-five legions and of the world. Pliny sums up in a single sentence this faith, composed

¹ Upon the true meaning of the word *divus* given to the consecrated emperor after his death, see p. 39 and following pages.

² I will quote neither Ovid (*Fast.*, i. 609; *Pont.*, iv. 9, 105), nor Virgil (*Georg.*, iii. 16), nor Horace (*Epist.*, II. i. 15), nor Velleius Paterculus (ii. 91), and I pass over the marvels so boldly told by Suetonius (*Octav.*, 6, 94, 97). But here is a passage from Dion: *Αὐγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπεκλήθη*. Vegetius is still more explicit: *Imperator, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam præsentis et corporali deo fidelis est præstanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulus*.

³ Suet., *Vesp.*, 7.

⁴ Capitol., *Marc. Aur.*, 18; and Spartian, *Had.*, 23.

of impiety, baseness, and selfish gratitude: *Deus est*, he says, *juvare mortalem*, he is a god who makes himself the benefactor of men.

This new cult had serious legal consequences. The emperor being made *divus* after his death, must have been partly so during his lifetime. He will soon be considered the incarnation of reason and wisdom, the living law, *lex animata*; ¹ and the divine right of kings had its origin in this consent given to the apotheosis of Augustus. ²

Thus, from the first, the emperor allowed altars to be reared and worship to be paid to him as to a divinity. It was a rash ambition, to impersonate God upon earth. A man should at least find out an aim towards which might be directed the activity of the people whose earthly Providence he had caused himself to be made; without which aim this people, if it is poor, languishes like those Oriental races who for so many centuries spend their life in daydreams under the shadow of their palm trees; or, if it is rich, sinks into the enervating languor of prosperity, dragging out in the midst of corruption a life without honour and without strength. Rome was virtuous and valiant while the enemy was prowling around Latium, and the threatening Hannibal showed clearly where duty lay. In those days there was faith towards the gods, respect towards rulers, and, together with liberty, there was discipline in all ranks and devotion to their country. When the world was conquered and the Republic had perished, this people, who no longer had the care of their own defence nor the responsibility of their own affairs, interested themselves in nothing save in being amused; and Augustus employed his ingenuity and his wealth in making the Roman life a perpetual holiday. He had not created this situation, but he aggravated it. He suppressed political life among a people who had lost the religious, and could not as yet have the scientific, life.

¹ *Constitutio principis vim legis obtinet* (Gaius, i. 2, 5). . . . *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet* (Inst., i. 2, § 6).

² In the formation of this idea of divine right we must allow its share to the Hebrew custom of consecration renewed by the church for the kings of Europe. Priests and legists, who regard human affairs from different points of view, were brought, the former by biblical, the latter by Roman tradition, to say by the mouth of Bossuet: "O kings, you are gods!" and by that of the French parliament: "*Si veut le roi, si veut la loi!*"

And what did he put in place of all these great voids? Only amusement—*panem et circenses*.

To sum up, the Empire was necessary and inevitable, but to unity of command a unity in the State ought to have corresponded: a political unity, through general institutions having their roots in the cities and rising through the successive grades to the very head of the Empire; a military unity, through an organization which should interest each in the defence of all; and a moral unity, through a community of ideas and sentiments.

Augustus apparently simplified this difficult problem; really, he was able neither to solve it nor even to comprehend it. He constituted for himself a unity of command, and for his subjects he believed that a community of interests would suffice for safety. This selfish union he sought to produce by order, that is to say, by a vigilant police system. But what peace had done war undid; and the interests which were hurt by palace revolutions, by the condition of the public finances, and by the invasions of barbarians, did not defend a government which, after having promoted them, ended by ruining them.

In the place of Augustus, Cæsar perhaps would have fulfilled this task; and the result was worth the pains of a great effort, for had the Roman Empire been strongly organized it might have held at bay the barbarians and civilized them, as it did the Spaniards and Gauls, and, as we have seen, Augustus undertook to do in the case of the Germanic tribes of the Rhine and Danube.

If from the ruler we turn to the man, it must be confessed one cannot love this character, who had no originality or enthusiasm, who wrote out in advance what he wished to say to his friends and even to his wife, and who by turns did well or ill as interest seemed to him to dictate; cruel in cold blood, clement by calculation; the assassin of Cicero, the protector of Cinna; a Tartufe of piety, but without religion; the model, in fine, of statesmen, if statesmanship be the art of ruling men by terror and deceit. In their greatness Cæsar and Alexander were lovable, Napoleon terrible; Augustus, commanding neither sympathy nor admiration, is not among them, and must take his place far beneath.

At the same time he will remain a great figure in history.

Why? Because he caused 80,000,000 of men to live in peace for forty-four years. "The human race," says Pliny, "decrees him the civic crown."¹

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 3. Velleius Paterculus sums up the consequences of the establishment of the Empire in these words: *Summota e Foro seditio, ambitio Campo, discordia Curia*. Pliny the younger says the same (iii. 20).



Augustus veiled and crowned with Laurel (Cameo).

NINTH PERIOD.

THE CÆSARS AND THE FLAVII (14-96 A.D.), CONSPIRACIES AND CIVIL WARS.

TEN EMPERORS, OF WHOM SEVEN ARE ASSASSINATED.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS TO THE DEATH OF DRUSUS (14-23).¹

I.—WISE BEGINNINGS OF TIBERIUS; GERMANICUS (14-19).

FROM the beautiful shores of Baiæ, Naples, and Sorrento, we see on the horizon a dark mass rising from the sea, inaccessible save at one point, the island of Capri, whose rocks almost everywhere overhang the waves. Around them still hovers the memory of the terrible old man wasting in debauchery and cruel pleasures the remnant of a life already too long. Tiberius is forever at Capri; Tacitus has chained his image to the rock. But the isle and the tyrant mutually wrong each other. Capri, beloved of Augustus, was not so terrible,² and Tiberius was not always so

¹ This chapter and the following were published by me in 1853 in the form of a Latin thesis; and I change them in no respect. The view I at that time held is the one tending to prevail in England, Germany, and Holland. Cf. Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, 1865); Stahr (*Tiberius*, 1863); Sievers (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870); Karsten (*de Taciti fide*, etc.); Beesly (*Tiberius*, 1878); Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879); Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870); and Hoeck (*Römische Geschichte*) go even much too far; the latter does not hesitate to say: "Wer die Reihe der Imperatoren durch Jahrhundert verfolgt hat, und wem Hass und Gunst fern liegen, der muss Tiberius Principat den ehrenwerthesten zuzahlen" (vol. iii. p. 190).

² Capri, which had belonged to Naples, was bought by Augustus in the year 29 B.C. (Dion. liii. 43), whence we infer that this emperor had the intention of building a villa there. Behind

infamous. In this Plessis-les-Tours of the imperial Louis XI. were concealed not so much cruelty and vice as contempt for the human race. He had found them so vile!

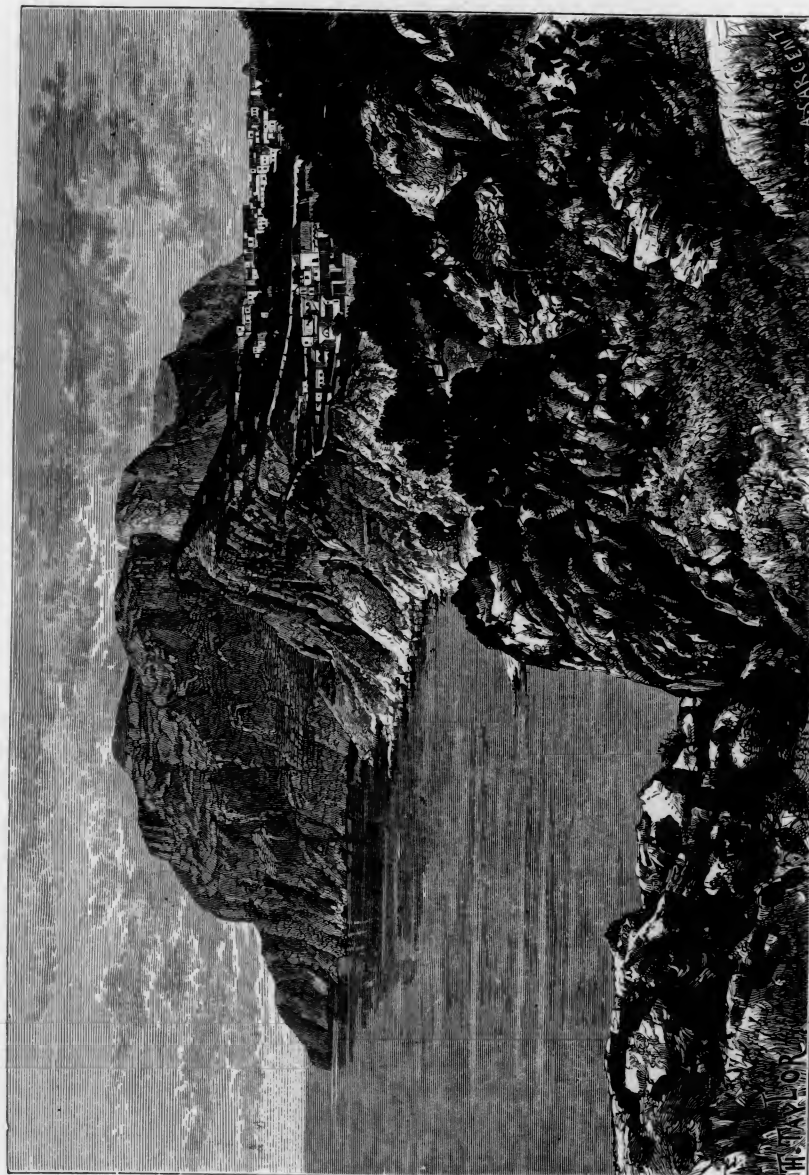
To distinguish the good from the ill in the reign of Tiberius is almost a crime; to show that the contemporaries of this emperor were no better than himself, and that there could result only fatal consequences from the situation created for the former by their vices and their recollections—for the latter by his character and by the perils with which he was menaced—would be to expose oneself to the reproach of attempting the rehabilitation of a tyrant. I do not propose, however, to move for a new trial of Tiberius; his condemnation is legitimate, but all the preambles to it are not so; I shall essay to determine those which history should keep.

Tacitus saw in Tiberius mainly the enemy of the senate; we are bound to see the ruler and to cease considering Rome as the whole Empire, thus subordinating the interests of 80,000,000 of men to those of a class which by plots protested against its own abdication. The emperor and the senate, the executive and the conspirators, palace intrigues and judicial murders, doubtless form a scene more dramatic and simpler. At the risk of a little disorder, let us bring upon this narrow stage the people of the provinces.

Tiberius was of that ambitious Claudian family who had had twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, and as many triumphs. The marriage of his mother with Octavius and his adoption by Augustus had brought him into the house of the Cæsars. He had loved his brother with devotion.¹ To see

its rampart of perpendicular cliffs Capri presents many beautiful sites, and is renowned for its climate. The narcissus blooms there in December, and all the year round the air is perfumed with the fragrance of aromatic plants. In reading Tacitus we must not forget what he himself says of the training in rhetoric given to the young Romans (*de Orat.*, 35). The characteristic of the literature of this time is a forced and declamatory tone, which exaggerates all things, *ingentia verba*. Petronius also ridicules these athletes of the schools who, when they make their *début* at the bar, seem to fall from another world, so much are they strangers to real life. In their declamations there were always pirates with chains in ambush on the shore, tyrants compelling children to murder their fathers, oracles claiming human victims, etc., etc. *Satyricon*, 2: *Nuper ventosa istæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque juvenum et magna surgentes . . . adflavit*. In the time of Augustus we find Strabo complaining of the Oriental exaggeration that gained ground in Rome.

¹ Suetonius (*Tib.*, 50) says that he one day betrayed Drusus by showing to Augustus a letter of his brother's, *qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat*. Is it needful for me to say that I no more believe in the republicanism of Drusus than in that of



Capri.

him once more, Tiberius travelled seventy leagues in a day; and when he brought back the body of Drusus from the banks of the Rhine to Rome, he walked on foot before the funeral train all the long road. Twenty years later he still was mindful of his brother, whose name he associated with his own upon a temple built with the spoils taken in his victories.¹ He separated from his first wife, to marry Julia, only upon the express command of Augustus, but his heart remained always with Vipsania. "One day when he accidentally met her," says his biographer, "his eyes filled with tears, and remained fixed upon her so long as she was in sight; and it was necessary to guard against Vipsania's appearing before him."²

At the age of nine he pronounced in public the eulogy of his father; Augustus had done this at the age of twelve. The Roman youth were trained to eloquence as much as to war: language was the weapon of peace, but we shall shortly see that sanguinary warfare was waged with it. While still a youth Tiberius pleaded before Augustus for king Archelaos, the city of Tralles, and the Thessalians; and in the senate he interceded in behalf of Thyatira, Laodicea, and Chios, destroyed by an earthquake. His first words in public were thus consecrated to the defence of the provincials, and Augustus gave him the honourable mission of going to receive from the Parthians the restored standards of Crassus. All the

Drusus, brother of Tiberius.³

Agrippa and Germanicus? The same author accuses him of having been destitute of affection for his son; nature and two authors, Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 61) and Dion (lvii. 22), say the contrary. Tacitus himself tells of the grief of Tiberius at the death of Drusus and of his son (*Ann.*, iv. 8 and 15). The conspiracy against Tiberius subsisted against his memory (*Ann.*, iv. 11 and 33).

¹ Suet., *Tib.*, 20. Tacitus speaks of a friend whom the emperor retained for thirty years, Lucilius, a senator, whose death afflicted Tiberius much: *omnium illi tristium ceterorumque socius* (*Ann.*, iv. 15). He had other friends also: the great jurist Nerva, and Flaccus, who was præfect of Egypt (Philo, *adv. Flacc.*, *initio*).

² Suet., *Tib.*, 7.

³ Agate-onyx in two layers, 48 millim. by 36. Magnificent cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 213.

duties intrusted to him by his adopted father were performed with energy and intelligence; at the time of the war with Marbod he



Coin of Tralles.²

saved the Empire from a dangerous crisis.¹ After the death of Agrippa no general could show more brilliant services. He had fought in Spain and among the Alps, had been governor of Gaul, had given a king to Armenia, and conquered the Pannonians. "Nine times," he himself wrote, "I have been sent by Augustus across the Rhine." He had subdued the Germans, transported 40,000 barbarians into Belgium, and reassured the Empire after the defeat of Varus. With the exception of the period of his stay in Rhodes, he had for thirty years been concerned in the most important affairs, and he entered upon the imperial power full of talents and experience.³

Augustus, long prejudiced against him, ended by regarding him as the best support of the imperial power. "Adieu, my dear Tiberius," Augustus wrote to him. "May you have success of every kind. Adieu, bravest of soldiers and wisest of generals."

Such was the man who, upon the death of Augustus, assumed the imperial power, at the age of fifty-six,⁴ his passions cooled, his mind and experience in full maturity. We should add, however, that his morals were probably no better than those of the Roman nobility in general;⁵ that his temper was surly, *tristissimus hominum*, says Pliny; that his character was harsh, vindictive, showing no reluctance to shed blood, as with all

¹ See p. 127 sq.

² ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΝ. ΠΥΘΙΑ: souvenir of the Pythian games.

³ *Tantis rebus exercitus*, says Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 11); *tantum rerum experientiam* (*ibid.*, vi. 48). Nothing of what I say concerning Tiberius is taken from Vell. Paternulus or from Val. Maximus, but from Suetonius and Dion, who rarely spare him, and from Tacitus, his avowed enemy. Velleius, who served under him, shows his great military qualities.

⁴ Tiberius, who was born November 17th, 42 B.C., was, at the date of his accession, fifty-five years, nine months, and three days old. The statue of Tiberius discovered at Piperno (Privernum) is regarded as *iconic*. It is in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 494.

⁵ I dare not say they were better. However, before the famous orgies of Capri, I do not find him reproached by the soldiers with a love of wine; furthermore, his nick-name, much more than his character, seems to have been a cause of reproach—Biberius, instead of Tiberius Nero, for Suetonius attests (*Tib.*, 18) that in camp he lived as a soldier, eating off the ground and sleeping in the open air.



Statue of Tiberius, found at Piperno (in the Museum of the Vatican).

frequenters of the amphitheatre;¹ that, finally, Augustus was many times obliged to moderate his zeal in punishing every word and act contrary to the new government. These characteristics and the danger of his position explain his reign in advance. It was the reverse of his adopted father's. No more than Augustus does Tiberius show himself a truly great statesman, but he was a good administrative officer, and for the first nine years a mild ruler, because in those nine years he was able, like the emperor, to live easily, by using ordinary skill; towards the end of his life he became cruel like the triumvir, for the reason that he was then encountering the perils and threats which Octavius had met at the beginning of his career.

The critical moment for a government is that of its founder's death. Then alone its nature and duration are determined. Tiberius thought no more than Augustus did of the morrow; he continued his hypocritical moderation, and made it, so to speak, the rule of the imperial government. Hence, those continual alternations of a feigned abandonment of power on the part of the ruler and sanguinary acts of violence in its maintenance; those hopes continually revived only to be continually destroyed, and the oft-evoked phantom of the Republic which ensnared to their death so many generous but credulous men. Besides, the will of Augustus obliged Tiberius to follow this line of conduct. He feigned at first to give up all to the senate and consuls, as if he had doubts concerning his rights. From the palace of the expiring emperor the order had been sent out to the centurion in charge of Agrippa Postumus to put the latter to death. When the soldier came to say he had done it, "I have given no orders," said Tiberius, "you shall account to the senate for this." But no investigation was made in regard to the matter, for no person was interested in the victim.²

¹ These continual spectacles of death must have very quickly hardened men's hearts. We read in Pliny (xxviii. 2) that they came to regard it as a sovereign remedy for certain maladies to drink gladiator's blood: *Ut vivente poculo, calidem spirantemque sanguinem*. To this we add the cruelties permitted by the law in the case of slaves, attested by facts which Tacitus relates (*Ann.*, xiv. 42; cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 15) on the subject of Pedanius, Largius Macedo, and Vedius Pollio.

² Tacitus accuses Tiberius of this murder. According to Suetonius, it was not known whether Augustus, dying, had left the order, *quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret*, or whether Livia, with the consent of Tiberius or unknown to him, had caused Agrippa to be

Tiberius called the senate together modestly and with few words, "that they might deliberate upon the honours due to Augustus." This reserve was manifested only towards the senators. Emperor, he had written to the legions as emperor; perpetual tribune, he had at Rome received the oaths of fidelity from the people and the magistrates, had given the countersign to the prætorians, and had gathered an escort of soldiers to accompany him to the Forum and even to the Curia; hesitating in nothing or anywhere, except before the senate.

This first session was like many in the time of Augustus; flattery and baseness on the one side, and a feigned disinterestedness on the other; always the same scene so often acted, but this time with the difference that the prince noted the free words and imprudent avowals, and silently marked those whom he considered objects of suspicion to be his victims.

By one of those revolutions so frequent in human opinions, men were more republican at the time of the death of Augustus than they had been immediately after the battle of Actium; and they were to be yet more so at the court of Nero than at that of Tiberius. The Republic, retreating further and further from men's minds and becoming only a memory, was invested with that prestige with which the human mind covers all that is long since past—a fortunate disposition, since in securing our respect for the past, it prevents the present from rushing too eagerly towards the future; but a dangerous illusion when this respect becomes a worship and by this worship men try to restore life to what death has irrevocably smitten. There were, therefore, still republicans, but as nothing had been regulated in respect to the imperial

put to death under a pretended order of Augustus. These words explain the answer of Tiberius, *se nihil imperasse*. Tacitus, Dion, and Suetonius agree in representing this Agrippa as a coarse and ignorant man, stupid in mind and ferocious in temper. Dion adds (lv. 32) that his property had been confiscated, which proves that it was the intention of Augustus that the sentence of banishment passed upon him should be for life, since ordinary banishment did not bring with it the confiscation of property nor even the loss of civil rights. (Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, V. ii. 56-57; and *Digest*, xxviii. 1, 8; xlviii. 22, fr. 4, 7, § 3; fr. 14, § 1; fr. 17, 18 pr.) Deportation or exile, on the contrary, destroyed all civil rights. The exile was, under the Empire, regarded as civilly dead. (*Digest*, xxxvii. 1, fr. 13 and fr. 7, § 5; *ibid.*, 4, fr. 1, § 8; fr. 5, § 2; xlviii. 12; and Paulus, lib. iii. *Sent.*, tit. 4.) This death of Agrippa was, however, one of those State crimes from which despotism does not recoil. It was brought about doubtless by the attempt a slave had made, on news of the approaching end of Augustus, to carry off Agrippa to the armies in Germany, which a few days later rose in insurrection. (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 39.)

succession, there were also candidates for the Empire. Towards Octavius, the adopted son of Cæsar, the vanquisher of Brutus and Antony, the pacificator of the world, men had willingly assumed the attitude of obedience. It was a time of repose, a dictatorship useful for the reconstruction of the State, and merely lasting longer than Cæsar's. But if an autocracy was necessary, why Livia's son rather than the son of Piso, of Pollio, or of Lepidus? And these nobles who believed themselves worthy of the supreme power were numerous enough, and well enough known for Augustus in his last hours to name them to Tiberius and discuss their chances.¹ One of them ventured to propose to give the new emperor his share;² "Let him either accept or waive his claim," exclaimed another; and he had his reasons for hesitation, adds Suetonius, for he was in the midst of perils. He knew this well when he said to his friends in his energetic but often coarse language: "You have no idea what a monster this Empire is," or still better: "I hold a wolf by the ears."³ We are too apt to forget the immense wealth which some of these nobles had at their disposal, and the pride of these men who, not long ago, untrammelled and masters of the world, could not adapt themselves to their condition of subjects of a ruler and of the law. Their friend Tacitus tells of a young patrician, Sylla by name, who at the theatre refused to yield his place to an ex-prætor, and the latter, a new man, was forced, after long disputes in the senate, to be content with mock amends.⁴

Such were the adversaries by whom Tiberius felt himself surrounded; he had seen them engaged in their conspiracies under Augustus; and he knew them well, for he had filled the post of public accuser against them. But, in addition to this, he had his own personal enemies, the former friends of the young Cæsars and of Agrippa, those who had menaced or had despised him when an exile in Rhodes. There was a formidable account to settle with such a man.

Tiberius opened his reign with favours to the senate.

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 13.

² This refers to a division of which Dion speaks (lvii. 2). The Empire was to be divided into three parts: Rome and Italy, the armies, and the provinces.

³ Suet., *Tib.*, 24, 25.

⁴ *Ann.*, iii. 31.

Continuing the movement of concentration of all the powers which had been begun by Augustus, he transferred the elections from the Campus Martius to the Curia.¹ Like his predecessor, Tiberius perfectly understood that the crowd of the Campus Martius, easy to deceive, was subject, nevertheless, to sudden vicissitudes, formidable, impossible to prevent or arrest; but that nothing of the sort was to be apprehended in the Curia, where the voting was *viva voce* and under the ruler's eye. The senate, therefore, was heir to the comitia; and, as Tiberius gave it the show of electoral power, he gave it also the show of legislative power. During his reign the comitia passed but two laws;² all the legislation was to be accomplished in the Curia by *senatus-consulta*, or in the palace by edicts,³ and in the second half of his reign the emperor would not even take the pains to elaborate either of them in the privy council established by Augustus. He suffered the senate, the docile instrument of the imperial will, to encroach upon the other jurisdictions, though multiplying the cases which he reserved for himself. Thus, under the second emperor this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial, held a place even larger than under the first. It occupied the entire stage; but the part which it played there, we must remember, was dictated

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 15 and 81. "This was," says Velleius Paterculus (ii. 124), "the execution of a plan marked out by Augustus." He usually proposed himself the candidates for the titles of consul and prætor. In respect to the other offices, he designated a certain number of candidates whom he sent to the senate—some for that body to make choice among them, others to draw their offices by lot under his supervision. This being done, those who were to fill the curule positions presented themselves to the centuries, and the inferior magistrates to the tribes, where they received the confirmation of their title (Dion, lvi. 20). The electoral comitia played the same part under the Empire that the comitia curiata had played under the Republic since the passage of the laws of Publius Philo. Hence the saying of Galba in Quintilian (vi. 3): *petis tanquam Cæsaris candidatus*. A like change took place, at a period unknown, in the municipia and the colonies, probably even in leaving some exceptions: the order of the decurions appointed to the magistracies, in virtue of a *Lex Petronia* often mentioned (cf. Orelli, No. 3,679, and n. 3, *ad h. loc.*), but of which we have not the text. Zumpt (*Comm. Epigr.*, p. 60) refers this law to the year 19 A.D. Thus, Rome was governed *μοναρχικῶς*, and the municipia *ἀριστοκρατικῶς*. This aristocracy (the order of decurions) eventually became hereditary. In two inscriptions recently found at *Prusias ad Hypium*, one Calicles is called *agonothetes* (president) from father to son of the great Augustan games celebrated every five years in the temple of Augustus and of Rome, and one of the Ten First is called senator and censor for life. (G. Perrot, *Explorat. archéol. de la Galatie*.)

² *Lex Junia Norbana*, in the year 19 (cf. Gaius, i. 22; and Ulpian, fr. 1, 10, and 16); and *Lex Visellia*, in the year 23 (Ulpian, iii. 5).

³ *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 4). *Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, i. 3, § 9).

and regulated by the ruler. We have here then the worst thing the world contains: the most absolute dependence under an exterior of strength and liberty. This sham force terrifies even him who gave it, at the same time that it deceives those who receive it.

As to the people, we know well enough what they had been for a century to expect a word of regret or murmur. But the aristocracy were less resigned.

The military despotism whose law is to demand everything from the soldiery, under penalty also of granting them everything, was at the foundation of the government of Augustus. It became apparent on the morrow of his death. One of the two constant alternatives—the supreme power of the ruler and the demands of the armies—showed itself as soon as the new power was believed to be still feeble and timid. The soldiery understood that upon them depended the security of the emperor as well as that of the Empire; and since there were no more civil wars by which they could be enriched, successions to the throne were to serve them instead. Three legions of Pannonia revolted, demanded a denarius daily instead of ten ases, exemption from service after sixteen years instead of twenty, and a fixed sum payable in camp on the day they entered the veteran standing. Tiberius sent them his son Drusus with Sejanus, one of the prætorian prefects, and all the disposable troops in Italy. An eclipse of the moon (September 26th), which terrified the conspirators, brought the revolt to an end.²

Upon the Rhine it lasted longer, and was more dangerous. Eight legions were there, distributed in two camps under the



Drusus, son of Tiberius.¹

¹ Cameo. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 217.)

² Drusus put the leaders to death, a needful severity. But Tacitus is ready to accuse him of vindictiveness: *promptum ad asperiora ingenium* (*Ann.*, i. 29).

command of Drusus, governor of Gaul. The demands were the same. In the lower camp the legionaries murdered their centurions, who sought to restrain them; and when Germanicus, then occupied in collecting the revenue, hastened to the camp, they claimed from him their legacy from Augustus and offered him the Empire. At this dangerous word Germanicus cried out that he would sooner die, and seizing his sword turned the point against his breast. "Strike then!" his soldiers exclaimed; and his friends snatching from him his sword, a legionary offered him his, saying: "Take this, the edge is sharper." It was useless to speak of honour and loyalty to madmen like these, who were already estimating what the pillage of the Gallic cities would bring them; Germanicus gave way before the threat of a civil war that the barbarians would not have failed to turn to their own advantage. He feigned to have received a letter from Tiberius granting their demands, and doubling the legacy of Augustus. But he was forced on the moment to satisfy the mercenary soldiery, give dismissals, and distribute bounties; the tribute money just collected, and all the personal funds of the general and his friends were scarcely enough to meet the emergency.

In the upper camp less excitement prevailed. Germanicus went thither, received the oath, and distributed exemptions and largesses. But the envoys of the senate arrived at the altar of the Ubii, whither Cecina had led two of the rebellious legions. The soldiers believed that these messengers brought a decree contrary to the general's promises; especially they suspected the chief of the deputation, the ex-consul Munatius Plancus, of unfriendliness towards them; they insulted him, pursued him to the altar, where he took refuge among the standards, and they would have killed him had it not been for the courage of a standard-bearer and the arrival of Germanicus. This new sedition decided the latter upon extreme measures; he first sent away to the city of the Treviri his wife Agrippina and all his household, with his young son Caius who, born in the camp and reared among the tents, had received from the soldiers the name of Caligula (Little Boots).¹ But the spectacle of women and children of rank

¹ *Quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 42).

fleeing from a Roman camp to seek shelter among barbarians caught the attention of the revolted soldiery; it astonished and moved them; they crowded about Germanicus, begging him not to inflict upon them this disgrace; they listened to his reproaches, fell at his feet, and conquered, as the multitude so often is, by a woman, conjured him to punish the guilty. They themselves seized the instigators of the revolt; a tribunal was erected, the legionaries, sword in hand, surrounded it; each prisoner was led up in succession, and if his comrades declared him guilty he was flung down among them and instantly put to death. Two other legions encamped at Vetera Castra followed this example. A victory was needed to expiate these horrors; Germanicus profited by the enthusiasm of his troops and led them against the enemy. Among the Marsi a space of fifty miles was ravaged; a victory gained over an ambushed German force ennobled this too easy expedition.

The avenging of Varus still tarried. In the following spring Germanicus again crossed the Rhine, hoping to profit by the quarrel between Arminius and Segestus, representing the national party and the Roman party, which had lately



Caius as a Youth (Caligula).¹

¹ A charming bronze statue found at Pompeii in 1824. (*Mus. Borbon.*, vol. v. pl. 26.) Caius, shod with the *caligæ*, whence his name, is clad in a chlamys, over which is thrown the ægis with the Medusa's head. The silver ornaments of his cuirass represent the chariot of the Sun warming the earth, represented below between the sign of Aries and Taurus. This has been understood to be an allegory recording the incident named in the text, which occurred in the month of April.

revived. Segestus had for a moment held his rival a prisoner,¹ but was now in turn besieged and implored the succour of the legions. The Cherusci, menaced by Cæcina, allowed Germanicus to ravage the whole country of the Catti and deliver Segestus. Among the captives was Arminius's wife.

Since the retreat of Segestus, the national party had been in the ascendant, and the last ravages of the Romans, with Arminius's violent complaints, had aroused the tribes to frenzy. A new league was formed, and Germanicus to combat it followed the route his father had opened; a fleet brought four legions to the mouths of the Ems; the Chauci offered auxiliaries, and the Romans advanced as far as the Teutoberg Forest. The army soon came upon traces of the great disaster: the half-ruined ramparts of the camp, bleached bones, heaps of broken weapons, and human heads still attached to the trees. The few eye-witnesses of the disaster who had escaped captivity or death, pointed out the spots where the legates had perished, where the eagles had been taken, the place where Varus had killed himself, and the altars upon which the barbarians had slain the centurions.² The legions interred these mutilated remains, a last tribute delayed for six years, Germanicus himself laying the last stone upon their tomb.

Arminius, sharply pursued, fell back fighting; one day he even very nearly succeeded in drawing the Roman army into a marsh, and Germanicus, in turn, was obliged to stop.³ He regained the river, and went on board his fleet, leaving the cavalry to follow along the sea-shore, and Cæcina with his troops to return to the Rhine by the road of the Long Bridges. Arminius preceded him thither, and while the Romans were repairing the half-destroyed causeway over the marshes, fell upon the working parties, threw disorder into their ranks, and in the evening, turning the streams from the neighbouring hills, he directed them upon the narrow space where the Romans were encamped. The night was frightful; on both sides the Teutoberg Forest was remembered,

¹ There were incessant strifes between these tribes, more unfriendly to each other than to the Romans. A chief of the Amsibbari had also been put in irons by Arminius. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 55.)

² [Cf. the splendid description of Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 69).—*Ed.*]

³ The campaign ended with an equal advantage on both sides, says Tacitus: *manibus æquis abscessum*. It is the acknowledgment of a defeat.

which the Romans had so lately visited, and Cæcina in a dream beheld Varus rising out of the marsh dripping with blood and holding out his hands to drag the Roman general down. Daylight renewed the combat. "Here is Varus again," Arminius cried; "here are his legions!" And he fell upon the cohorts which, in the muddy ground, could not form in their usual order. The barbarians aimed at the horses in order to increase the disorder. Cæcina's was killed, and the veteran of forty campaigns would have fallen into the hands of the enemy without a vigorous effort of the first legion. The avidity of their assailants saved the army: while they were plundering the baggage Cæcina gained open and solid ground. Here, while the troops were occupied with their scanty meal, suddenly an escaped horse dashed amongst the groups, knocking down and wounding some of the soldiers. A panic ensued; unarmed as they were, the soldiers rushed towards the Decuman Gate. They would thus have thrown themselves into the power of the barbarians, had not Cæcina, finding that neither authority nor entreaties could detain them, thrown himself



The Cuirassed Germanicus.¹

¹ Museum of Latran. This statue was found at Cervetri in 1839, at the same time that statues of seven other members of the imperial family were discovered: Cæsar, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus, Agrippina, Claudius, and Britannicus.

across the gate, barring the passage with his body, and turned them back. Morning having come, he distributed to the bravest of the soldiers the horses of the centurions and tribunes, and even his own, and held his troops ready behind the entrenchments. The barbarians advanced, crossed the moat, and seized the palisades. At this moment the trumpet sounded and the gates were thrown open; upon the firm ground, the legionaries soon recovered what had been lost, and the barbarians fled. The road to the Rhine was clear; but the rumour of a new disaster had already spread along the river, and it was proposed to cut the bridge by which Cæcina would arrive; but Agrippina opposed this, and on the arrival of the troops she went out to meet them, praising their courage, distributing remedies to the wounded, and garments and money to those who had lost everything—noble conduct, but novel on the part of a Roman matron, and blamed by Sejanus.¹

Germanicus, surprised by the high tides and storms of the equinox, had been himself in danger.² This unlucky campaign cost many lives, and almost all the baggage. The tomb erected to Varus had already been destroyed; the bones of the legions once more scattered over the plain; an old altar set up in honour of Drusus had been destroyed, and the barbarians were besieging one of the forts constructed upon the Lippe. Another expedition was needed to overthrow the confidence of the Germans and destroy the prestige of their arms. Gaul, Spain, and Italy promptly repaired the losses in the army. A thousand vessels were constructed, and Germanicus embarked his troops after fortifying all the valley of the Lippe, which, penetrating into the heart of Western Germany, furnished means of keeping in check the tribes adjacent to the river. By the route of the ocean and the river Ems, eight legions gained the banks of the Weser, which they crossed in the presence of the Cherusci. The barbarians, relying too much upon their courage, united their forces in the "Plain

¹ Tacitus sees no harm in this, of course, and he is right; but the same things done by Plancina are to him violations of feminine propriety (*Ann.*, ii. 55).

² Seneca, in his *Suasoria*, has preserved to us a fragment of Peto Albinovanus in respect to the tempest which so nearly proved fatal to Germanicus. This Peto is probably the same as the præfect of cavalry mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 60), who served in these campaigns.

of the Fairies," Idistavisus.¹ Upon this favourable ground, their superiority in arms and discipline gave the Romans a complete victory. Arminius escaped only by cutting his way through on horseback, having smeared his face with his own blood to avoid recognition. Notwithstanding his wounds, he rallied his forces for another action; it was a second massacre; the butchery lasted for a whole day and a trophy raised by the victors bore the inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, victorious over the nations between the Elbe and the Rhine, has consecrated this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus."

This time the disgrace of the Roman arms was effaced. Tiberius wanted nothing more, and the army returned into Gaul, half by land, the rest by the fleet. A storm lasting several days wrecked and engulfed many of the vessels; some were carried as far as the coasts of Britain, others went ashore on unknown territory, and the barbarians made captive many of the conquerors of Idistavisus. At the news of this all Germany was again aroused, but Germanicus rallied his troops and attacked the Catti and Marsi, from whom one of the eagles of Varus was recovered; and the barbarians, surprised at so much vigour, did not attempt to impede the march of the legions towards their winter-quarters (16 A.D.).

On his arrival there, Germanicus found letters from Tiberius calling him to Rome to receive a second consulship and a triumph. He, however, asked for a year more, promising that he would make an end of the barbarians within a few months. "We shall do better," the emperor wrote, "since the honour of Rome is avenged, to abandon them to their own rivalries and internal disputes; it is thus that I reduced the Suevi and their king to peace. If, moreover, hostilities be recommenced, is it not more fitting to leave to Drusus some work, and the sole opportunity for him also to gain the title of imperator?" Tiberius believed this policy good for the Empire and for his own family; but it does not suit Tacitus, who is already preparing his tragic story of the death of Germanicus: the historian is quite sure that he

¹ Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 372) thinks this region was called Idisiaviso, from *Idisi*, fairy. This is the plain on the right bank of the Weser, between the present villages of Hausbergen, Mittekenhausen, Vennebeck, and Holtrup. (Cf. Wilhem, *Germania*, p. 164.)

knows secret reasons which the emperor did not assign, and he describes with much appreciation the noble submission of the victorious general, who, detecting the suspicions of his emperor, quitted the scene of his renown and his too devoted legions.

When Germanicus proposed to Tiberius to subjugate Germany, he was right and the emperor was wrong in refusing it. The true frontier of the Empire was not the Rhine but the Elbe, whither the elder Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus had penetrated, and which Domitius had crossed. A subject country for now seventy years, Gaul was becoming rapidly Roman, and it was very necessary to give it for a rampart Latinized Germany. Asia and her nomads come into Europe by way of a vast plain which, turning the Carpathians and the mountains of Bohemia, stretches to the Rhine, the highway of invasion. If Rome, mistress of the great fortress of Bohemia reaching the Danube, opposite the Austrian Alps which were held by the legions, had strongly established herself behind the Elbe, the defence was easy. This line of rivers and mountains which, from the Adriatic to the North Sea, bars the continent, later arrested the Slavs,¹ the Mongols, and the Turks; and it would have arrested the Huns. The shock of these savage hordes, which in Upper Italy and Gaul could enter upon only a little portion of civilized land, would have been broken by a Germany covered with Roman populations and defended by strong cities. After the defeat of Arminius and Marbod the occupation of this territory was not beyond the strength of the Empire, and would have changed its destiny. The occasion then lost was not recovered till, at the end of eight centuries, Charlemagne put an end to Eastern invasions when he forced the Germanic nations to enter into his new Empire of the West. But they entered it only after the great downfall, and had never been touched by the influence of Rome, whence it happened that they have kept up to modern times their native rudeness and that peculiar culture, *das Germanenthum*, so different from the civilization of the Latin races.

¹ About the year 650 the Czechs occupied Bohemia, where they still are, but, perhaps, had the Romans been there they might never have effected an entrance. The frontier of the Danube and the Rhine is a line of nearly 2,500 miles. From the Bohemian mountains to the North Sea by the valley of the Elbe is not over 420 miles.



Statue of Tiberius, found at Veii (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, No. 400).

Meanwhile, at Rome, Tiberius governed with wisdom and without violence. He has been accused of leaving Julia to die in destitution and of having caused the death of a lover of his wife's, Semp. Gracchus, banished fourteen years before to the island of Cercina;¹ but for a Roman this harshness was by no means a crime. In the open Forum, a citizen seeing a funeral pass by, called out loudly to the dead man to tell Augustus that his legacies to the people had never been paid. Tiberius, it is said, continued the joke: he caused the citizen to receive his share, then sent him to execution, saying: "Go quickly, and carry the truer report yourself." This is cruel if true;² but probably there were many in that age who found the repartee admirable. In a land where it was usual to throw slaves living to the eels, how many would object to the *bon-mot* that cost a poor fellow his life! Tiberius refused the honours and the temples offered to him, forbade men to swear by his name or fortune, refused to be called *Pater Patriæ*, lord, or master, or that men should speak of his divine occupations,⁴ and repulsed the base flatteries of the senate as a man might who knew their worthlessness. It was proposed to give his name to the month in



Coin of Marcellus,
Governor of Bithynia.³

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 53) draws a sad picture of this Gracchus: "He made only a perverse use of his eloquence. During the lifetime of Augustus he had corrupted Julia, and their persistent criminality had dishonoured the house of Tiberius. He did not cease to inflame the displeasure of Julia against her husband, and was believed to be the author of the violent letters written by her to Augustus on the subject of Tiberius." Augustus, says Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 24), condemned to death or to exile the accomplices in crime of his daughter and granddaughter; and the historian narrates a suit (ii. 85) instituted against a husband because he had not punished the misconduct of his wife.

² Suetonius, who relates this anecdote (*Tib.*, 57), says, however, that Tiberius did not wish to commence his reign with severities, *ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret* (*Tib.*, 25); and Tacitus speaks to the same effect. The story is probably no more truthful than that of the execution of the man who, purposely letting fall in the presence of the emperor a cup of glass which changed shape in falling, gave back to the cup its original form by moulding it in his hands (Dion, lvii. 21). Fabricius says justly concerning this anecdote: *Totius hujus rei famam crebriorem diu quam certiore fuisse*; and this might be said of many more.

³ M. GRANIVS MARCELLVS PROCOS. Woman seated, holding a cornucopia. Bronze coin, struck in Bithynia. Unique and hitherto unpublished coin of the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ Dion, lvii. 9. In the year 18, however, we see the duumvirs of Florentia instituting, for the birthday of Tiberius, a public repast preceded by an offering of incense and wine, *genio Augusti et Tiberii*, before their statues set up in a chapel. (Orelli, No. 686.)

which he was born: "What will you do," he said, "when you have thirteen emperors?"¹

His life was simple, that of a rich citizen; his manners, if not affable, at least polite. He rose in the presence of the



Livia Augusta, as Abundance.
(Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.)

consuls, referred most affairs to them, and in every question consulted the senate,² accepting contradiction, the tribunes' veto, and even the lessons which "dying liberty"³ ventured to give him. One Marcellus, a former governor of Bithynia, was accused of extortion and of disgraceful language. This time Tiberius was indignant and wished to speak. "But when?" says a senator. "If before us, you dictate our opinions; if after, I have to fear that my opinion and yours may differ." Tiberius was silent and allowed the senate to absolve Marcellus.⁴ Some time after this he forbade investigation to be made concerning

libellous language used against himself or Livia.⁵ "In a free state," he said, "speech and thought should remain free." And the senate insisting on taking cognizance of these offences: "We

¹ Dion, lvi. 18; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72; Suet., *Tib.*, 26, 27.

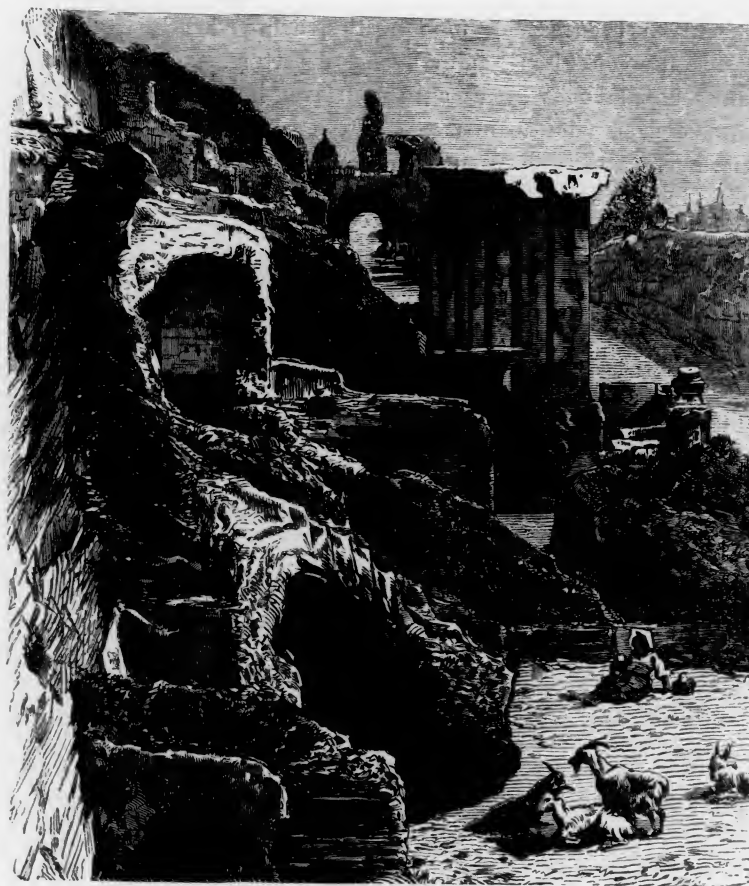
² Dion, lvi. 7.

³ *Vestigia morientis libertatis* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74). See in Suetonius (*Tib.*, 30 and 31) many examples of the authority left to the senate and magistrates: *Cum senatus-consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo.*

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 50.

have," he says, "enough affairs of importance without burdening ourselves with these miserable trifles. If you open the door to these accusations, you will be able to do nothing else hereafter,



Remains of the Palace of Tiberius.

and under this pretext they will make use of us to glut every spite."¹

One Piso, a bitter censor of the time, complained one day of the intrigues of the Forum, the corruption of the judges, and the

¹ Suet., *Tib.*, 28.

cruelty of the orators; he declared that he was about to quit Rome and go to hide himself in some remote and unknown land; and, saying these words, he rose to leave the senate house. Tiberius at first sought to pacify by gentle words this fierce virtue, then had recourse to entreaties, and ended by calling on the relations of Piso to prevent his departure. This same Piso another day brought a suit against a favourite of Livia to obtain a sum of money due to him. All Rome was amazed; the empress complained that she was insulted, and called upon Tiberius to punish the offence. He excused himself, spoke of the law which must be obeyed, and to have peace with his mother promised himself to plead her favourite's cause. He went out from the palace on foot and unattended, walked slowly, stopped to talk with



Coin of the Fonteian Family.

those whom he met, lengthening the time and the road. Meantime, the case was finished, the judges found the award, and Livia sent the money that was claimed.¹ If he refused to do an unjust act at the request of that imperious mother whom he respected to the latest hour of her long life, can it be believed that he showed more complaisance towards others?

"He loved liberal acts which had an honourable motive, and he long preserved this virtue. An ex-prætor asked permission to withdraw from the senate on account of poverty; but Tiberius gave him 1,000,000 sesterces. Another had lost his house by the construction of a highway and an aqueduct, and the emperor paid him the value of them."² Fonteius offered his daughter to become a vestal; Tiberius did not accept, but gave her a dowry of 1,000,000 sesterces.³ The grandson of the orator Hortensius, already once rescued from poverty by Augustus, had fallen back into it and begged new assistance: the emperor refused it.⁴ Tacitus brings this up against him; but I praise him for it. The

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 34.

² *Ibid.*, i. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 86.

⁴ However, through respect for the senate, he gave 200,000 sesterces apiece to each of the sons of the noble beggar (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 38).

historian himself is constrained to add, in relating other instances of a wise munificence on the part of Tiberius: "In general, he accepted legacies only from his friends, and rejected all those offered him by unknown persons."¹ But, while he relieved honest and virtuous poverty, he was pitiless towards that caused by prodigality and profligacy, as was experienced by Varro, Marius Nepos, Appianus, Sylla, and Vitellius, whom he expelled from the senate.

The testimony which Tacitus is forced to bear in his favour does not prevent that partial writer from going so far as to reproach the emperor for his good sense. The Tiber overflowed and desolated its banks. The senate saw no other remedy than to consult the Sibylline books; Tiberius sent engineers to study the river.² He was right; but the historian accuses him, with a great magnificence of empty and sonorous words, of wishing all things divine and human to be mysterious.³ A man swore by Augustus and the oath was false: he was prosecuted, not for the immoral act, but for the disrespect shown to the divine Augustus. "It belongs to the gods," said Tiberius, "to avenge perjuries and themselves."⁴ He complained of the extravagance which carried the wealth of the Empire into foreign lands. When, however, those sumptuary laws were proposed which have never been effectual, he rejected them, but recommended to the ædiles a stricter watch over public morals, and, still better, himself set an example of simplicity, causing to be served upon his own table, even on feast days, what was left from the preceding day's repast.

While he permitted by his silence, in a much talked-of affair, a tribune's veto to triumph over the authority of the senate, and continued his predecessor's labours for the adornment of the city, he, nevertheless, made no base concessions to the popular will.

¹ Dion, lvi. 17: τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεχόμενος. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 48. What Suetonius relates of Lepida (*Tib.*, 49) is refuted by Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 22, 23), and Seneca, who draws a sad portrait of Lentulus, speaks indeed of his 400,000,000 sesterces, but not of the conduct of Tiberius (*de Ben.*, ii. 27).

² The Tiber is subject to enormous freshets (see vol. i. p. 83). The office of inspector of the Tiber became permanent. Cf. Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 2502-3, or 5944; and Orelli, Nos. 1117, 2284, etc.

³ *Ann.*, i. 76 . . . perinde divina humanaque obtegens.

⁴ *Ann.*, i. 73 . . . deorum injurias diis curæ. The juriconsults made of this a crime punishable by law. See p. 40.

Augustus regarded it as a duty to be present at all public amusements, and owed to this deference a part of his popularity. Tiberius despised methods like these, and left the populace to amuse itself without him. He even limited the expenses of the games; he reduced the salaries of actors and forbade senators to visit the houses of buffoons and knights to be seen with them in public. Actors might give performances only upon the stage, and a *senatus-consultum* invested the prætor with the extravagant right of condemning to exile turbulent spectators. Disorders having occurred in the theatre, he exiled the chiefs of the rival factions as well as the actors about whom the dispute had occurred, and never yielded to the solicitations of the people for their recall.

Of all the pleasures of the crowd the most relished were the Atellane farces and the gladiatorial games. Tiberius repressed the licence of the former and permitted the latter to take place but rarely.¹ Even, according to Tacitus, who doubtless forgot himself here, he reproached his son Drusus with exhibiting too much pleasure at the sight of blood.² He would have been glad to extirpate the superstition which grew in proportion as the official religion declined. Magicians were banished: one was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, another executed "after the ancient manner." The Egyptian and Jewish priests were expelled, with their followers.

The multitude cried out against the tax of one per cent. upon sales. Tiberius, who introduced strict economy into the finances, replied that this was the sole support of the army. But later, when the matter had passed from men's minds, he granted a reduction of one half; the tribute of Cappadocia, made into a province, filling the deficit.³ In the year 19 corn was dear and famine impending; the emperor did what was done for the first time in France in the famine of 1853: he maintained the corn at its usual price for the buyer, but compensated the

¹ Suet., *Tib.*, 34 and 47. After the great disaster to the amphitheatre of Fidenæ, in 28 A.D., he caused it to be decided by the senate that it should be prohibited to any to give gladiatorial combats *cui minor quadringentorum millium res* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 63).

² *Ann.*, i. 76.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42. Dion (lvi. 16) says that he reduced it to the original rate; but there is still question under Caligula (Suet., *Cal.*, 16) of the *ducentesima*.

seller, making them allowance for the difference, two sesterces the bushel.¹

Rome was always in danger of famine, since "the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves." Italy, in fact, changed, especially near the city, into pleasure gardens, and ruined by the rivalry of foreign grain, could no longer feed her inhabitants. Tiberius, to revive agriculture, renewed a law of Cæsar, obliging the rich to put a part of their fortune into Italian lands.² The roads were not yet safe; he multiplied military posts, and repressed with severity all acts which endangered the public peace. The inhabitants of Pollentia had extorted by violence from the heirs of a person whose funeral procession passed through their city the sum necessary for a combat of gladiators. Tiberius instantly despatched thither two cohorts, who entered the city sword in hand; many decurions and notables were seized and put in irons, whence they were never set free. The emperor thus made it evident to all the municipalities in the Empire that he held them responsible for the disorders which they did not punish.³

The soldiers, who had inaugurated this reign by a revolt, were not slow in understanding that they had a master to whom their obedience must be unquestioning. Tiberius withdrew the concessions he had at first made them; the veteran standing was put off till the end of twenty years, and even then but rarely allowed. Later, at an epoch when he needed the prætorians, he refused them permission to sit with the knights at the theatre, and severely reprimanded the author of this proposal for wishing to corrupt these rude minds and destroy discipline.⁴ He doubled for the legions the legacy of Augustus, but this was the sole largess they had from him. After the death of Sejanus the legions of Syria alone received some gifts, because they had never placed the likeness of the favourite among their standards.⁵ This severity

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 87. I refer to the ingenious combination of under-tax and over-tax devised by M. Haussmann, constituting for the benefit of the Parisian populace an insurance against a high price of bread.

² Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16, 17.

³ Suet., *Tib.*, 37.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 3, 4.

⁵ Suet., *Tib.*, 48.

was successful, and he had never during all his reign a mutiny to suppress.

In respect to the provinces he continued the policy of Augustus. If he dared not, like his predecessor, absent himself from Rome in order to visit them, having neither an Agrippa nor a Mæcenas upon whom he could rely in his absence, he at least sent them the ablest governors, who maintained order, and by useful public works increased their prosperity. Africa still retains a bridge of the time of Tiberius. He avoided augmenting the tributes and relieved excessive destitution. Twelve cities of Asia,



Coin commemorative of services rendered in Asia.²

ruined by an earthquake, were exempted by him from all taxes, and Sardis, the one which had suffered most, received from him 10,000,000 sesterces.¹ Certain governors manifesting too keen an interest in their treasury: "A good shepherd," he said to them, "shears his flock, not flays it." In Egypt the harvest of the year 18 had been bad; corn was dear; Germanicus employed the reserves of the State, and kept the price low by opening the public granaries.³ The provinces, therefore, testified their gratitude: some by erecting temples to the divinity of the emperors, others, as Gaul and Spain, by spontaneously furnishing the armies all the aid of which they had need. Macedon and Greece offered a still higher compliment to the imperial government: they requested, as a remedy for all their troubles, to pass from the administration of the senate's proconsuls to that of the emperor's lieutenants.

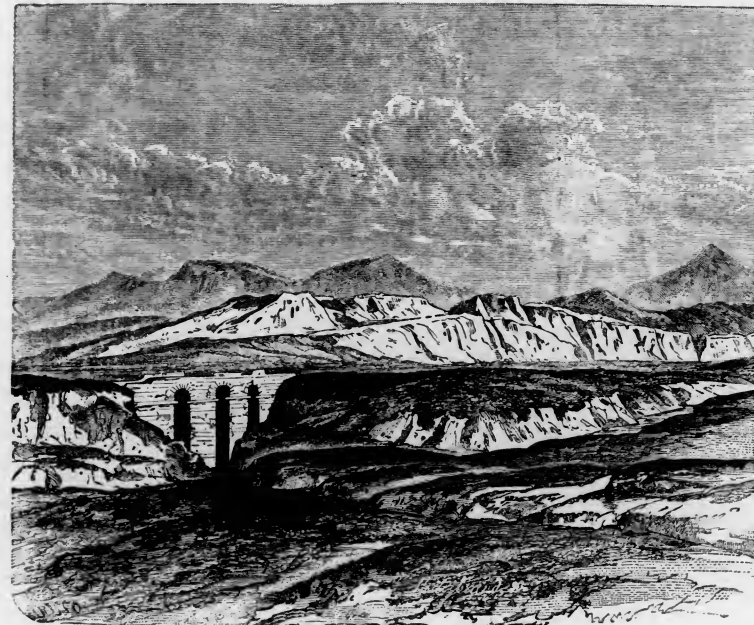
The Empire, then, was wisely and mildly governed. But, seeing the gentleness of the new emperor, the nobles grew bolder. One Piso maintained in the very face of Tiberius that, in the ruler's absence, the senate should still continue its deliberation and action.

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 47; cf. Dion, lvi. 17. An inscription recently found at Mylasa calls Tiberius *τὸν λαυρῆς* (the city) *ἐσπέρην* (*Bull. de Corresp. hellénique*, January, 1881, p. 41).

² Tiberius, laurel-crowned, seated in a curule chair, holding a patera and a sceptre; around, the legend: *Civitatus Asiae restitutis*. Large bronze of Tiberius.

³ *Ann.*, ii. 59.

This proposal, which displaced the sovereign power, was rejected only after long and doubtful discussion. The same Piso is he whom we shall see audaciously reviving the habits of the last days of the Republic, arming his slaves, levying troops, and of his own authority declaring war upon a Roman general, to make forcible entry into a province. Another, one of those whom Augustus



Remains of a Bridge of Tiberius in Tunisia.¹

had designated as very eager to share his heritage, Gallus, made the proposal that magistrates should be designated five years in advance. This was to disarm the supreme authority and give the magistrates elect a dangerous influence. As Piso desired that the senate should take its political powers seriously, so others wished it to exercise its electoral right with independence. Germanicus and Drusus united in supporting very earnestly one of their relatives for the prætorship; the senate long repulsed him,

¹ Upon the Oued-Badja, from an unpublished drawing by M. Tissot, French Ambassador.

and the candidate of the Cæsars and the court obtained his election only by a very small majority.¹ Thus the Conscript Fathers were quite willing to resume their old place, while keeping, of course, all the new powers which had been given them. I have criticized the institutions of Augustus, but between the authority of one man and that of an assembly such as the senate,

I take without hesitation the side of the emperor.

The secret sentiments of the patriciate are shown more clearly in the double attempt of Libo and Clemens. One was a young patrician, related to the imperial family, to whom the astrologers, then much in vogue, had promised a high fortune. This time it was not an affair of imprudent words merely: tablets were found on which the names of Tiberius and some senators were preceded by



The aged Livia.²

mysterious notes. Libo, evidently guilty, took his own life.³ Two of the astrologers were put to death, and the rest, with all the magicians, were expelled from Italy. Clemens was a slave belonging to Agrippa Postumus, who sought to pass himself off as his master. Secretly encouraged by knights and senators, and even by persons belonging to the imperial household, he gathered some partisans. It was reported that he had landed at Ostia, and clandestine gatherings were taking place in the city. Two

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 51.

² Bust in the Museum at Naples.

³ Suetonius (*Tib.*, 25), who speaks of the dangers by which Tiberius was threatened on every hand, *undique imminens discriminum*, speaks of the conspiracy (cf. Dion, lvi. 15), and its serious character is indicated by the fact that in the municipia festivals were established from the 10th to the 13th of September, commemorative of the discovery of Libo's plot. Cf. Orelli, chap. xxii., *Fastes d'Amièrnum*.

emissaries, who had succeeded in deceiving his vigilance with offers of their support, one night captured him and brought him before Tiberius. "How did you become Agrippa?" asked the emperor. "And how did you become Cæsar?" retorted the slave boldly. He was put to death within the palace, but Tiberius forbade search to be made for the other conspirators.

Nearer home Tiberius found domestic vexations: Livia, accustomed to the consideration shown her by Augustus, believed herself still the empress, and insisted on being listened to. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had done nothing, and gave promise neither of talents nor merit. The fidelity of Germanicus we do not doubt, but the daughter of Julia could not forget the authors of her mother's ruin. Eager for power, proud of her birth, of her numerous children, of her virtue, and of the people's love for the conqueror of Idistavisus, Agrippina openly defied the widow of Augustus, and would not suffer the wife of Drusus as her equal.² These rivalries of the women



Agrippina (Bust in the Campana Museum).¹

¹ H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des Marb.*, etc., No. 66.

² *Paulo commotior, . . . indomitum animum* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 33). Cf. *Id.*, ii. 43, and ii. 72: *exueret ferociam . . . neu . . . emulatione potentiae validiores irritaret*. He represents her, *æqui impatiens, dominandi avida* (vi. 25).

divided the court, and gave rise to hatred which courtiers exacerbated.

Tiberius had recalled Germanicus from the shores of the Rhine in order to remain free to follow upon that frontier the policy of Augustus, which he had himself put in practice there. He permitted the general to enter Rome in triumph, his five children with him in his chariot and his captives behind them, among them Thusnelda, the widow of Arminius. The emperor also erected a triumphal arch in his honour, and caused coins to be struck with this device, designed to immortalize his glory and still existing: *signis receptis, devictis Germanis*;² lastly,

after distributing, in the name of Germanicus, 300 sesterces apiece, he shared with him the consulate for the following year. Of this Germanicus did not take possession until he was sent into Greece at the close of the year 17.

Since the time of Caius Cæsar no member of the imperial family had been seen in the East. It was needful, however, that they should sometimes present themselves there. At this time the Parthians were again showing hostility. They

had driven out Vonones, the king whom the Romans had given them, and put in his place the Arsacid Artabanus. Vonones, who had withdrawn into Armenia, caused himself to be proclaimed king there, and Artabanus was intending to pursue him thither. To avoid a war with the Parthians the governor of Syria enticed Vonones into his province and detained him there. This was but a temporary solution, and Tiberius explained to the senate the necessity of intervention. If the Roman power was not carried forward upon the Rhine, at least it must not be set back upon the Euphrates.⁴ Moreover, the old



Coin commemorative of the Victories of Germanicus.¹



Artabanus III.³

¹ Germanicus in military costume, standing, his right arm raised and a sceptre in his hand. Bronze coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

² Eckhel, *Doctr. numor.*, vi. p. 209; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42.

³ From a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁴ Josephus goes further; according to him (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3), and he was well informed upon these points, the new king of the Parthians had already established his own son upon the throne of Armenia.

king of Cappadocia, who had formerly offended Tiberius, had just died at Rome, whither he had been summoned, and his kingdom had been united to the Empire; it was necessary to organize it as a province. Commagene and Cilicia Aspera, for some time without kings, were full of disorder;¹ Syria and Judæa clamoured for a reduction of the tribute. "Germanicus alone," Tiberius said, "can calm by his wisdom the disturbances in the East, since I am now in the decline of life, and Drusus has not yet attained maturity." A decree of the senate gave to the young general the government of the provinces beyond the sea, with power superior to that of all the governors. We may call it an exile if we choose, but we must admit that it conferred honour, and was in accordance with the true interests of the Empire.² Tiberius at the same time sent Drusus into Pannonia to keep watch upon the movements of the Suevi.

The task of Drusus was the simpler; it was only to look on peacefully at the interior distractions of Germany which Tiberius had so well foreseen. Under the double pressure exercised by Rome along the Rhine and the Danube, two powerful leagues had been formed: in the north, that of the Cherusci, under Arminius and his uncle Inguiomar, an old warrior who in every engagement rivalled the younger chief in courage; in the south, that of the Marcomanni, under Marbod, who, at the head of 80,000 soldiers, had spread terror and obedience around him. His conduct, or, as many Germans said, his treason, after the defeat of Varus, had detached from him many tribes. The Senones and the Longobardi, his allies, had gone over to the Cherusci; but Inguiomar, eclipsed by Arminius and angry at being reduced to serve under him, had presented himself with all his people in the camp of Marbod. Germany was now divided between these two men, who fought for the supreme power. The action was fierce but indecisive. Marbod, drawing off first to the hills, made confession of defeat; he soon made his way into Bohemia and asked succour from the emperor. "You have not aided us against the Cherusci,"

¹ Cilicia Aspera retained its own chiefs up to the time of Vespasian.

² Tacitus here condemns the suspicions which he afterwards favours on the question of the emperor's complicity in the death of Germanicus when he says: *Se tutiorem rebat, utroque filio legiones obtinente* (*Ann.*, ii. 44).

Tiberius said, "you have no right to count upon our assistance." However, he sent Drusus to finish by intrigue what had been prepared by arms, the destruction of this great barbarian kingdom. Marbod, disgraced by his defeat, saw his subjects revolt and his lieutenants betray him. A chief of the Gothones, Catwald, supported by Roman gold, and secretly summoned by the chiefs of the Marcomanni, took the royal city of Marbod. Tiberius, with proud gratification, explained to the senate the measures which had brought about the downfall of this formidable king, and showed the letters of Marbod asking permission to live in Roman territory.¹ Ravenna was assigned him as a place of residence. Catwald shortly after, being driven out by the Hermonduri, came also to beg an asylum, and was sent to Fréjus (19 A.D.). The followers of these chiefs were separated from them lest their turbulence might cause trouble in these two cities, and they were allowed to establish themselves beyond the Danube in Moravia, where Vannius, the Quadian, was given them as king. Many Suevic tribes attached themselves to this little state, which was placed within reach of the legions and long remained faithful to the Empire.²

The power of the Marcomanni was destroyed, and that of the Cherusei gave way the same year. A chief of the Catti having offered to poison Arminius, Tiberius replied, as Fabricius had done: "It is not in the dark and by perfidy that the Romans avenge themselves, but openly and by arms." This ostentatious heroism had nothing dangerous in it: Arminius was now surrounded by enemies. Unduly elated by his early successes, he had thought to be a king, and now fell by the hand of his own people at the age of thirty-seven. In the eyes of Germany his death expiated his ambition, and he is remembered only as the liberator of his country. "He is still celebrated in song," says Tacitus, "by the barbarians." Time made him almost a god. When Charlemagne penetrated into the sanctuary of the Saxons he found the Arminius-Saül, a mysterious symbol representing at once fatherland, a god, and the hero. In our own days poetry evokes his memory,

¹ *Lætior Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmaverat quam si bellum per acies confecisset.* (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 64).

² *Ibid.*, ii. 63.

modern bards have celebrated it, and his name recurs in war-songs composed against the new Empire of the West.

Germany, once so threatening, was now reduced to anarchy, given back to weakness and impotence. Policy had been more successful than arms in this instance. Tacitus should have owned that Tiberius had heard in advance his homicidal wish when, in view of a battlefield where lay 60,000 barbarians slain by their brethren, the historian exclaims: "May the nations, since they love us not, at least persevere in their hatred of each other, since Fortune can give us nothing better than the discords among our foes!"¹

The same conduct had in the East the same success. Germanicus travelled slowly, visiting famous places and celebrated sanctuaries: Actium, Delos, Athens, which with gratitude saw him enter her gates attended by only a single licitor; Samothrace, where he caused himself to be initiated into the Cabeiric mysteries; and Ilium, which was regarded as the cradle of Rome. Along his route he repressed the jealousies of cities, the tyrannical excesses of magistrates, and carried everywhere the pass-word of the new government, justice and peace. In Armenia he established as king the son of a faithful ally of the Empire, the king of Pontus Polemo, and with his own hand crowned him in Artaxata. The choice was good; the case of Vonones had proved that Roman policy overshot the mark when it gave the people of the East over-Romanized kings. The new prince had long since adopted the customs, the dress, and all the tastes of the Armenians, and the nobles and an immense population received him with enthusiasm. The regulation of the affairs of Cappadocia was still more simple: a *formula* was given to the new province; the cities were designated in which the governor would establish his tribunal; and, that the people should be the gainer by this change, the tributes paid to their kings were somewhat reduced. The same was done in Commagene. In Syria, Germanicus



Germanicus and Artaxias.²

¹ Tac., *Germania*, 33.

² GERMANICUS ARTAXIAS. Germanicus standing, placing a tiara on the head of Artaxias. Silver coin. [A custom-house tariff, recently found at Palmyra, shows that this town was already in Tiberius's reign in a state of semi-subjection to the Empire.—*Ed.*]

met envoys from the Parthian king. Artabanus desired a renewal of the alliance, an interview with Germanicus on the banks of the Euphrates, and the removal of his own competitor. There were no reasons for rejecting these overtures: Vonones was banished to Cilicia,¹ where the following year he perished while attempting to escape.

In Thrace, one of the two kings had killed the other. The division of the country in this way between Cotys and Rheseuporis had been established by Augustus; Tiberius, who made it a duty to follow his predecessor's example, charged the governor of Mœsia to prevent the re-union of Thrace into one state. Rheseuporis, enticed to a conference, was seized and carried to Rome, whence he was sent to Alexandria, and there, some time later, was put to death under pretext that he had sought to make his escape. His son retained the father's kingdom, and the children of Cotys had that of their father under the guardianship of a Roman commissioner. The widow of Cotys had appeared before the senate praying for vengeance, so that Tiberius, while giving this severe lesson to the allied kings, appeared only as the disinterested judge of the guilty and the protector of orphan children.

A more serious affair had commenced the preceding year (17 A.D.) in Africa. In this province the Romans had not met



*Moneta castrensis.*²

Coin struck for the payment of the legions in the war with Tacfarinas.

that religious opposition which is the foundation of the most obstinate resistances; and the contrast of manners had been softened by the neighbourhood of Carthage and the influence of Græco-Latin civilization. All the sea-coast was becoming

Roman. But beyond the Atlas, in the deserts, were wandering nomads to whom the prosperity of the Tell offered the liveliest temptations. A Numidian, a deserter from the legions, Tacfarinas, gathered in the mountains a few bandits, then a troop of them,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 68.

² Cf. *Revue archéol.* of September and October, 1878.

and finally an army, which he trained after the Roman fashion. The Musulames, on the edge of the desert, declared for him, persuaded their neighbours the Mauri and the great tribe of the Cinithians to do the same, and carried fire and sword among the villages. The proconsul Camillus was obliged to march against them with a legion. Tacfarinas accepted battle, but his Numidians being not yet well enough trained he was defeated. Tiberius, gratified at the success of this energetic act, which gave back security to one of the great corn-growing provinces, sent the insignia of a triumph to the victor. He also gave an ovation to Germanicus and Drusus, both of whom had gained victories of the kind dear to Tiberius, by policy, without drawing the sword.

It is in the midst of this prosperity, this condition of peace and renown, that we hear of the most odious crime of Tiberius, the poisoning of Germanicus. In monarchical governments—whether with intention, or as the inevitable result of the situation—there is always a prince who seeks popularity or upon whom it is bestowed. This idol of the people, about whom all hopes centred, had been Marcellus, dead at the age of twenty, and then Drusus, dead at thirty, *breves et infaustos populi Romani amores*;¹ and it was now the young general of the army of the Rhine, pacificator of the East. Beloved by the soldiers for his courage and military tastes, by the literary men of Rome for his mental gifts,² by the crowd for his virtues, for his numerous and beautiful family, by all, finally, for his moderation, his affable manners, and gentle conduct, Germanicus, without consent or wish of his own, had become in the opinion of many the secret rival of Tiberius. The more men felt the power of the one, the more persistently they looked towards the other as the coming restorer of Roman liberty. This false position must necessarily suggest to popular credulity, in case of any fatal event, the drama which the gloomy imagination of Tacitus has so eloquently composed.

¹ A fine phrase, in which the poet-historian insinuates a suspicion, so much more occupied is he with the turn of his periods than with fidelity to the facts. (*Ann.*, ii. 41.) It is known that Marcellus died of illness, possibly of medical maltreatment, and that Drusus was killed by a fall from his horse.

² Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 83; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 24; *Epp. Pont.*, IV. viii. 67. He composed Greek comedies, etc., Weichert, *Imp. Aug. scriptor. reliq.*, p. 186. M. Egger is doubtful of this, *Hist. d'Aug.*, p. 116.

But a man like Tiberius, serious, reflective, always considering his own interests, and, as Tacitus is forced to show him to us twenty times in the senate, completely master of himself—a man like this commits no useless crime. The death of his adopted son did not take from him a dangerous rival, for he knew Germanicus to be incapable of treason, and, on the other hand, it deprived him of a much needed support. Germanicus alive, Germanicus faithful to the habits of obedience and the discipline introduced by Augustus into the imperial family, was an obstacle to the designs of ambitious or visionary men; Germanicus gone, the way was open to guilty schemes and revolutions; for to his enemies' hopes Tiberius had nothing better to oppose than his son, the incapable Drusus. But when have men ever seen a personage of importance die in the flower of his age without believing in mysterious plots?¹ Here the instrument of the crime is said to have been Piso.

This man was a patrician of haughty and violent character, who considered himself as high in rank as the emperor, of higher rank than Drusus and Germanicus, and whose fits of passion in the senate we have already mentioned. He had been made governor of Syria while Germanicus was in the East. Tacitus maintains that the selection was made with intention. Piso and his wife Plancina, the *confidante* of Livia, knew the hatred of the old empress for Agrippina, and Tiberius placed near the young general a vigilant guardian of the emperor's interests. Perhaps exaggerating imprudent words, the husband and wife felt themselves encouraged to preserve no moderation or respect in their conduct towards Germanicus and Agrippina. Did they go further? I find it difficult to accept the part assigned to this severe person, the son of a man whom Augustus had been obliged to solicit before he would deign to accept the consulship, and who himself had more than once manifested his independence in the face of Tiberius. Even Tacitus dares not assert anything.² Germanicus had wished to visit Egypt and its marvels. Although he made the journey

¹ Tacitus himself says, on the subject of another death: *Atrocior semper fama erga dominantium exitus* (*Ann.*, iv. 11).

² He gives it to be understood that Germanicus was the victim of assassination, but is forced to avow that Piso exculpated himself completely in the trial.

without display and as a private individual, it was none the less an infraction of the rules of Augustus.¹ Tiberius reproved him sharply for setting an example of disobedience to the laws, but allowed him to finish his journey, and at that very moment caused an ovation to be decreed to him in recompense for his services in the East. Upon his return into Syria, Germanicus found all the arrangements that he had made changed by Piso. Violent altercations broke out between them, and the intractable governor, rather than yield, preferred to leave his province. The news of the severe illness of Germanicus arrested Piso at Antioch; but the recovery of the prince was quickly announced, and Piso, displeased at the rejoicings instituted in consequence, continued his journey, and reached Seleucia, where the report of an alarming relapse again detained him. Among the persons surrounding Agrippina there was talk of poisoning. There had been found on the ground and along the walls of the palace dead men's bones, magic characters and talismans, leaden tablets with the name of Germanicus engraved on them, ashes moistened with blood, charred fragments, and other devices by which it was believed a victim could be most surely devoted to the infernal gods. Emissaries sent by Piso, who came to spy out the progress of the illness, made it manifest from whose hands the blow had come. So the friends of Germanicus said, but he repelled these suspicions. No man would write to his murderer to renounce his friendship and break with him; but such was the letter which Germanicus addressed



Coin of Seleucia.²



Seleucia (personified).³

¹ Philo (*in Flacc.*) and Trebellius Pollio (*in Emil.*) show that there was danger of a riot in Alexandria if any one should show himself there with the consular *fusces* or with royal pomp. According to Cicero (*adv. Gabin.*), this was an old claim of the Alexandrians, and Caesar relates (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 106) that the war he was obliged to carry on in Alexandria began on this pretext. We have here one of the rational and judicious reasons which caused Caesar and Augustus to decide that only knights could be prefects in Egypt. When Gallienus wished to appoint a proconsul to this office, the Egyptian priests opposed it, calling on the ancient right of the city. We have seen with what excess of precaution Augustus had decreed that, without his express permission, no senator should enter that province.

² Mount Casius within a temple. This mountain, behind Seleucia, rises to a height of 5,315 feet.

³ From a tetradrachm of that city.

to Piso.¹ The malady assumed new forms, and a ray of hope was entertained, but suddenly Germanicus grew worse and expired, calling, according to Tacitus, upon his father to avenge his death, and advising his wife to abate her pride and relinquish her desire for power. He was but thirty-four years of age (October 10th, 19 A.D.).²

¹ *Componit epistolas quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat* (Ann., ii. 70). Tacitus sees all things in a fashion so tragic that, forgetting that the father of Germanicus had died from the effects of an accident, he dares to say of father and son: *neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti, reddita libertate, agitaverint* (Ann., ii. 82).

² If we leave out of the account the words of the dying Germanicus, which are but a school declamation—if we think it improbable that a man exhausted by repeated attacks of disease, should be capable of saying adieu to life with such eloquence and majesty—unless, like Julian, he had under his pillow a set discourse long since prepared for the occasion—we shall find, as proofs of poisoning, only the following facts. In Tacitus: 1st, the hatred of Piso and Plancina towards Germanicus; 2nd, magical incantations; 3rd, the poison said to have been mixed by Piso in the food;—in Pliny (xi. 71) and in Suetonius (*Calig.*, 1): 4th, the body of Germanicus covered with livid spots, foam at the mouth, and the fact that after the body was burned the heart was found unconsumed; in support of this theory are further adduced: 5th, the words of Tacitus: *Scriptissimè expostulante: quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere*; 6th, the sudden death at Brundisium of Martina, a noted poisoner, just as she was about to be put on trial for the murder; 7th, a manuscript seen in the hands of Piso; 8th, the joy of Tiberius and Livia; 9th, the funeral of Germanicus, at which no pomp was displayed. The first of these arguments proves nothing; the second and fourth are ridiculous. That, to satisfy her hatred Plancina, doubtless very credulous, like all the women of her time, should resort to sorcery, is by no means surprising; but from sorcery to poisoning is a long way. Many persons in the Middle Ages without remorse “bewitched” those whom they would not have dared to murder. The livid spots and foam at the mouth are by no means sure marks of poisoning; moreover, had these spots been visible Tacitus certainly would have said so, for the body was publicly exposed in Antioch. As to the third point, Tacitus himself undertakes its refutation; in illness produced by poison there is no intermittence; but Germanicus seemed to have recovered, and so completely that his family performed the vows they had made in his behalf, and he then again fell ill. Again, poisoning is a crime which can only be committed with the greatest secrecy. Piso, on the contrary, is mad with hate; he declares his resentment loudly, without caring, as his son says, for absurd suspicions and malevolent rumours. Tacitus indeed declares that the accusation appeared to be refuted: *Solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse; quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, quam super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus ejus cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat*. It is impossible to give to the corrupt text quoted under No. 5 the significance which has been attached to it. (See Burnouf, notes *ad Ann.*, iii. 14.) No. 6: we do not know anything about this Martina, and can infer nothing from her death. No. 7: that a book was seen in the hands of Piso is a report of which Piso’s testament effectually disposes. No. 8: if we may believe Tacitus, the emperor and Livia both concealed their satisfaction; and he himself tells us that Tiberius was averse to the tumult of funeral solemnities. Josephus attests that after the death of Drusus he forbade access to his house, fearing that the grief of his son’s friends, loudly manifested, would increase his own (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8). Dion cites another example of this (on the death of the emperor’s grandson), adding: “He thought that any other conduct was unworthy of an emperor” (lvii. 14; cf. lvii. 22). Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.*, 3) extols Augustus as *victor dolorum*, as Saint-Simon and Voltaire praise the firmness of Louis XIV. in his afflictions. No. 9: the funeral was not without pomp; the story of Tacitus

Before his body was burned it was exposed uncovered in the forum of Antioch; Agrippina collected the ashes with pious care, and, though it was winter, at once embarked for Italy with the precious remains. As soon as her approach was signalled the people of all the neighbouring towns flocked to Brundisium. The funeral fleet entered the harbour slowly with signs of mourning displayed, amid the silence of the sailors and of the waiting crowd. But when Agrippina was seen in long mourning garments, her eyes bent down, descending from her vessel accompanied by two of her children, and carrying the sepulchral urn in her own hands, a great cry of grief broke forth from all the spectators. In all the cities of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, and all along the road the same grief was displayed. Tiberius had sent two prætorian cohorts to Brundisium. Drusus, and the children of Germanicus who had been left at Rome, and Claudius his brother, went as far as Terracina to meet the funeral train.



The Children of Germanicus: Caligula, Drusilla, Agrippina, and Livilla.¹

proves that it had all the splendour possible, if we remember that it was out of the question to make the ceremonies the same as in the case of Drusus under Augustus, since the two principal acts, the lying in state of the body and its cremation on the funeral pile, having been performed at Antioch, could not be renewed at Rome. In my judgment, Tiberius has, moreover, a very powerful advocate in that Antonia who is praised by Val. Maximus (iv. 3, 3), and by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 6) for the purity of her life and conduct; she was the mother of Germanicus, whose death so little affected her devotion to Tiberius that she saved the emperor from the conspiracy of Sejanus (*ibid.*, vi. 10), and that after the death of Tiberius she persuaded Caius to respect his grandfather’s memory. This is not the conduct of a mother towards her son’s murderer. Seneca, who was at Rome when Germanicus died, and must have learned all the details of the event through his friend Julia, the daughter of Agrippina, does not even allude to the crime (*Consol. ad Marc.*, 15, and *Quest. nat.*, i. 1), and Suetonius (*Calig.* 1) is right when he says that Germanicus fell a victim to a lingering disorder; he adds only: “Not without suspicion of poison, and this suspicion was inevitable.” Finally, among the recent works in regard to Tiberius, there are but few which sustain the old theory, so dear to scholars, of the poisoning of Germanicus.

¹ Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 218. The authenticity of this sardonx has been disputed because of the name Caligula behind the head of Caius, which name is never found on his coins. “But,” says M. Chabouillet, “cameos had not the official character of coins.” (*Catalogue général*, p. 35.)

But his mother, the venerable Antonia, and the emperor remained in the palace; and it is easy to understand that the one may have wished to conceal her maternal grief, and that the other, a man sad and severe, may have remained at a distance from the noisy demonstrations of the crowd, busy in calculating the new



Antonia.¹

perils which would arise from the loss of a faithful and useful lieutenant.

Tiberius had caused statues and arches of triumph to be voted to Germanicus at Rome, upon Mount Amanus and on the banks of the Rhine, and honours that a century later were still paid to the memory of the young general. But the emperor's enemies strove to prolong the period of public mourning, a method of opposition at once safe and fascinating.

Agrippina especially, and her friends, wounded Tiberius by vague accusations aimed higher than at Piso; and stones were thrown at the imperial statues. In the end the emperor, weary of these self-interested lamentations and all this clamour made to serve the secret ambitions of designing men, abruptly put an end to all further manifestations by an edict in which he recalled to the public mind that other eminent men had died for the State, and that Rome had lost armies and had supported these disasters with more firmness.

¹ From a bust in the Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 8.

Grief for the death of Germanicus did honour both to the people of Rome and to himself, provided it were kept within due limits; for there were manifestations of weakness unbecoming in a great Empire and a sovereign people. . . . "Princes die, but the State



Apotheosis of Germanicus.¹

is immortal; wherefore, let the people return to their ordinary life, and even to their pleasures."

This last word was too much, although it was explained by the approach of the feast of Cybele, which it would be unbecoming to neglect.² These stern words restored the city to its wonted

¹ This cameo (about 4 in. square) is one of the treasures of the French Cabinet des Antiques. It is believed to have been brought from Constantinople in the eleventh century by Cardinal Humbert, who gave it to the monastery of Saint-Evre, near Toulouse. Germanicus, crowned by a victory and borne by an eagle, holds the *lituus* in one hand and a cornucopia in the other. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, p. 35 and No. 209.

² The Megalesia, feast of the goddess-mother, began on the 4th of April. The *justitium*,

habits; none the less, however, was the arrival of Piso expected with impatience. Expelled from his province by Germanicus, Piso had received with unbecoming joy the news of his death, and



Mars Ultor.³

had immediately set out to return to Syria. But the Roman legates and senators who were scattered throughout the province at the time had conferred the supreme power upon one of their own number; Piso, however, did not recoil from a civil war. This error was his ruin; Tiberius could not pardon the man who disturbed the public tranquillity.¹ Piso, being defeated, was forcibly put on board a vessel destined for Italy; there his accusers awaited him. They wished that the emperor should be the sole judge in this case.² Had Tiberius feared some compromising revelation he would unquestionably have accepted the duty, but instead he

assigned it to the senate, coldly asking from them impartiality and justice. He himself was present; and the accused man, says Tacitus, with terror beheld the emperor, without pity, without

or vacation of the tribunals, was proclaimed in advance, and this was doubtless the object of the edict.

¹ *Judices implacabiles erant: Cæsar ob bellum provincie illatum* (Ann. iii. 14).

² Ann., iii. 10

³ This statue, of Greek marble, represents a Roman of the first century in the character of Mars the Avenger rather than the god himself. (Museum of the Louvre. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice*, etc., No. 128.)

anger, impassive, inscrutable. It is the most faithful portrait of Tiberius that the historian has left us.¹

Piso killed himself in his own house; near his dead body was found a letter of manly tone, in which he acknowledged only the crime of having returned in arms into his province. Tiberius recompensed the three friends of Germanicus who had borne the part of accusers, solicited for Nero, the eldest of his sons, permission to present himself as candidate for the quaestorship five years before the legal age, and married him to the daughter of Drusus (20). When the second of the sons of Germanicus assumed the *toga virilis* (23) he procured for him the same privilege; and, to confirm Drusus in his favourable attitude towards his nephews, the emperor praised him at much length in the senate for the paternal solicitude he had manifested towards his brother's children.² Certain senators wishing the emperor to consecrate an altar to Vengeance and a statue to Mars Ultor, he refused to do it. "Let us reserve monuments," he said, "for victories over foreign enemies, and hide our domestic misfortunes in grief and silence."

II.—ADMINISTRATION OF TIBERIUS; SEJANUS; DEATH OF DRUSUS.

This long drama being ended, Tiberius returned to the cares of government. Complaint being made of the excessive severity of the Papian-Poppæan law, he appointed fifteen commissioners to mitigate its requisitions and to repress the avidity of informers.³ The ædiles desired a sumptuary law: "Let men first correct themselves," he said, with the authority of good sense; "good morals are worth more than ineffectual laws."⁴ And if he could not restore the habits of virtue, he at least chastised vice when it displayed itself with too much effrontery. "He re-established," says Suetonius (chap. xxxv.), "the old custom of causing an

¹ He appeared the same on receiving news of the Gallic insurrection (Ann., iii. 44 and 47), and in the judgment of Libo: . . . *immoto vultu . . . libellos et auctores recitat . . . ita moderans ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur* (Ann., ii. 29). Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1034 d) says also of Tiberius: *οὐκ ἐνληπτός ὦν ὀργῇ*.

² Tac., Ann., iv. 4.

³ Tac., iii. 28. Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 55.

assembly of the relatives to pronounce by unanimous vote the sentence on women who had violated their marriage vows, and who had not been prosecuted by public accusers. He freed from his oath a Roman knight, who, having sworn never to repudiate his wife, was not able to send her away, although he had surprised her in adultery. Certain matrons, to relieve themselves from an inconvenient dignity and free themselves from the law, had caused their names to be inscribed on the list of courtesans; some young libertines of good family had caused themselves to be branded with infamy by the tribunals, so that afterwards they could appear upon the stage or in the arena; and all these persons Tiberius sent into exile." He required from the magistrates a respectable life. A quaestor having drawn lots for a wife, married her, and on the following day divorced her, the emperor deprived him of his office. A senator quitting Rome, by a contemptible trick, about the Calends of July, and returning when the quarter-day was passed, in order to obtain a house at cheaper rent, the emperor degraded him from his rank; and to another, who was squandering his property, he assigned a guardian.¹

Finding his authority sufficiently extensive, he rejected, without hypocrisy or pretence of moderation, whatever additions were proposed. A senator wishing to extend the imperial prerogative to the selection of governors, he refused it.² The senate had the selection of the proconsul for Africa; but a soldier being needed in that province, disturbed by the incursions of Tacfarinas, the Conscript Fathers desired the emperor to make the appointment; he complained of this, and would do no more than designate two persons between whom the Curia should decide. Asia and Cyrene

¹ There were few modifications of the civil law under Tiberius. We have spoken elsewhere of the Junian-Norbanian law (19 A.D.), which was connected with the measures introduced by Augustus relative to the condition of the freedmen. A senatus-consultum of the year 20 introduced an amelioration for slaves. "*Si servus reus postulabitur, eadem observanda sunt quae si liber esset*" (*Digest*, xlviii., fr. 12, § 3). Under the Republic the penalty was arbitrary and always heavier for the slave than for the free man. In the penal law of the emperors, the slave was always treated like the free man of low degree, *humilior*, because "*natura est communis*." (*Ibid.*, § 4.) Another senatus-consultum increased the civil penalties against bachelors, and the Libonian decree organized the theory of prohibitions against those who, even at the dictation of the testator, wrote in the will a legacy in their favour. (Cf. *Cod.*, ix. 23.) Lastly, Tiberius deprived of the right of making a will those to whom fire and water had been interdicted. (Dion, lvii. 22.)

² *Ann.*, iii. 68.

accusing their governors of extortion, the latter were tried and condemned. The abuse of the right of asylum in temples had brought about endless disturbances, of which the least was the impunity of the guilty. An energetic measure might, perhaps, among the Oriental peoples, have caused outbreaks; Tiberius demanded a serious investigation, and remitted this important affair to the senate. "It was a glorious day," says Tacitus, "when the benefits of our forefathers, the treaties with the allies, the decrees of the kings whose authority had preceded that of Rome, and even the worship paid to the gods, were all submitted to the investigation of the senate, free as formerly to confirm or abolish." In the year 22 the emperor asked for his son Drusus the office of tribune; the senate added to it all the honours that flattery could invent; Tiberius declined them with a dignified moderation. The famous Junia, niece of Cato, wife of Cassius and sister of Brutus, died this same year, leaving legacies to all the great personages in Rome; Tiberius, whose name she had omitted from her will—a neglect insulting according to Roman usage—permitted her funeral, nevertheless, to be observed with solemn pomp, and the images of twenty noble families to be borne in the procession. Those of Brutus and Cassius are lacking, and Tacitus complains of this; he is right, if Tiberius required this posthumous exile; but it is hardly credible that the emperor could have feared these two dead men appearing in a funeral ceremony.

On the other side will perhaps be cited those accusations of treason, the phantom which haunts and troubles the minds of historians. Some there were, and they are these: Drusus falls ill; a poet who had been recompensed for his verses on the death of Germanicus composes others on that of the emperor's son. But the young prince recovers, and the foolish poet, instead of consigning his verses to oblivion, dares to read them publicly. These words concerning death are to Roman superstition a presage of evil; and, since they may bring misfortune, are a crime. The poet is accused, and the senate all in one day condemns and executes him. Tiberius, at the time absent from Rome, was full of displeasure, complained that the transaction was too hurried,¹ that

¹ Josephus says that no man was ever so slow as Tiberius in all things. *Μελλορῆς εἰ καὶ*

he should have pardoned the offender; and his reproaches were so much in earnest that a decree inspired by him ordered that henceforth there should be an interval of ten days between the sentence and its execution.¹ A knight was complained of for having made a silver statue of Tiberius serve for divers usages; but the emperor would not allow the complaint to be received. Capito basely objected to this indulgence on the part of Tiberius; but the latter persisted.² Repeatedly he had forbidden prosecutions

Anubis.⁷

on account of words used against the imperial family;³ for as yet he did not at all encourage informers;⁴ two of them, although belonging to the equestrian order, were punished for bringing a false accusation;⁵ another denouncing the senator Lentulus, Tiberius rose and said that he should believe himself unworthy longer to live if Lentulus were his enemy.⁶

His justice was stern and equal towards all, even the gods. A young knight had deceived a matron in the temple of Isis, passing himself off, by aid of the priests, for the god Anubis: Tiberius caused the temple to be destroyed, the statue of the goddess to be thrown into the Tiber, and the priests to be crucified.⁸ During this year four Jews—robbers, according to the testimony of their fellow-countryman Josephus—had converted the wife of a noble Roman, and extorted

τις ἐκείνων βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γινόμενος (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 5). These are the very words of Tacitus: *Insita etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora* (*Ann.*, iv. 11).

¹ *Ibid.*, iii. 50, and Dion, lvii. 20.

² *Ann.*, iii. 70. He was more severe in what concerned Augustus; to dress oneself in the presence of the latter's statue or to break it became a crime. But the informers did not long accept the reservations he had imposed upon himself.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 22, and elsewhere.

⁴ The Roman law unfortunately admitted confiscation, and accorded a share to the informers; in accusations of treason, a fourth according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 20), an eighth according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xix. 16): τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. Hence this class of persons swarmed in Rome. Tacitus says of Tiberius (*Ann.*, iii. 56): *ingruentes accusatores represserat*. Suetonius (*Tib.*, 28) and Dion (lvii. 9) affirm that, in the first half of his reign, he did not make an unjust use of sentences of treason. During this period we have no instance of any man being punished solely for an offence against the person of the ruler.

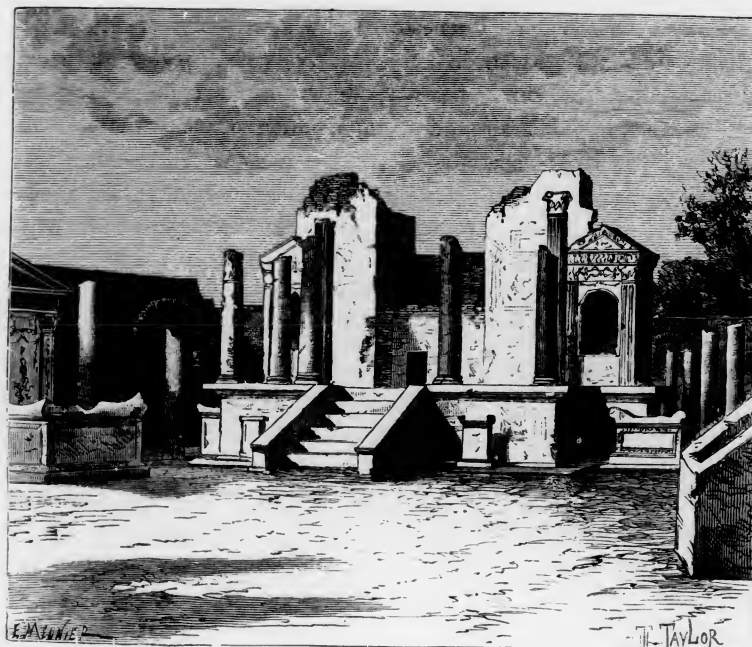
⁵ *Ann.*, iii. 37.

⁶ This was in the year 24 (Dion, lvii. 24). In 21, a woman who believed herself at liberty to insult any one, because she always wore an image of the emperor, was sent by Drusus to prison. (*Tac.*, *Ann.*, iii. 36.)

⁷ Museum of the Louvre.

⁸ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, 4, and 5.

from her much purple and gold, under pretext of gifts to the temple of Jerusalem. The husband denounced them to Tiberius, and the emperor, not much concerned about dogmas and seeing only public order scandalously violated, forbade the practice of foreign cults at Rome. "Four thousand Jews, freedmen and of military age, were enrolled and sent into Sardinia against the

Temple of Isis at Pompeii.¹

brigands of that island. For the rest was fixed a date on which to quit Italy or to abandon their profane rites."² This was severe, many innocent persons suffering along with the few guilty; but religious toleration was not a virtue of those days. Moreover, the Jews, not having Roman citizenship, were legally at the discretion of the government; and even to this day, modern governments are at liberty to expel foreigners from their territory.

¹ From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

² *Tac.*, *Ann.*, ii. 85, and Josephus, *ibid.* Seneca says (*Ep. ad Luc.*, 108): Under Tiberius *alienigenarum sacra movebantur*.

The old Latin rites were not more respected by Tiberius. He did not like to have men addressing indiscreet questions to the gods, and the oracles were objects of suspicion to him, and with reason, for they were no longer an instrument of government, and might even be employed by the opposition. He strove to destroy their credit, forbade that the auspices should be consulted except in the presence of witnesses, and he himself wished to examine the famous *Sortes* of Præneste, to which some of their old authority was still attached. He had the coffer sealed in which were contained the slips of wood, drawn by a child at random, each slip bearing a letter, and the re-union of these letters into words forming the response given to the question proposed. This coffer was brought to the emperor; when he opened it the *Sortes* had disappeared, but on being returned to Præneste they were again in their place.¹ "Alarmed," says his credulous biographer, "the emperor ceased to question the power of the Prænestine *Sortes*." Tiberius was not the man to be alarmed by such a thing; he had made an attack upon those who were more adroit than himself, and for once had been outwitted.

Tiberius seemed at that time an administrator of justice, severe but impartial, inexorable for judges as well as for the accused, and combating with all his efforts that old evil of the Roman world, the venality of the tribunals. "He would come," says Suetonius, "and offer himself to advise the magistrates, seating himself beside them on the bench. Or sometimes, if he learned that partiality was about to save a criminal, he would suddenly appear and remind the judges of their oath, and of the laws, and the crime that they had to punish." Tacitus supports with his testimony these words of the biographer of the Cæsars; he shows the emperor repressing the intrigues and solicitations of the nobles,² and he adds: "So justice was saved, but liberty was lost." But what a liberty! the liberty to suborn justice or to sell it! And still we are tempted to agree with him, for the ruler to-day interposing in behalf of the law, may to-morrow

¹ Suet., *Tib.*, 63. Dion (lvi. 25) attributes to Augustus the prohibition against consulting the soothsayers except in the presence of witnesses. It was a political measure, and may have belonged to both emperors.

² *Adversus ambitum et potentium preces* (Ann., i. 75); cf., Suet., *Tib.*, 33; Dion, lvii. 7; Vell. Paternulus, ii. 129.

interpose against it. But Tiberius was perpetual tribune, and as such was obliged to receive appeals, and had the right of arresting by his veto the execution of sentences and even the results of suits; and, finally, antiquity having no knowledge of what we call the division of powers, the Romans were no more offended by the presence of the ruler in a court of justice than were our feudal ancestors to see the king decide on cases, even at the foot of an oak.¹

Economical with the public money, as well as of his own,² he diminished expenses, increased receipts, and by his punctuality in the payment of the army, and by his largesses to the people in cases of need, he prevented all seditious movements.³ The miser even sometimes became generous, but his generosity needed a motive of public interest. Verrucosus entreats Tiberius to pay his debts, and the latter consents on condition that Verrucosus give him the list of his creditors. Others make the same request, and the emperor exacts from them that they render an account of the condition of their affairs to the senate, and he then pays their debts. Seneca complains of this; "it is no longer a benefit," he says.⁴ But ought the public treasury to grant relief on any other terms? If Tiberius consented to aid the senator in order to save the honour of the senate, he wished to chastise the prodigal by public disgrace, and he was right. In the year 27 fire overran the whole of the Cælian hill; the emperor compensated all the losers; every one was astonished, for those who suffered by the fire were nearly all of them men of low class.⁵ Tiberius had not concerned himself about their station. Disdaining popularity as he disdained honours, he had succoured the unfortunate probably without any feeling of pity for them, but simply, as he did other things, from a spirit of government. The law gave him the property of condemned persons, but he frequently restored it

¹ To give judgments was, in fact, one of the most important of the imperial functions. Suetonius says of Augustus (*Octav.*, 33): *Jus dixit assidue et in noctem nonnunquam*.

² *Ελάχιστα ἐς αὐτὸν δαπανῶν* (Dion, lvii. 10).

³ Tac., *Ann.*, i. 75. Under Tiberius the importations of corn were greater than under Augustus. (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 13.)

⁴ *De Benef.*, ii. 7. 8. See, for his aid to private individuals, Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 37, 86; Suet., *Tib.*, 47; Dion, lvii. 10.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 64. Tiberius had already in the year 16 furnished assistance in a parallel case. (Dion, lvii. 16.) Later, he gave on a similar occasion a hundred million sesterces.

to their heirs, nor would he accept the legacies frequently made him, to the detriment of their children, by persons who were in no way connected with himself.¹

In the provinces he maintained a wise administration by his skilful selection of officials, by his perseverance in retaining in their positions those who had been found faithful, and by his severity against evil-doers. Many of the provinces had still the same governors whom he had appointed upon his accession;² and not a single one of those who were accused of extortion was known to have escaped;³ he even went so far as to hold them responsible for the offences of which their wives were guilty, acting in their names.⁴

There were, however, troubles in Thrace, acts of brigandage rather than of war,⁵ between the different tribes, and it did not cost the Romans a man to bring all back to order again. In Gaul there was a beginning of revolt. Florus, one of the Treviri, essayed to stir up the Belgæ, and Sacrovir, the Æduan, agitated the Gauls of Celtica. The pretext was the burden of tributes, the severity of the governors and of the creditors, reasons difficult to reconcile with the picture at the same time drawn by them, to kindle men's courage, of the prosperity of Gaul and the destitution of Italy. But they knew not how to concert their action. A premature movement of the Andecavi and the Turones was repressed by a single cohort. Florus, penned up in the Ardennes and tracked by one of his own countrymen, who pursued him into the depths of these forests, destroyed himself. Sacrovir caused more alarm; he induced the Æduans and Sequani to

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 48; Dion, *lvii.* 17. Tacitus even extols his disinterestedness, *satis firmus, ut sepe memoravi, adversus pecuniam* (*Ann.*, iii. 18), and Dion adds (*lvii.* 10): "He put no man to death in order to obtain his property . . . and never amassed money by unjust conduct."

² Like Gratus, who remained eleven years in Judæa. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3.) *Id morum Tiberii fuit continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitæ in iisdem exercitiis aut jurisdictionibus habere* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 80).

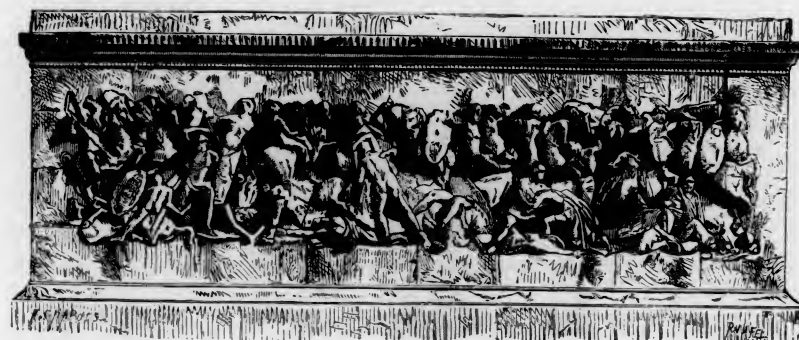
³ In the year 22, Silanus, governor of Asia, and Cordus, governor of the Cyrenaica, were condemned. (*Ann.*, iii. 68, 70.) Marcellus, governor of Bithynia, certainly did not escape. (*Ibid.*, i. 74.) Tacitus is angry at this, *non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscabant* (*Ann.*, iii. 38.) Upon all these prosecutions, see Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74; iii. 38, 66, 70; iv. 15, 18, 19, 31, 36; vi. 29. We may also notice that complaints always came from the senatorial, not the imperial provinces. With the exception of one procurator, all the accused governors named by Tacitus were of the senatorial order.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Ann.*, iii. 40.

follow him, took Autun, and gathered 40,000 men, of whom, it is true, not more than a fifth part were armed. Two of the legions of the Rhine suddenly fell upon the province; for a half century the Gauls had so completely unlearned the art of war that there was not even a battle, but a massacre. Sacrovir and his friends, who had taken refuge in a villa, killed one another after having set fire to the building (21 A.D.).¹ The arch at Orange commemorated this easy victory.

At Rome there was a moment of alarm and much clamour. Tiberius alone did not suspend his labours; he did not even



Combat between the Gauls of Sacrovir and the Romans.²

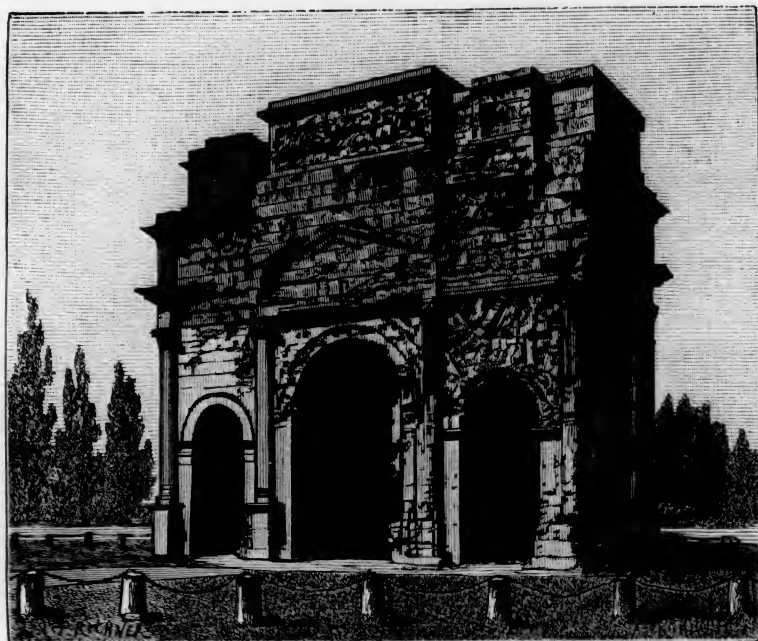
deign to speak of this war until after it was ended. Then he announced to the senate the revolt and also the suppression of it, taking nothing from the truth, adding to it nothing. The measures that he had taken, he said, and the fidelity and courage of his lieutenants had been sufficient for everything. He then explained why neither he nor Drusus had gone into Gaul. He alleged the great extent of the Empire, which did not suffer its rulers to quit, for some disturbances in a city or two, the capital whence they kept watch over the entire state. A senator proposed that Tiberius should return from Campania into Rome with an ovation, but the emperor rejoined: "My life has not been so void of honour that I have need of this trifling distinction. In my

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 43.

² Bas-relief from the arch at Orange. See paper by M. de Saulcy in the *Journal des Savants* for 1880, on this arch, commemorating the Roman victory.

youth I have conquered warlike nations enough, and have obtained or disdained triumphs enough to disdain this promenade along the road to Rome." On which side were good sense, dignity, and political wisdom?

Tacitus narrates the Gallic insurrection, without telling of the repression which followed it or of the measures taken to prevent its



The Triumphal Arch at Orange.

return. The executions were certainly numerous; the Druids in particular suffered. Augustus had Latinized their gods, and suppressed their privileges and their assemblies. To prevent them from speaking in the name of heaven to minds easily excited by such appeals, Tiberius prohibited their bloody ceremonies. The practice of the rites peculiar to Druidism was identified with the crime of magic, which, for a provincial, implied the penalty of death.¹ This was the penalty decreed by the Twelve Tables against

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 4, 3. *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 13: *Ex. sc. ejus legis* (Cornelia de Sicariis)

enchanters, and later had been applied by the senate during the Republic to the abettors of the Bacchanals.¹ There had been no general persecution because there had been no search, *inquisitio*, ordered against those who practised the old cult, and if a certain number of Druids, instigators of the late revolt or proven despisers of the new law, perished, many were able to escape by silence or by the obscurity of their lives. Thus are explained the contradictory passages in authors who date the abolition of the old Gallic religion from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and in those who show the Druids still existing in Gaul two or three centuries later. The gods die before their altars fall, and remains of the druidic faith have passed through Roman polytheism, as so many pagan rites have survived paganism. Religions which pass away always leave behind them the lasting traces of their passage.

We must now direct our attention to another part of the world. Tacfarinas had reappeared in Africa, and had besieged in a fort a Roman cohort which, by an imprudent sortie, had given the place up to him. Encouraged by this success he ventured to attack the city of Thala. But the proconsul had decimated the cohort which had suffered itself to be defeated, and had so well re-established discipline by that severity that five hundred veterans repulsed in an encounter the entire forces of the enemy. Upon this, Tacfarinas changed his tactics; he gave up the plan of sieges, divided his army into small bands, attacked and fell back as soon as he was pressed, only to reappear elsewhere, mocking at the Romans and their vain pursuit. He arrived at such audacity that he sent deputies to Tiberius, and treating with him as one power with another, made known to the emperor that the latter must yield him a position or else expect an interminable war. The emperor replied by sending into Africa a skilful general, Blæsus, the uncle of Sejanus, who combated the ubiquitous Numidian by a scheme of tactics resembling his own. He divided his forces into small, light bands, putting at their head centurions of tried valour with good guides, built small forts to support their

pœna damuari jubetur, qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit. Tiberius caused this law to be enforced throughout the Empire against human sacrifices. See, on this point, pp. 28-9.

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 246 *sqq.*

movements, as the French army erected blockhouses against the Arabs, and kept his troops in the field even during the winter. Tacfarinas escaped, but his brother was made prisoner, and tranquillity appeared to be re-established. Tiberius sent to Blæsus the insignia of the triumph, and allowed his soldiers to proclaim him *imperator*. This was the last time a general received that title.



Coin of
Ptolemy. (Cab.
de France.)

Ptolemy, the king of Mauretania, had faithfully served Rome during this war. The matter being fully reported to the senate, there was renewed in his favour a custom



Porta Aurea at Ravenna.¹

of ancient times: a senator brought to him the ivory sceptre and embroidered robe, and in the name of the emperor and the senate saluted him with the title of king and friend of the Roman people.

Tiberius had now been in power nine years, and his administration had been advantageous to the State. Let us hear Tacitus: "The following is the statement presented by the emperor to the senate of the forces of the Empire and the provinces where the legions were: Italy had a fleet upon each of the two seas, one

¹ From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

at Misenum, the other at Ravenna, not to mention the galleys at Forum Julii protecting the coast of Narbonensis. Eight legions on the Rhine restrained at once the Germans and the Gauls; Spain was guarded by three legions; Mauretania by king Juba. In the rest of Africa, two legions, as many more in Egypt, and four only in that vast country extending west of the Euphrates to those kingdoms of the Albanians and Iberians which our power protects against neighbouring empires. Rhemetalees and the children of Cotys



Coin of Juba II.¹

governed Thrace: two legions in Pannonia and the same number in Mœsia defended the passage of the Danube; and two others in Dalmatia supported the former or hastened to the defence of Italy, as the case might require. Rome had its special troops, three urban cohorts and nine prætorian cohorts, all levied in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, or the early Roman colonies. The fleets, and the auxiliary infantry and cavalry, which formed a nearly equal force, were distributed as they might be needed in the provinces; but there was nothing certain either in respect to their destination or their number, which varied incessantly.

"In the government, public affairs and the more serious concerns of private individuals were treated in the senate; in discussions the customary order was observed. If the orators fell into adulation, Tiberius stopped them at once. In distributing honours, he had regard to birth, military services, and civil talent, so that no selections could have been better made. The consulship and the prætorship had their external distinction, and the inferior magistracies all their former rights. In respect to the laws, that concerning treason alone excepted, good use was made of them; the supplies of the armies, the taxes, and the other public revenues were farmed out to Roman knights. For the management of his private affairs, the prince made choice of the most esteemed men, some personally unknown to him and merely upon their reputation. Once chosen, he changed them with reluctance, and most of them grew old in their offices. The people suffered

¹ On the obverse, the king's head; on the reverse, Africa, the head covered with the usual symbol, an elephant's head.

often from the high price of grain, but this was not the fault of Tiberius; he spared neither care nor expense to guard against bad harvests and those accidents of the sea which placed, as he himself said, the life of the Roman people at the mercy of the winds and waves. He took care that the provinces should not be burdened with any new taxes, and that the original ones should not be made heavier by the avarice or cruelty of the governors. He forbade corporal punishments and confiscations.¹

"The emperor's domains in Italy were not extensive, his slaves not insolent, and his freedmen few in number. If he had a dispute with private individuals the tribunals and the laws decided the case. It is true that his manners were not amiable, that he was unsocial and usually inspired fear; but until the death of Drusus he was able to control himself; after that all was changed."

This revolution, taking place at a fixed moment in the life and habits of Tiberius, is suspicious. For a young man it would be hardly credible, but it becomes incomprehensible in the case of a man of sixty-five, for nine years master of the supreme power, hence free for the past nine years to abandon himself without restraint to his passions. "Up to the age of fifty-six," says Tacitus,² "his life and fame were irreproachable; from fifty-six to sixty-five he feigned virtue; from sixty-five to seventy-one his conduct was composed of well and ill; from seventy-one to seventy-three he exhibited a cruelty indescribable, but concealed his debaucheries; from seventy-three to seventy-eight there was an overflowing of crimes and infamies, because he could at last abandon himself to his true character." These divisions are ridiculous. A nature so strongly tempered as that of Tiberius is not subject in mature age to these periodical metamorphoses. If we are shown that the situation has changed, that dangers are increasing, we shall then understand how fears, suspicions, and cruelty spring up and grow. We shall then have the regular

¹ *Ann.*, vi. 5-7. Elsewhere, in a few expressive words, Tiberius compares this prosperity with the evils of past times: *Multa duritie veterum melius et letius mutata; neque enim ut olim obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostiles esse.* Cf. Philo, *Leg. ad C.*, 993 b.; Strabo, vi. 288: "Never before had the Romans and their allies known such a wealth of good things." Vell. Patere., ii. 126: *Vindicatæ ab injuriis magistratuum provincie*, and Dion, lvii. 23. In the discourse at Lyons, Claudius says (col. 11, 4) that Tiberius had called many provincials into the senate.

² *Ann.*, vi. 51.

development of a situation bad from the beginning, and of a character inclined to extreme severity, and not a series of spectacular changes such as are only seen upon the stage.

Like Louis XI., and like all rulers placed in the presence of a powerful aristocracy, Tiberius took pleasure in governing by means of men of low station.¹ He cannot always refuse office to the nobles, but, having satisfied their vanity, he often retained them in Rome, sending lieutenants to administer their provinces.² The only favourite that he ever had was a mere knight, Ælius Sejanus, born in the Etruscan city of Vulsinii, whose father, near the close of the reign of Augustus, had commanded the prætorian guard. Associated with his father by Tiberius in the year 14, he remained sole prætorian præfect when his father obtained the government of Egypt, and he gained the emperor's affection by his absolute devotion, his indefatigable activity, and his wise counsels.⁴ Tiberius could have no doubt of the fidelity of the man who, when all fled, alone remained and saved the emperor's life by supporting a roof which was falling upon his head;⁵ accordingly, he bestowed upon him the utmost confidence; in the senate and before the people he called Sejanus the companion of his labours, he consulted him as to the distribution of honours and provinces, and he permitted in the theatre, the Forum, and the camps, that the statues of his minister should be placed beside his own.

In the Roman world Sejanus represents those viziers of the East who employ years in surrounding their master with invisible bonds which one day they suddenly tighten. Having attained so high a place, he wished to rise still higher, and seeing the noblest



Gold Coin of Vulsinii
(Bolsena).³

¹ One day when the emperor had preferred as candidate for the prætorship one Curtius Rufus, who was believed to be the son of a gladiator, to the most noble personages in Rome, he made answer to those who were surprised at the unsuitable choice: Rufus is the son of his own deeds: *Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 21). As a matter of course Tacitus is much displeased, he is ashamed to relate it: *vera exsequi pudet*.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 80 and vi. 27.

³ Coins of the British Museum and of the Museum of Gotha, published by the *Revue archéol.*, 1879, pl. xvi.

⁴ *Corpus illi laborum tolerans* (Ann., iv. 1). *Bonis consiliis notescere volebat* (ibid., 7).

⁵ This happened in the year 26 (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 59).

and proudest become his clients,¹ he believed that between him and the imperial throne there was only this old man and his children. Doubtless no man loved them, but for the greater number they were the standard of peace and order around which the Empire had rallied; and this standard beaten down, immediately would reappear anarchy, murder, and civil war. The dread of these evils made the legitimacy of the Cæsars, and long protected such monsters as Caligula, Nero, and Commodus. Nor was it easy to surprise the suspicious old man, who saw clearly in the night, says Suetonius, and whose look pierced even more acutely the darkness of an intrigue. Sejanus, therefore, was playing a game of intrigue with him.

The minister had command of the prætorian guards. The nine cohorts, dispersed through the city and suburbs, and even in the adjacent villages, were losing their discipline; he gathered them into a fortified camp between the two roads which led away from the Viminal and Colline gates;² and he showed this camp to Tiberius as the fortress whence the prince could hold the senate and the great city under the fear of a military execution. But this union of 10,000 picked soldiers in one place might also serve ambitious designs; Sejanus often went to visit the prætorians; he knew the men by their names; he chose their centurions and tribunes; and they were rather his body-guard than that of the exile of Capri.

His first victim was the emperor's own son. Drusus, in a quarrel, had struck Sejanus in the face; the latter could not take open revenge, but he corrupted the wife of Drusus—a woman already depraved and guilty—by feigning a violent passion for her, and holding her by vice and crime, persuaded her to poison her husband. The blow was very great for Tiberius; for some time he forbade all whom his son had loved to appear in his presence, as the sight of them renewed his grief.³ He came, however, into the senate, there to seek, he said, among the supports of the State, the consolations which courage could furnish. And he

¹ Tiberius writes to him (*Ann.*, iv. 40): *Magistratus et primores, qui te invito percurrunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt.* . . .

² The remains of this camp are seen near the Nomentan gate (Aurelian's wall). It is now the *Campo militare*. Later there was a second camp at Albano. Cf. Henzen, *la Legione Ia Parthica*.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 3. Dion (lvii. 14) gives a sad portrait of Drusus.

showed them his mother tottering under the burden of years, his grandchildren still under age, and himself in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus were now his sole hope. He then requested that they should be brought to him. The two consuls led them into the senate house, and Tiberius, taking them by the hand, says: "Behold, Conscript Fathers, these orphans whom, after their father's death, I intrusted to their uncle, conjuring him, although he had already children of his own, to bring these up as if they were his own and render them worthy of him and of posterity. Drusus is dead, and I now address to you my prayers; it is you that I beg, in the presence of the gods and of the Roman people, to watch over these grandchildren of Augustus, these scions of the noblest families. And you, Nero and Drusus, regard them as your fathers, remembering that, by reason of your birth, your vices as well as your virtues are matters which concern the State."

It is a noble scene, and a touching picture: the old emperor, in his turn broken by domestic afflictions, having only these young orphans to whom he can turn—these lads, upon whom rests the peace of the world—and this weeping assembly, gathering around the young princes whom their grandfather thus intrusts to the State!¹ Why should this confidence and these noble words, which at the moment were sincere, be soon so cruelly falsified? In these senators, now animated by a common and pious emotion, how many victims and murderers we behold! These boys will perish by the same hand that now caresses them, and this old man, who until now has only been severe and just, will become an object of terror.

Tiberius threw himself into affairs, to seek amid the cares of government² the sole consolation which his active mind, severe towards himself as towards others, could find. He repressed a revolt of slaves, expelled from Italy the play-actors, "whose licentious and obscene farces," he said, "the Conscript Fathers ought to punish," and in all things exhibited an inflexible spirit of justice. The senate having proposed merely to banish from

¹ Nero was then sixteen, Drusus fifteen, and Caius nine; their uncle, the neglected Claudius, was thirty-two.

² *At Tiberius, nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces sociorum tractabat* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 13).

Italy a former quæstor convicted of receiving bribes, Tiberius insisted upon the sentence being one of exile. Another senator, a *protégé* of Livia, had thrown his wife from the roof of his house and asserted that she had committed suicide. The senate hesitated; the emperor went to the scene of the tragedy, examined the place carefully, and detected traces of a violent struggle, upon which the guilty man opened his veins. One of the imperial procurators in Asia was prosecuted for excesses in the exercise of power, and the emperor abandoned him to the senate.¹ This assembly still treated of all public matters. In order to augment its dignity, the emperor consented that the cities of Asia, in gratitude for the justice they had recently, in two instances, received from Rome, should, in a temple dedicated to himself, associate the divinity of the senate with his own and that of his mother. Thus we find ourselves on the eve of realizing our wishes for the increase of the authority of the senate. Tiberius grants it far more than did Augustus, and this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial,² becomes almost the supreme council of the Empire. Let the senators do the rest; let their conduct rise to the height of the part assigned them; let the emperor find in them devotion without servility, intelligence without ambition; let them defend him equally against the courtiers who would blind him and against the factions eager for new disturbances, and the difficult problem of a limited monarchy will be half solved.

Tiberius had until now retained the council of Augustus: twenty of the chief men of the Empire and certain of his old

¹ *Apud quos (patres) etiamtum cuncta tractabantur* (Ann. iv. 15), but without publicity. Dion, lvii. 21 and 23. Cf. Le Clerc, *des Journaux chez les Romains*.

² Tac., Ann., iv. 6; Suet., Tib., 30. In the matter of judicial authority, Tiberius allowed the senate to encroach upon the other jurisdictions and multiply the cases reserved for itself, that is to say, those of high treason, of extortion, of poisoning, of resistance to the laws, of theft, of divorce, of incest, of attempt at corruption, etc. Cf. Tac. Ann., iii. 50, 85; iii. 10, 12, 19; iv. 31, 43; vi. 49. The *questiones perpetue*, which heretofore had cognizance of most of these crimes, judging without appeal, could not be acceptable to the new government. "There was no affair, great or small," says Suetonius (36), "public or private, which he did not lay before the senate. He consulted them on the establishment of taxes and the granting of monopolies, on the construction and reparation of public buildings, on levying troops and disbanding them, on the quartering of the legions in the provinces, on the extension of commands, the conduct of wars, and the replies to be made to kings. He obliged a cavalry officer accused of violence and rapine to defend himself before that assembly." But a word from the emperor could annul all this power; a letter of his to the senate was regarded as an order. (Tac. Ann., iii. 19.)

friends,¹ to whom he added, when it was a question of replying to deputations, those who had commanded in the countries whose interests were under discussion.² One of his most important cares was always to listen to the complaints of the provinces,³ to decide quarrels between cities,⁴ to succour towns which had been smitten by some disaster,⁵ or punish those which disturbed the public peace.⁶ Again, in the year 23, he caused a proconsul of Ulterior Spain to be condemned for the harshness of his government, and, in the following year, the conqueror of Sacrovir, for his acts of pillage and his wife's extortions.

Among the requests which came to Rome in these days was one from Marseilles. An exiled Roman, who had become a citizen of Marseilles, left the city his property upon his death, as Rutilius had done in the case of Smyrna. "The example of Rutilius was the precedent," says Tacitus, and the gift was allowed. This was contrary to the ancient law; jurisprudence later seized upon this exception to draw from it a general rule which had the happiest results.⁷

Favoured by peace, the Western people now advanced with rapid strides towards a complete transformation. Tiberius, more faithful to the early example of Augustus than to his later advice, had multiplied concessions of citizenship, in order to favour the development of a Roman life in the provinces. Sacrovir had found in the schools of Autun youths of all the eminent Gallic families. The Senecas had already come from Cordova to Rome; and Strabo, after having travelled over nearly the entire Empire, was writing in Rome at this very hour his magnificent work, where undoubted testimony establishes the prosperity of all the provinces.⁸

Some successes in Thrace against the mountaineers of the Hæmus, who resisted a levy, and in Africa against Tacfarinas,

¹ *Veteres amicos ac familiares* (Suet., Tib., 55).

² *Μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρχαντάς ποτε αὐτῶν* (Dion, lvii. 17).

³ *Preces sociorum* (Ann., iv. 13).

⁴ Between Lacedæmon and Messene, for instance, after the useless arbitration of Miletus. (*Ibid.*, 43.)

⁵ Like Cibyra and Ægium, exempted from tribute for three years. (*Ibid.*, 13.)

⁶ Like Cyzicus, deprived of liberty in 25, for violence towards citizens. (*Ibid.*, 36.)

⁷ Tac., Ann., iv. 43. Suetonius (Tib., 31) speaks also of a legacy left to the city of Trebia. See in chapter lxxix., the reforms of Nerva and Hadrian on this subject, and in chapter lxxxiii. numerous examples of donations to cities.

⁸ Tac., Ann., iii. 43. In thirty-four years, from 14 to 48 A.D., the number of citizens almost doubled. See, on this subject, the reign of Claudius.

who, surprised on a night march, had finally perished with all his forces (24 A.D.), still further did honour to this wise govern-

ment, whose chief no more allowed himself to be dazzled by victories than by flatteries.

Spain asked an authorization to build him a temple as Asia had done, but he refused. "I know too well," he said to the senate, "that I am but a man, subject to all the conditions of humanity. It is enough for me if I fulfil aright the duties of your ruler, and posterity will grant much to my memory if it recognize that I have been worthy of my ancestors, prudent in the conduct of your affairs, firm in the presence of danger, and unmoved by



Genius of a City, found at Autun in 1846.¹

hatred whenever the public good has been in question.² I make but one prayer to the allies, to the citizens of Rome, and to the gods: from the latter I beg, until my latest hour, a tranquil mind and a clear understanding of human and divine laws;³ from the

¹ Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,053.

² An inscription in the temple of Concord (*Regio*, viii.) is thus conceived: *Lusitanie design. pro salute Ti. Caesaris Augusti optimi ac justissimi principis*, etc. (Orelli, 25). *Optimus* is too much, but for the provincials the second epithet is truthful.

³ These are almost the wishes as those uttered by Juvenal (*Sat.*, x. 356):

*Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem.*



BELLEROPHON KILLING THE CHIMÆRA

Mosaic from Antioch.

former, when I shall be no more, some few eulogies and a friendly remembrance of my acts and of my name."¹

Posterity has not at all fulfilled this hope. Whose is the fault? Doubtless it is the fault of Tiberius, who did not preserve that just and equal mind which he asked of the gods; but also it is the fault of the senators, of Sejanus, of Agrippina even, of all those who by their baseness, their treason, or their violence, drew him on to reign in Rome by terror only. Tyrants do not make themselves without the complicity of others; and we may well hold responsible for tyranny those who call it forth and who render it possible.

¹ *Ann.*, iv. 37-8. I am obliged again to point to the very strange reflections which Tacitus places after these words. I have no wish to take aught from the eulogies of Velleius Paterculus; they have been regarded as questionable, although, saving the affectation and the divine epithets, which were only the polite forms of expression of that time, like the "highness," "excellency," and "grace" of our day, they are very nearly true; for the author, involved, it is probable, in the downfall of Sejanus, has not, in his narrative, gone beyond the year 30. I merely call attention to these two expressions: *Suspicit potentem humilis, non timet; antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens*, that is to say, the aristocracy has no longer the right to be what Tacitus reproaches it with having been before the Empire (*Ann.*, i. 1), either oppressive or insolent; and: *pax Augusta per omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrocinio metu servat immunes* (ii. 126).

² Fine cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 211; sardonyx of three layers, about two and a half by two inches.



Tiberius in old age, crowned with oak leaves and wearing the ægis.²

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ISOLATION, DANGERS, AND CRUELTY OF TIBERIUS.

I.—THE LAW OF TREASON AND THE INFORMERS.

THERE were in Rome ancient legal provisions against those who, by treason or incapacity, imperilled the fortune or honour of the State, or who did violence to the constitution or to its organs, the magistrates. The *crimen perduellionis*, or attempt against the Roman people, was very vague, and, therefore, very comprehensive. Moreover, even in ancient times, not only acts, but also writings and words were punishable. Thus Claudia, during the First Punic War, was condemned for the expression of imprudent wishes, and the Twelve Tables decreed death against the authors of libels. The laws against treason, properly so called, were of popular origin: the demagogue Apuleius caused the first to be passed a hundred years before Christ, and the tribune Varius proposed the second a few years later. Both Sylla and Cæsar took it up again, to define the cases more exactly. They were numerous, and even the unsuccessful attempt incurred the application of the penalty, which was the interdiction of fire and water, that is to say, exile, with confiscation of property and loss of citizenship.¹ This law now protected the ruler, representative of the people, heir of the people's tribunes, and, under this title, already sheltered by the constitutional inviolability of the "sacro-sanct" magistracy. "Whoever by deed or word did harm to a

¹ Cicero gives a clear idea of it in his *de Inventione*, ii. 17: *Majestatem minuere est de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare*. See in the *Sententiæ* of Paulus, v. 29, and in the *Digest*, xlviii. 4, how the juriconsults of the Empire developed the *lex Julia majestatis*. The confiscation that it pronounced was the result of exile; the condemned man being no longer able to sacrifice before his hearth to his domestic gods, nor at the family tomb to the manes of his ancestors, the Roman people inherited from him as common heir. The religious idea had prepared the way for the fiscal idea.

tribune,¹ was devoted to the gods, his head to Jupiter, his property to Ceres."

Cæsar made no use of the law which he had set forth; Augustus used it very sparingly. However, fines and exile were decreed in his time against improper language spoken or written;² and the Romans have always taken pleasure in satire: Pasquino and Marforio are old inhabitants of Rome. The inveterate habit of exaggerated speech created many culprits; needy rapacity, and oratorical vanity overwrought in the schools and prohibited in the Forum, made many accusers. A successful accusation brought profit and honour; the law, in the first place, granted to him who had avenged it a share in the property of the condemned man;³ and frequently the senate added to it a large reward, the ruler bestowed honours, and the whole city its applause. The future opened prosperously to the fortunate prosecutor; all things were offered him, fortune and dignities. Thus, as men's servility and as their desires increased, cases which rendered men guilty multiplied; the law punished not words only but a gesture, an involuntary forgetfulness, an indiscreet curiosity: to consult an astrologer on the duration of the ruler's life implied criminal hopes. Even the statue of the emperor participated in the same inviolability: woe to him who sells it with the field in which it stands, who throws a stone at it, who takes away its head, or melts the mutilated and worthless bronze!⁴

If we consider these accusations ridiculous, we shall do well to remember what for so many years constituted high treason in England, and how dear it cost men in Scotland and Ireland to drink to the health of the Stuarts. Every age has constituted, now in the name of the State or the prince, now in the name of religion, certain crimes which later ages have not been able to understand. United with the government of the State, justice

¹ The expression used by Livy is very general: *si quis . . . tribunis nocuisset*.

² Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72; Suet., *Octav.*, 51; Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 27. The Julian law reckoned among the *crimina majestatis* the insertion in public acts or the official declaration of a known falsehood: *Quive sciens falsum conscripserit vel recitaverit in tabulis publicis* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 4, 2). In recent times the French law punished outrages against the head of the State and the propagation of false news.

³ The fourth, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 20); the eighth, according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1); sometimes the prince relinquished the whole (*Ann.*, ii. 32).

⁴ Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 26.

often becomes injustice, smiting as guilty those whom reason absolves, and the pressure of reigning ideas is so strong, that great minds are swept away by the current and unable to resist these influences. Two centuries after Tiberius, Ulpian, defining again this *crimen majestatis*, which had already served such base and sanguinary purposes, calls it the crime nearest to sacrilege, *proximum sacrilegio crimen*. And, indeed, at Rome, religion was blended with all things. The emperor was sovereign pontiff, and destined to apotheosis, and his statues were pontifically consecrated. Is it so very long since, in modern Europe, to break a holy image or a religious symbol has ceased to be a crime involving death?¹ We may be indignant at this apotheosis of emperors, some of whom were a disgrace to humanity, but we are forced to acknowledge that this political and religious consecration was given to the ruler, accepted by the people, and guaranteed by the law. Montesquieu says: "In order to judge men, we must excuse in them the prejudices of their time." Excuse them? No! But surely take them into account.

With his political and military powers, the emperor commanded obedience; with the law against treason, he strove to secure his personal safety. Tiberius now made a formidable use of it.²

The premature deaths of Germanicus and Drusus left him alone, exposed to all attacks; he felt the perils of this isolation,³

¹ The penalty of death for sacrilege was not abolished in France until after the Revolution of July, and in England only by an Act of Parliament in 1835. I do not speak of the famous executions of the eighteenth century in France, nor the condemnations in 1816 for words, writings, coins with the emperor's effigy, etc. Confiscations were frequent through the entire duration of the old monarchy. Abolished for the first time in 1790, they did not finally cease until 1814.

² Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, pp. 292-307) enumerates all the prosecutions brought before the senate under Tiberius of which any trace remains, and gives 147 accusations concerning 134 persons, or at least six persons accused yearly. Many of these prosecutions, however, refer to really criminal actions, not concerning the government in any way. The cases of high treason are only fifty-two. Of these fifty-two accused persons, four killed themselves, one died before judgment was rendered, twelve were put to death, five banished, four imprisoned or held in surveillance, two set at liberty on bail, three pardoned, fourteen acquitted, seven discharged, the accusation being abandoned. Thus twenty-six persons accused of treason escaped: just half of the entire number known to have been accused during the twenty-three years of the reign of Tiberius.

³ According to Josephus he even said to Caligula, in recommending Tiberius Gemellus to his care: Αἱ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικινδύνου τοῖς εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον κατὰστασιν (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 9).

and as these two deaths, which created a void around him, had increased the hopes of factions, it also augmented his suspicions; from that day he believed himself menaced and in danger. The love of aristocratic liberty was, it is true, in the head rather than the heart, in men's memories rather than their affections. Though not very dangerous to the imperial form of government, it was, however, a peril to the emperor;¹ for, if it could not bring forth a revolution, it was still always capable of plots, either with the partisans of a senatorial revolution, or with the ambitious men who desired to become emperor. Those rulers in whose time something is founded or something comes to an end are continually exposed to this peril.

The ambitious men of this period, not daring to undertake anything on their own account, gathered about Agrippina, making capital of her feelings of resentment towards the emperor, and hoping to employ her children for the overthrow of Tiberius, intending meanwhile to get rid of them later. More than one doubtless repeated to the



Agrippina, wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula.²

young princes what the Jew Agrippa said to Caius: "Will not this old man soon depart for the other world leaving you master of this one?"³ There was then a numerous party⁴ gathered about Agrippina, which Sejanus pointed out to the emperor as already prepared for civil war. Tiberius allowed his minister to attack it.

Silius, one of the leaders who boasted too loudly of having preserved the Empire to Tiberius in the affair of Sacrovir's revolt, and had stained his victory by rapines, being accused of extortions and of treason, took his own life. Tacitus says that Agrippina's friendship caused his death, and it may be so; but the historian is forced to acknowledge that the charges against Silius were grave;

¹ [Thus the recent discontent in Ireland, powerless against the English Government, took the direction of plotting the murder of English officials. —*Ed.*]

² Bust of Agrippina, surrounded by the legend: AGRIPPINA M F MATRIS CAESARIS AUGUSTI.

³ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 17: *esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent*. According to Josephus, the armies were all gained over to the sons of Germanicus and finally to Caligula. . . . Kai μάλιστα τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, αἰρετὸν ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱκύνω περ γενησομένης εἰ δεήσει, καὶ τελευτᾶν (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 3).

it was after this prosecution that the senate rendered magistrates responsible for the misconduct of their wives. The wife of Silius was sent into exile.¹

Another of Agrippina's friends, her cousin Claudia, was accused of adultery and condemned. At news of this, Agrippina hastened to Tiberius, whom she found offering sacrifices on the altar of Augustus. This circumstance exasperated her still more: "Why," she cried, "make offerings to Augustus when his family are persecuted?" Tiberius, listening calmly to her reproaches, replied with the Greek line: "Are your rights then invaded if you do not reign?"



Statue of Tiberius found at Capri.²

The other party had their turn; the republican Cremutius Cordus had stung Sejanus. "He is not set over our heads," said Cordus; "he climbs thither himself."³ Accused for his History of the Civil Wars, he defended himself with dignity. "Is it believed," he said, "that I wish by my writings to excite the people to civil war, to bring back Brutus and Cassius in arms upon the battle-field of Philippi? Notwithstanding the sixty years that have passed since their death,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 18-20.

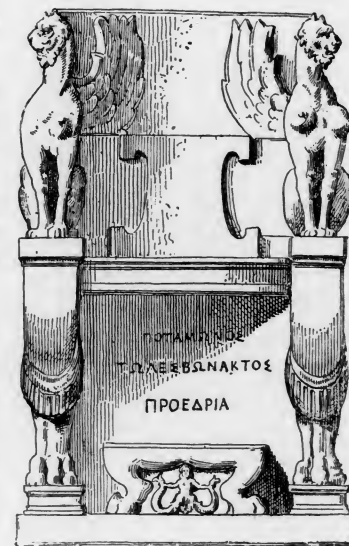
² Sen., *Consolatio ad Marciam*.

³ Tiberius clad in the toga. This admirable statue, found in the island of Capri, is now in the Louvre, No. 111 of the *Catalogue Clarac*.

history preserves their memory, as the statues which the conqueror himself has not destroyed preserve their features. Posterity assigns to each his share of fame, and if I am condemned, there will not fail to be citizens who will be mindful of Brutus and Cassius, and even of me." After these proud words he quitted the senate house, returned home and shut himself up, and died of voluntary starvation (25 A.D.).¹ This was the first crime of Tiberius, and the first example of those Stoic deaths which show us that there were yet some of the old Romans left in the midst of the universal degradation.

The senate caused all the works of Cordus that could be discovered to be publicly burnt. His daughter Marcia hid a copy, which was multiplied, until, says Seneca "his writings are now in the hands and in the heart of all Romans."

A few days later Agrippina fell ill; Tiberius visited her, but she received him with a persistent silence and with tears. Then, breaking out into entreaties and reproaches, she asked of him a husband as a protector for the widow and children of Germanicus.² The emperor in his turn became



Marble Seat of Potamon in Lesbos.³

silent, and went out without making answer to this imprudent request. Thus they continued to exasperate one another. Sejanus neglected nothing that might increase this enmity. He secretly warned Agrippina to beware of her father-in-law's banquets, and one day, at the emperor's table, she remained through the whole dinner silent, with downcast eyes, and touching no food. Tiberius,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 35.

² Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 53) records this fact from the *Commentaries* written by Agrippina's own daughter.

³ Texier, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. This seat, which is still used by the Metropolitan, was given to Potamon by the Lesbians, that he might have a seat of honour at their games.

surprised and offended, affected to praise the fruits placed before him and offered them to Agrippina; she handed them to a slave, but would not eat them herself. He addressed no reproaches to her; but turning to Livia, he said: "Can any one wonder that I should show some severity towards a woman who wishes to make me thought a poisoner?" An old friend of Germanicus not long after bore the penalty of Agrippina's imprudence.

About this time (26 A.D.) Tiberius quitted Rome, with the determination never to reside there again. He was accompanied by Sejanus, Atticus, a Roman knight of good family, Cocceius Nerva, the able jurist, and some learned Greeks whose society was agreeable to him. He, who so rarely laughed, was pleased at their subtle wit, and indulged in sportive conversation with them. One of these Greeks being about to leave him, the emperor gave him a safe-conduct thus written: "If any man propose to do injury to Potamon of Lesbos, let him first consider whether he is in a position to declare war against me."¹ He travelled slowly through Campania, and the next year withdrew into the beautiful island of Capri. He was at this time sixty-nine years of age. His old age took nothing from his mental activity,² but his body was bent, and his face at times covered with ulcers, and he desired to hide these tokens of decrepitude. Upon that solitary rock, whither he had been led by a great contempt for mankind and a scorn of official pomp, he sought security for his latter days. Far from Rome and the trouble which there surrounded him, his will would be better obeyed, for an unseen power is always more impressive; in this island, too, he believed himself more in safety. His grandson Tiberius was at this time only eight years of age, while two of the three sons of Germanicus had already reached man's estate.³ Hopes were growing up around them. The people, who neither love the old age of royalty, nor a cold and severe administration, did not conceal their preferences: their whole affection was for the race of Germanicus. Any good fortune happening to them, or any

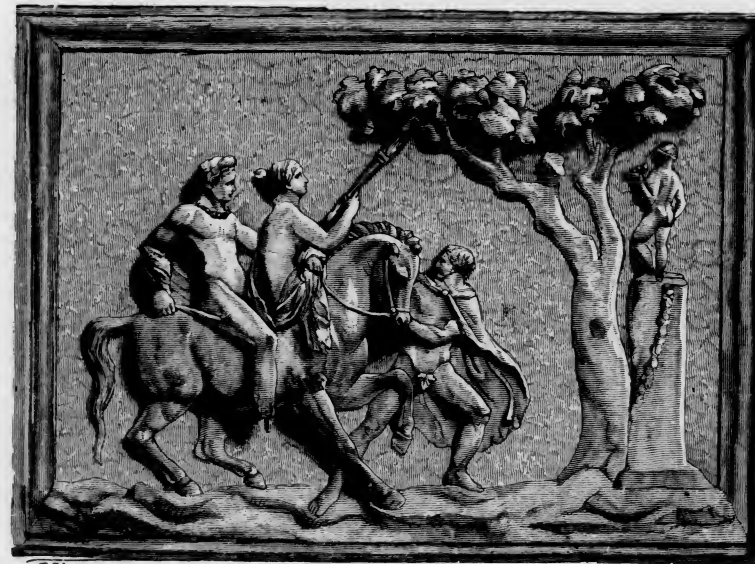
¹ Strabo, xiii. p. 617.

² Suetonius (*Tib.*, 41) says that from this moment he abandoned the cares of government. We shall see, however, that the closing years of his reign were not idle. It is true that he took no pleasure in war; but, when a serious danger presented itself, as for example, when the Parthians entered Armenia, he at once took energetic measures.

³ The youngest, Caligula, was fifteen, and Nero, the eldest, had been eight years married.

calamity to Tiberius, was equally a cause of public rejoicing;¹ and the old emperor feeling himself hated, believed himself surrounded by plots. Sejanus had just saved his life, and this proof of devotion increased his favour. The ruler now saw only through the eyes of the minister whom he had suffered to come between himself and the Empire.

Against the success of his ambitious views the prætorian



Chartier

Bas-relief of marble, found at Capri: a Scene of the Elysian life (?).²

præfect now found no obstacle remaining save the sons of Germanicus; accordingly he strove to excite the emperor's suspicions of his too impatient heirs; he persuaded him to appoint guards to attend them, to keep watch upon their movements, their visits, and the messages that they received. Meanwhile traitors, suborned for

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 84; iv. 12.

² Museum of Naples. A marble very difficult to explain. It may represent, after death, a husband and wife in the flower of their age, the husband in heroic costume, that is to say, without garments, and the wife as a nymph. They are led towards a fig-tree, behind which stands Love in repose, or Hermes, the leader and shepherd of souls. It is possible also that this beautiful bas-relief is a hymeneal scene: a young couple coming to adore a sacred tree, behind which is a god of gardens.

the purpose, endeavoured to mislead the sons of Germanicus. The young men were advised to take shelter around the statue of Augustus in the Forum, to implore the protection of the senate and the people; to try even the fidelity of the legions by seeking refuge with what had formerly been the army of Germanicus. They rejected all these guilty propositions; but they were blamed for having heard them, and they were represented to Tiberius as ready to put any of them in execution.

The eldest, Nero, for whom his mother manifested an imprudent partiality, and whom his friends and clients urged to seize a fortune by which they would have profited, gave ground for suspicions by his impatient and haughty words in regard to the favourite who "abused the weakness of an old man." His wife and his brother Drusus betrayed him, and carried everything to Sejanus, who flattered Drusus with the hope of imperial power.

Tiberius believed it necessary to strike this party a second time. On the first day of January, 28 A.D., Sabinus, the warmest partisan of Agrippina, was dragged to prison. This sad affair showed clearly to what the magistrates and senators of Rome had been reduced. Four ex-prætors were the instruments of his ruin. One of them obtained his confidence by seeming to share his hatred, and brought Sabinus into his house, where he wrung from him the most imprudent words. The three others, hidden between the arch and the ceiling, listened through the chinks, and reported all to Tiberius, who asked of the senate the offender's head. That which the four prætors did, others attempted daily, for even among men of the highest rank there was an emulation in villainy only explicable by the perversion of the moral sense in the higher classes, and the necessity of finding new ways to wealth. Each of the two accusers of Thræsea was rewarded with more than £40,000, and the betrayer of Soranus had the quæstorship, besides the money he received. Hence they are keen on the scent of crimes and in quest of victims. Civil law, political law, criminal law—each serves in its turn. Augustus had called upon the citizens to seek out infractions of his *lex Pappia-Poppæa*; and at once informers had fallen upon the city, upon Italy, and the whole Empire. "Already had they destroyed many fortunes, and spread terror in every direction, when Tiberius, to remedy the evil, gave

commission to fifteen senators to modify and define the law. The evil for the moment was diminished."¹ But when he himself loosened the rein which he had drawn; when, by the law of high treason, a word, a gesture, could be made into a crime, "then terror brooded over the city. Kindred dreaded one another, men no longer accosted each other, or dared so much as to speak; whether between strangers or acquaintances there was a mutual avoidance; everything was an object of suspicion, even the mute and inanimate walls."² It was the civil war beginning anew with its proscriptions and bloody affrays. But here a word was a sword—the senate and the Gemoniæ, the battle-field—the rich and noble, the victims.³ In these unarmed duels the emperor was more often a witness than an actor; as an arbiter, he looked on with the people at this terrible game which the aristocracy offered both emperor and people;⁴ one keeping account of the blows, and decreeing to the most murderous the palm of eloquence,⁵ the other, carrying off the fallen, to make sport of their dead bodies in the streets of the city. Tiberius gave but few combats of gladiators; the people were compensated by these executions.

Tacitus relates that a senator, Domitius Afer, who had enriched himself once by a successful accusation, having foolishly squandered the reward of his infamy, associated himself with Dolabella, a man of very high station, to ruin Varus. The senate refused to receive the information, saying that the presence of the

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 23.

² *Ann.*, iv. 69. It appears by the affair of Sabinus that here Tacitus does not exaggerate.

³ Lucan says this, *Phars.*, i. 685:

Impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu;
and Seneca, *de Benef.*, iii. 26: *Accusandi frequens et pene publica rabies quæ omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit*; and as a proof that it was indeed the civil war breaking out again, the executioners were always centurions and soldiers.

⁴ See, for example, the enmity of the two consuls of the year 31, Regulus and Trion, who mutually accused each other of treason; then, when their term of office was expired, were summoned by the senator Haterius to fulfil the threats they had reciprocally made. (*Ann.*, v. ii.; vi. 4.) One Cotta indulged in some pleasantry at the expense of Tiberius, and was denounced a *primoribus civitatis* (*ibid.*, 5). Cf. vi. 7, *quod maxime eritabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent . . . infecti quasi valetudine et contactu*. To this add that special taste of the Romans who cannot live without going to law, says a juriconsult (*ὅντας αὐτοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ οὐκ ἐν ἑκόντος εἶναι δίκων*. Theoph., *Inst.*, i. 6, § 4), and that at Rome, as in Greece, the right of accusing belonged to every man. Nero asserted that he had read in the *Memoirs* of Claudius: *nullam cuiusque accusationem ab eo coactam* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 43).

⁵ Thus to Domitius Afer: *suo jure disertum cum appellavit* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 52).

emperor must be awaited; and the historian adds: "This was the sole resource against pressing necessities"—a strange expression in the mouth of Tacitus, and significant.¹

Let it not be thought that we exaggerate in relating these duels where, as in the Middle Ages, in the judgments of God, the vanquished was given over to the executioner. Augustus subjected the accuser who did not make good his charge to the penalty the accused person would have suffered; and Tiberius caused informers to be put to death.²

II.—DESTRUCTION OF THE FAMILY OF GERMANICUS; FALL OF SEJANUS; CRUELITIES OF TIBERIUS (29-37).

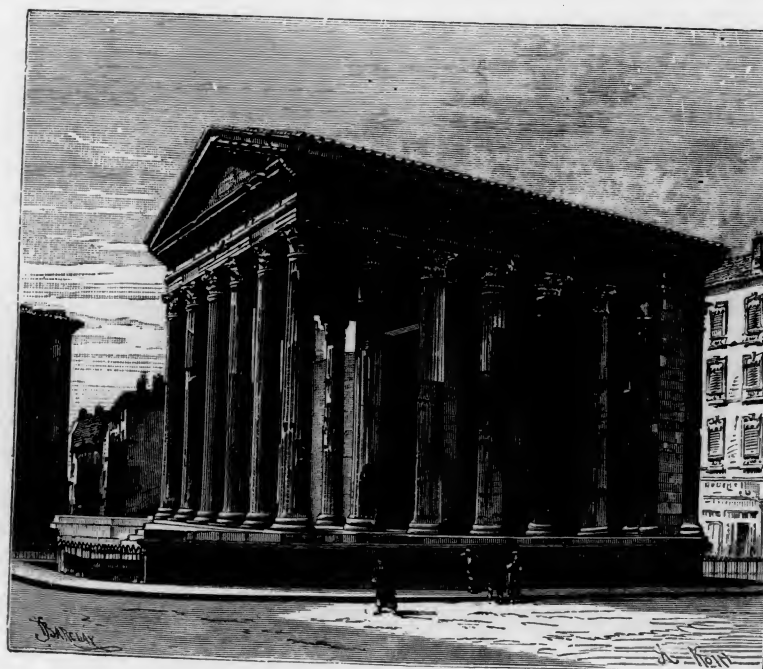
Tiberius had only to let affairs take their course to be rid of those whom he feared. But he feared much, for he knew that "whosoever despises his own life can always render himself master of another's;"³ and he wrote to the senate after the death of Sabinus: "My life is constantly in danger; I still am in fear of new plots." He referred to Agrippina and Nero. They were almost immediately struck down (29 A.D.). Livia, who had, it was said, interceded for them, had just died, aged eighty-five, and Sejanus, freed from the restraint which the old empress imposed upon him, urged their destruction. Anonymous writings were current in Rome, full of sarcasms against the minister. One of these went so far as to suppose a session of the senate where the ex-consuls were seen to speak and express opinions with great freedom. Sejanus believed or feigned to believe that a revolt was about to begin. "The senate," he wrote to Tiberius, "despises the resentment of the emperor; the people are in rebellion; false harangues and decrees of the senate are in circulation and publicly read. All that is left for them to do is to take arms, and proclaim as chiefs, as emperors, those whose likeness they desire to see upon

¹ Here Tacitus fails us for nearly three years, an irreparable loss, for while we often differ from him, it is he himself who furnishes us with the means to combat him. What a contrast between the rich development of his history, his stately style, and the gossiping mediocrity of Dion, who, with Suetonius and Josephus, is now our only resource.

² Suet., *Octav.*, 32; Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 30.

³ Montaigne, book I., chap. xxiii.

their standards." It is the misfortune of governments like this that the prince constantly dreads the ambition of those nearest to him. It was a situation which Tiberius had not created, but he aggravated it by his suspicions, his contempt of men, and his readiness to shed blood. In the solitude where he dwelt, far from the world and the sound of all the executions ordered by him in



Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne (Isère).¹

Rome, he easily came to be pitiless. The sons of Germanicus became a trouble to him, and he made them disappear. Agrippina, removed from Rome, was conducted to the island of Pandataria by a tribune, who, it is said, treated so roughly this grand-daughter of Augustus, that he put out one of her eyes; four years later she ended her life by voluntary starvation. Nero, sent to Pontia,

¹ Livia died at the age of eighty-three or eighty-five (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 8); Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 171. The consecratio or canonization which made her *diva* and gave her temples did not take place till the time of Claudius. Tiberius was too sceptical to make gods.

was shortly after put to death there, or else committed suicide (31 A.D.); his brother Drusus was shut up in an underground room of the palace at Rome; only the youth of the third brother Caius saved him. It was well to keep him alive, in case of some unforeseen need, and he could be got rid of at any moment if he became dangerous.

All the family of Germanicus were thus, so to speak, destroyed; Sejanus believed that he was approaching the goal.



Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.²

He had shortly before this ventured to ask the hand of Livilla, the widow of Drusus; this was almost to solicit the title of the emperor's son-in-law and heir to the Empire. Tiberius had refused the request, but with friendly words;¹ and in the year 31 he took Sejanus for a colleague in the consulship. The senate, believing that they divined the emperor's intentions, outran them, and gave the first alarm to his suspicions by decreeing to the minister the same honours as to the prince himself. Statues were erected to them side by side, their seats were placed together in the theatre, and it was decreed

that they should be consuls together for five years. Sejanus was already a demi-god; sacrifices were offered before his statues; and—a thing never done seriously except in Rome, and in the Rome of this epoch—he himself sacrificed to his own divinity. Some called him the true emperor; the other, they said, is only the king of Capri. Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius, who, like Agrippina, had honoured her widowhood by a long and irreproachable chastity, perceived more quickly than did the emperor the secret designs of the conspirator. "Sejanus," she wrote to him, "conspires with the senators. Generals of the army, soldiers bought with money, the freedmen of the imperial palace even,

¹ We must, however, note them, for they show the interior of the imperial household . . . *Inimicitie Agrippinæ, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Livie, velut in partes, domum Cæsarum distraxisset: sic quoque erumpere æmulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 40).

² Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 210 of the catalogue (sardonyx in three layers, 1½ by 1 inch).

have joined in the plot;" and she revealed to the emperor all the particulars of it.¹ Tiberius did not venture to strike at once. He wished first to sound the real inclinations of the senate, of the people, and of the prætorians; to study the resources of Sejanus, in order to destroy them in advance. He had already sent away Sejanus from Capri to Rome, where the latter's consulship seemed to render his presence necessary, in reality the better to keep watch upon him while seeming to leave him more unobserved.

The emperor began by letters skilfully calculated to call out the various sentiments of Sejanus. At one time he wrote that his health was ruined; at another, that it had again become excellent; and when his late favourite asked permission to come back into Campania, announced that he himself was about to come to Rome. Occasionally he blamed Sejanus, but more generally praised him. He bestowed favours upon some of his friends, and ill-treated others. He appointed Sejanus pontifex, but also bestowed the office of augur and the Augustal



Antonia.²

priesthood upon Caius, who owed this return of favour and fortune to the fears now inspired by the murderer of all his nearest relatives.³ With these titles Tiberius also bestowed high praise upon the young prince, and made it apparent that he designed him for his successor. Emboldened by the popular joy at the rumour of this elevation of a son of Germanicus, he dared still more, pardoning an accused person, an enemy of Sejanus, and forbidding sacrifices to be offered to a man still living.

While the prætorian præfect was thus held in suspense, one day attacked, on the morrow caressed and restored to confidence, he

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8.

² Engraved amethyst of the *Cabinet de France*. Antonia, wife of Drusus the elder, represented as Ceres, holding a cornucopia.

³ Suet., *Calig.*, 12.

lost the opportunity of replying to these underhand assaults by a revolution,¹ while Tiberius made sure of the people, shattered the party of Sejanus, and detached from it the senators who had had most confidence in him. At last Sejanus understood, in finding himself alone, that he was threatened, and he knew Tiberius too well not to know that the threat was sure to be very quickly followed by the execution. He hastened his designs, sought and found agents to attempt the emperor's life;² but Tiberius, invisible, kept watch upon him, and the moment having come, the blow fell. On the night of the 18th of October an officer of the prætorian guard, Macro, arrived in Rome, from Capri. He at once communicated his orders to the consul Regulus and the præfect of the night watch. In the morning he met Sejanus at the door of the Curia; the latter was surprised that Macro brought him no letters from Tiberius. "I have letters," rejoined Macro, "and they invest you with the office of tribune." The late favourite believed that the emperor once more placed himself in his power, and went to his seat in the senate. Macro, before following him thither, exhibited to the prætorians of the minister's suite a letter from Tiberius constituting himself their commanding officer; he promised them a largess, and dismissing them, substituted for them the night watch, who at once surrounded the Curia. Then entering the senate house, he gave the consuls the letters he had brought for them, and immediately going out again, repaired to the camp of the prætorians to prevent any seditious outbreak there. He had received orders, if any disturbance broke out there, to take Drusus out of his prison and present him to the senate and the people.³

¹ We conclude this from the words of Tacitus (*Ann.*, v. 8; vi. 8), Suetonius (*Tib.*, 65), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 6), Philo (*Leg. ad C.*, p. 997 d, and 1015 b), and lastly, of Juvenal (*Sat.*, x. 56-107, especially lines 74 and 75):

... Si Nortū Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secreta senectus
Principis.

A singular inscription, much mutilated, but still containing the essential words, gives some reason to believe that Sejanus had sought support for his projects among the populace *improbae comitiae* (*Marini, Atti*, p. 43, and Wilmanns, 1699.)

² Dion, lvi. 9-11. Juvenal, *Sat.*, x. 61.

³ Dion, lvi. 4-12. In the *Memoirs* of Tiberius, written by himself, which were read by Suetonius, the emperor said: *Sejanum se punisse quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui*. There is only a portion of truth in these words. But it may be that Tiberius was, I will not say repentant, but aware that he had augmented rather than diminished his dangers in allowing Sejanus to destroy the family of Germanicus.

The letter of Tiberius was very long, to give Macro time to make sure of the fidelity of the guards. The emperor began with a matter of small importance, brought in a few words against Sejanus, then went on to another subject, and again returned to Sejanus, without anger or excitement. Finally, coming closer, he distinctly accused two members of the senate, friends of Sejanus, and demanded that the minister himself should be arrested. Upon this, the senators nearest to him, who just now had offered him their congratulations, drew away and reproached him, the tribunes and the prætors surrounded him, the consul seized him and dragged him away, amid the howls of the people, to the Mamertine prison, where the same evening he was put to death. His body, abandoned to the populace, was dragged through the streets and torn in pieces, so that not a limb remained for the executioner to cast into the Tiber.¹ The people, with their taste for blood whetted, rushed upon the partisans of the fallen minister, while the prætorians, enraged that their share in the work had been given to the night guards, burned and pillaged in the city.

After the victims of the people there were those of the prince: Blæsus, the uncle of Sejanus, his friends—and he had many, for he had been long in power—and his children. From this day dated the cruelties of Tiberius: up to this time the minister rather than the master had been held responsible;² but when Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, revealed to the emperor that her husband had seven years before poisoned Drusus, by this crime causing all the perils that had gathered about the old age of Tiberius;³ when he saw himself outmatched in dissimulation by a man who, the better to secure the success of his designs, had saved the emperor's life at the risk of his own, and when he knew the extent of the plot and the number of the accomplices, he thenceforth trusted for security to the executioner only. "From this time," says Suetonius, "his cruelty knew no limits; he multiplied tortures and

¹ Sen., *de Tranq. an.*, 11.

² Dion, lvi. 12.

³ Apicata killed herself after having written this letter, in which she also revealed the complicity of Livilla. Tiberius desired to pardon the latter, but her mother Antonia caused her to be starved to death (Dion, lvi. 11). To verify the account given by Apicata, many slaves and freedmen who were supposed to be cognizant of the crime were brought to Capri and put to the torture.

punishments, and for whole days the management of this affair so engrossed his mind that a Rhodian, his guest, whom he had invited to come to see him, being announced, the emperor, persuaded that he was one of the persons to be put to the torture, ordered him to be tortured, and, discovering his mistake, caused the Rhodian to be killed that the matter might thus be hushed up. At Capri the place of execution is still shown, a rock whence the condemned at a signal from the emperor were pushed into the sea. Sailors awaited them below, and any who were yet alive were beaten to death." At Rome the senate long continued to receive and to call for accusations, and Tiberius was the first to weary of these murders, which the baseness of the senators multiplied. To end the matter he ordered the execution of all those who were retained in prison. Twenty condemned persons, and among them women and children, were strangled in one day, exposed on the Gemoniæ, and then thrown into the Tiber.¹ After a brief rest the condemnations began anew, and this time Tiberius arrested them in a different way: he caused the most shameless informers to be put to death, and forbade all disbanded soldiers to appear as accusers. Information now became a privilege limited to the senate and the equestrian order.²

However, even in these dreadful years, the emperor was not always pitiless. A knight, accused of having been the friend of Sejanus, replied that "Tiberius himself had also been his friend, and that while it was just to punish the accomplices of the traitor, those who had, like the prince, been his friends only, ought, like the emperor, to be absolved." Whereupon he was dismissed, and those who had accused him were punished with exile or death.³

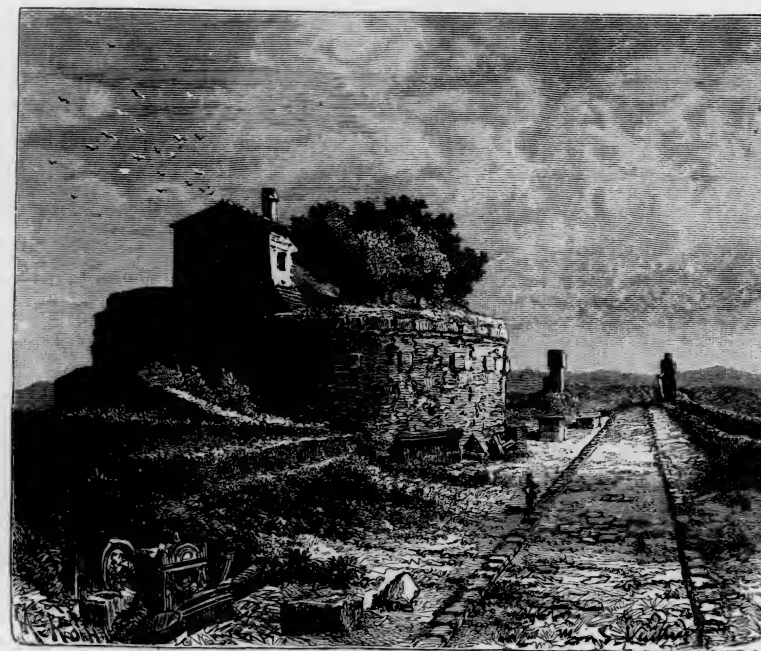
Messalinus Cotta was denounced by the chief men of the city for having spoken ill of the emperor, but Tiberius forbade the case to be brought up, and caused one of the informers to be punished. Many accused persons were forgotten in their prisons, for instance,

¹ I take the figures of Suetonius (*Tib.*, 61). Tacitus avoids mentioning a number, which gives him an opportunity to draw a picture which resembles the massacres of September (*Ann.*, vi. 19).

² Dion, lvi. 21.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 8-9, 30; Dion, lvi. 19. Claudius condemned to fight in the arena those slaves and freedmen who, under Tiberius and Caius, had set on foot calumnious accusations or borne false witness (Dion, lx. 12).

Agrippa, who had wished the emperor's death; Vitellius, who, it was said, had promised to make over to Sejanus the public treasure under his charge; and the ex-consul Pomponius. Vitellius, wearied by the delay of his case, killed himself; the other two, wiser, awaited for seven years the emperor's death, and were



Tomb of Messalinus Cotta, on the Appian Way (Canina, *Via Appia*, pl. 86).

set at liberty by his successor. Unconsciously appreciating the deplorable situation brought about by the fault of the times, the crimes of some, and the baseness of all, one of the biographers of Tiberius is ready to felicitate him on having spared the friends of Sejanus.¹

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8. 'Επίταρο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σειανῷ φιλοτιμίων (Dion, lvi. 19). Rubrius, who took refuge with the Parthians, is arrested, *mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia* (*Ann.*, vi. 14). In the year 34, an ex-ædile, accusing the commander of the legions of Upper Germany of having thought of taking a son of Sejanus for son-in-law, was expelled from the city.

It happened then sometimes that the tyrant slept. A prætor, Lucius Sejanus, who publicly ridiculed the emperor, was not even molested, and two accusers of Arruntius were punished. Of five senators accused of treason two were acquitted; the cases of the three others were by the emperor's order postponed till he himself should come to Rome, which he never did. Of these three, one afterwards conspired against Claudius, the second against Nero; as for the third, Scaurus, censured for his infamous life and accused of adultery and magic, he killed himself.¹ To conclude, there was place for long and honourable lives; Piso, the præfect of Rome, died an octogenarian, having for twenty years filled a most difficult position honourably and without base complaisance.² His successor wielded the same authority in a like manner, and has the eulogium of Tacitus. Lepidus also, the noblest man in Rome after the family of the Cæsars, he whom the dying Augustus pointed out to Tiberius as one of the candidates for the imperial power, remained the friend of both prince and people. It was possible, then, under Tiberius, to live without sycophancy on condition of living without intrigues, and for that a man must be neither conspirator nor informer, either of which at this time almost every Roman noble was.

After all this commotion Tiberius believed it necessary to show himself in the environs of Rome. He came by way of the Tiber to his gardens near the Vatican, but the troops kept the people away from the river banks. So great was his distrust that he would have Macro, his new prætorian præfect, accompany him with tribunes and centurions when he went to the Curia. The senate hastened to add the further precaution that every senator should be searched before entering, to make sure that no man concealed a poniard. Such was the senate of Tiberius! Servile and grovelling, and the more to be feared for that; to-day condemning without order of the prince a mother who wept for her son; to-morrow ready to drag Tiberius to the Gemoniæ if some successful assassin should murder him.

But the senate and the emperor parted for the last time; Tiberius returned to his island, where, it is asserted, he gave

¹ *Ann.*, vi. 7 and 9. See Seneca's report concerning Scaurus (*de Benef.*, iv. 31).

² *Ann.*, vi. 10-11.

himself up to infamous pleasures. Voltaire, the great doubter, doubted this, and we share his opinion. When men saw this terrible man retire to his inaccessible rock, their imagination exhausted itself in inventing for him monstrous pleasures and supposed impossible scenes as the only gratifications that he could enjoy. Tacitus throws discredit in advance upon the narrative of Suetonius and upon his own of the orgies of Capri, when he contrasts with the dissipated life of Drusus the austere and stern solitude in which Tiberius lived at Rome.¹ Certainly we should not guarantee his morals, in a time when no man had any, but we take into account his past life, his terrible anxieties, his labours, and especially his age. In any case, however, it is the ruler rather than the man whom we have to study.

¹ *Ann.*, iii. 37: . . . *Solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus*. He had added a sub-division to the *Lex Pappia-Poppæa*: *quasi sexagenarii generare non possent* (Suet., *Claud.*, 23). This measure does not seem the act of an old libertine. It is to be noted that the writers of his time, or very nearly succeeding him, Philo, Seneca, and Pliny the elder, appear to know nothing about Capri. The Jewish historian Josephus, who was well informed concerning Tiberius, and speaks of Capri, makes no mention of the atrocities said to have taken place there. Tacitus himself tells us that Tiberius was not accustomed to remain long at table, for, two days before his death, to deceive the foresight of Charicles, *discumbit ultra solitum*. At a moment like that, already in the grasp of death, he certainly could not have had the strength to remain there a really long time, and by comparison with his usual habit a little time was an excess (*Ann.*, vi. 50). Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 34, on the simplicity of his table. Seneca (*Epist.*, 95) relates that one day there was given him a grey mullet weighing forty-five pounds, and he sent it to the market. "I shall be much surprised," he said to one of his friends, "if Apicius or Octavius do not buy it." They did, in fact, dispute for the fish, and Octavius obtained it at the price of 5,000 sesterces. Philo (*Leg. ad C.*, p. 996 b, c), in the curious picture which he draws of the prosperity of the Roman world, says that Caligula was attacked in the seventh month of his reign by a very serious malady arising from his relinquishing the frugal and healthful method of living practised by Tiberius. In his youth, Pliny says, he loved wine, but became *in senecta severus* (xiv. 28); he loved light and ordinary articles of food: pears (xv. 46), cucumbers, chervil, and cabbage (xix. 23, 28, 4). One of the two friends whom he took with him to Capri was the ex-consul Nerva, a very learned jurisconsult, a person of serious character and his ordinary counsellor. The history of Agrippa, related at much length by Josephus, does not exhibit Tiberius as a very formidable person, except towards those of whom he was himself afraid. This Agrippa had long owed the emperor 300,000 pieces of silver; the imperial governor at Jamnia purposed to arrest him in order to obtain the money; he escapes and makes his way to Capri, where Tiberius receives him kindly and lodges him in his palace. On the morrow letters arrive from the governor, and then all the displeasure that Tiberius manifests is simply to forbid Agrippa access to the palace for the future until he shall have paid the debt. Later, a freedman of Agrippa informs against him; Tiberius imprisons the informer and refuses to investigate the accusation. But Agrippa insists. Tiberius replies that Agrippa had better be careful about entering upon a matter which, on being examined, may bring harm to him. Still Agrippa persists, and the language he is found guilty of having used might well have cost him his head, but he is let off with a very mild imprisonment (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 8).

At Rome the war went on which the nobles were making upon each other in the name of the emperor, and condemnations were pronounced often for motives which we find it hard to comprehend.¹ Terror still brooded over the senate, and the accusation of treason was like a sword suspended above all heads, most frequently, however, by Tacitus's own admission, smiting victims who deserved no pity. There broke out at this time one of those epidemics of suicide which have appeared in other countries.² Men killed themselves for a word spoken by the ruler, through weariness of life, even without motive, like Nerva, the old friend of Tiberius, who starved himself to death in spite of the emperor's urgent entreaties. An ex-consul fears that he may be accused; he at last kills himself in order at least to have the gratification of writing in his will invectives against Tiberius and Macro.³ The heirs wished to keep this will a secret, but the emperor would have it publicly read. He forbids Galba to draw by lot a province; he gives to others the priest's offices promised to the two Blæsi; whereupon Galba and the Blæsi commit suicide. The emperor writes to Labeo that he renounces his friendship; Labeo opens his veins, and his wife imitates his example. One Scaurus is accused on account of a tragedy in which, under the figure of Atreus, Tiberius has been recognized; his wife counsels him to die rather than make answer to the charge, and herself gives him the example.⁴ Gallus, for three years a prisoner, starved himself to death; one Vitellius did the same. Men thus made their escapes from the weary life of the prison, or from the public trial and the shame of the Gemoniæ. Reaching the limits of a long life, satiated with pleasures, others for a moment displayed the grand courage of earlier days; they draped themselves proudly in Cato's mantle, and "to the great advantage of heroism, each chose the time at which his own drama should end,"⁵ by an act

¹ See Suet., *Tib.*, 53; and Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 26.

² Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, book i., chap. xl.; book ii., chap. iii., and Brière de Boismont, *du Suicide et de la folie-suicide*.

³ We may notice, however, that these invectives against Tiberius are not very formidable: *multa et atrocia in Macronem ac præcipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit; ipsi fluxam senio mentem, et continuo abscessu velut exilium, objectando* (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 32).

⁴ It is the same Scaurus, so much censured, of whom we have before spoken.

⁵ Montesquieu, *Grand. et décad.*, chap. xxii., in part borrowing this thought from Seneca (*Epist.*, 77).

which the Stoics considered the height of virtue, calling it the "reasonable departure."¹

Apicius one day inquires of his steward how much is left to him after all his mad prodigality; he learns that it is but 2,500,000 drachmas; this not being enough to carry on his wonted style of living, he departs. You have known Marcellinus, says Seneca. He was young; he had wealth and friends and slaves; he, however, suffered from a painful malady, though not an incurable one. He asked himself whether he should not do well to be rid of physicians and of life at the same time. He called his friends together and laid the matter before them; a vote was taken on the question. A Stoic represented that life in reality did not merit so much thought, since a man shares it with animals and slaves, and it is only to eat and drink, to amuse oneself and to sleep, and always a repetition of the same things. When this becomes wearisome one naturally prefers death. Marcellinus considered the advice good; his slaves were overcome with grief; he gave them money, consoled them, and made his final arrangements. He remained fasting for three days, and was then placed in a warm bath where, in his enfeebled condition, he soon expired, murmuring gently how pleasant it was to feel oneself going so easily.²

These were men of pleasure and *ennuyés*, who, "fatigued with their idle existence, were conscious of a bitterness hidden in the very sources of pleasure."³ All over-refined society has attacks of this malady; some of the five thousand annual suicides of France are certainly its victims.⁴ In the case of accused persons the situation is different. It was for the interest both of themselves and of

¹ Εὐλογον ἐξαγωγήν, or "happy despatch."

² Seneca cites (*Epist.* 23) the words of Epicurus: "How wearisome it is to begin life anew morning after morning." A few years later Claudius sought to compel the senators to be present at the sessions of the senate; many refusing to fulfil this duty of their office he punished them, and some committed suicide: *ὥς τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι* (Dion, lx. 11).

³ Lucretius, *de Natura rerum*, iv. 1,129.

⁴ From 1871 to 1875 there has been in France an average of 5,256 suicides. (*Essai de statistique morale* of Professor Morselli, Milan, 1879.) The number in 1878 was 6,434. It prevailed in all stations of life. An inhabitant of a little town in Umbria, presenting a cemetery to his fellow-citizens, forbade the interment there of suicides or criminals (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 265, No. 1,418), a custom which the Church has preserved. At Rome it was the fashion to drown oneself from the Fabrician bridge, *ponte Quattro Capi* (Hor., *Sat.*, II., iii. 36), as Parisians hang themselves in the *bois de Boulogne*.

the emperor that everything should be done quietly, within the palace or the villa: the latter, by avoiding the public spectacle of so many punishments, diminished the odium of condemnations, since deaths apparently voluntary had the air of being so many confessions of crime; the former, by anticipating the licitor saved their property, their wives, and children, and, what in pagan belief was a matter of importance, their own funerals.¹ Moreover, whither could a man flee? The Empire was so vast! To conceal oneself was neither dignified nor safe, and Roman indolence, as well as Roman pride, revolted against asking an asylum from barbarians.

This is all true, but a time when such resolutions are possible is nevertheless an accursed epoch, and since the ruler would have had the credit of prosperity, it is right he should have the shame of murders and despair.

One of the most odious acts of the time was the assassination of Drusus. This prince merits no esteem; he had betrayed his brother and been one of the flatterers of Sejanus, and Tacitus judges him severely; but Tiberius should have respected the blood of Germanicus. The rumour having gone abroad of a reconciliation between Drusus and the emperor, the people of Rome manifested a joy which was the young man's death-warrant. Being condemned to death by starvation, for Tiberius would not permit the executioner to shed the blood of the Julian family, he supported life for nine days by devouring the tow with which his mattress was stuffed.

Agrippina did not outlive him; she allowed herself to die of starvation (18th October, 33 A.D.), although the guards strove, forcibly opening her mouth, to compel her to take food.² Tiberius basely pursued her memory, accusing her of debauchery, and causing himself to be thanked by the senate that he had not publicly exposed upon the Gemoniæ the body of a grand-daughter of Augustus.³ Thus, with the exception of Caligula, the whole

¹ *Eorum qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi.* For ordinary suicides there were no funerals: *suspendiosis*, says Varro, *justa fieri jura non est* (Servius, *ad Æn.*, xii. 603), a custom still preserved by the Church.

² Suet., *Tib.*, 53. In the Capitol is shown the urn which contained her ashes; in the Middle Ages this urn served as a standard measure for grain.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 25.

house of Germanicus was exterminated, and the opposition which it represented drowned in blood. Despotism, whether at Rome or at Constantinople, cannot act otherwise; it must needs clear the space about it, either by exile or death. But let us quit these scenes of murder, which have justly made the reputation of Tiberius detestable, and would end by distracting our attention completely from the Empire.

The administration of Tiberius in the last years of his life had the same character of firmness and good sense that had marked its earlier period.² Discipline was strictly maintained, even among the prætorians. After the death of Sejanus he gave them a largess, but he remained always their chief, never their flatterer. One of them having stolen a peacock from an orchard, he punished the soldier with death.³ The people having given way to fault-finding on account of the high price of grain, Tiberius reproached the consuls and the senate for not having repressed this licence, announced the provinces where corn was obtained, and proved that the importation was larger than in the time of Augustus. A decree of the senate and an edict of the consuls, couched in terms which recalled the early severity, reduced the people to quiet and obedience. The emperor did not even hesitate to re-establish the tax of the hundredth, which he had at first reduced by one half.⁴ The magicians had returned again to Rome, and in many cases were distracting families and the populace by their predictions; and the emperor a second time drove them out. The admission of a new Sibylline book being proposed, Tiberius refused it, being averse to such means of government and regarding as sufficient the oracles that Augustus had revised.

One year, the informers, letting the law of treason rest, had fallen upon a regulation of Cæsar, who, to combat one of the great evils of Rome, usury, had forbidden any man to keep in



To the Memory of Agrippina.¹

¹ Coin representing the *carpentum* on which the ashes of Agrippina were brought back to Rome upon the accession of Caligula.

² . . . τὰ γὰρ ἅλλα καὶ πάντα διόντως διώκει (Dion, *lvi.* 23).

³ Suet., *Tib.*, 60.

⁴ Dion, *lix.* 9; Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 13.

specie more than 60,000 sesterces, and prescribed that the rest should be placed in lands or houses throughout Italy.¹ This bad economic law had quickly fallen into disuse. Men had kept their money in hand, and many made it produce them an income. The prætor, alarmed at the number of offenders, made his report to the senate; the senators themselves were all guilty; they sought pardon from the emperor, who allowed them a year and a half to conform to the law. A senatus-consultum decreed that two-thirds of the sums called in should be employed in the purchase of Italian real estate. The immediate repayment of loans ruined many debtors, while the creditors, taking advantage of the delay which the law accorded them, kept their money in reserve to profit by the reduced price of lands which the borrowers were obliged to sell. Money was, therefore, no cheaper than before, and could only be obtained at a high rate of interest. To arrest these financial catastrophes Tiberius created a sort of loan office, establishing a fund of 100,000,000 sesterces, from which loans were made, without interest, for three years, on landed property of double the value.² This banking establishment and the abandonment of the senate's decree for the forced purchase of lands restored credit. A few months before the emperor's death a fire ravaged all the Aventine, where stood the temples of Diana, of Juno Regina, of Minerva, and of Jupiter Libertas, which Augustus had restored and filled with works of art; Tiberius renewed the largesses he had made on two previous occasions, paid for the houses that had been burned, and again expended in this munificence 100,000,000 sesterces.³

Outside Italy the provincial aristocracy was sometimes treated like that at Rome. A Macedonian noble, suspected of intrigues with a king of Thrace, was proscribed; the law against treason was fatal to two of the principal citizens of Achaia; and Marius, the richest of the Spaniards, being condemned for incest, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock.⁴ In several provinces the emperor

¹ Dion, xli. 37.

² *Ann.* iv. 16-17. This is nearly the same as the *méasures* adopted in France for the relief of commerce after 1830 and 1848.

³ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 18, 19. Tiberius confiscated the wealth of Marius and the gold-mines,

despoiled individuals who, contrary to the law of Cæsar, had too large a portion of their property in specie, and he took away from private persons and from cities the right which had been formerly conferred upon them to work mines.¹

A fact related by Josephus should dispel the idea that a sordid avarice presided over the affairs of the provinces. When the tetrarch Philip died, in 34, Tiberius united his domains to Syria, but pledged himself to expend in the country all the money that he drew from it.² To account for the formation of the treasure that he left at the time of his death,³ it is not necessary to believe in cruel exactions. The emperor's rigid economy, attested by countless facts, and continued through a reign of twenty-three years, together with the confiscations pronounced at Rome, explain it fully. Besides, he persisted in his custom of keeping the same individual long in office, which assured the provincials a government well informed as to their interests. Poppæus Sabinus had the two Mœsias, Macedon, and Achaia for twenty-four years; Arruntius had Spain for more than ten years.⁴ For eight years Lentulus Gætulicus was in command of the army of Germany.⁵ Hence, the ex-consuls no longer desired these difficult positions, which exiled them for years from Rome, and Tiberius was obliged to complain in the senate that no man was willing to go to govern the provinces or to command the armies. These refusals, which manifestly did not arise from any generous

which he held contrary to the law. Possibly the two Achaïans may have been concerned in the plot of the false Drusus in the year 31 (*Ann.*, v. 10).

¹ Suet., *Tib.*, 49. We do not know how Tiberius authorized himself to effect this concentration of mines in the hands of the State, nor the means employed by him to accomplish it, whether confiscation, purchase, or the re-opening of mines hitherto abandoned. It is possible that the reasons indicated by Suetonius are no more accurate than the information he furnishes concerning Vonones, killed on account of his wealth, Suetonius says, the cause of whose death is quite differently explained by Tacitus. On the working of the mines by farmers under government, later replaced by the *procuratores Cæsaris*, working directly for the emperor, see the learned paper of Flach, on the *Bronze of Aljustrel*, lately discovered.

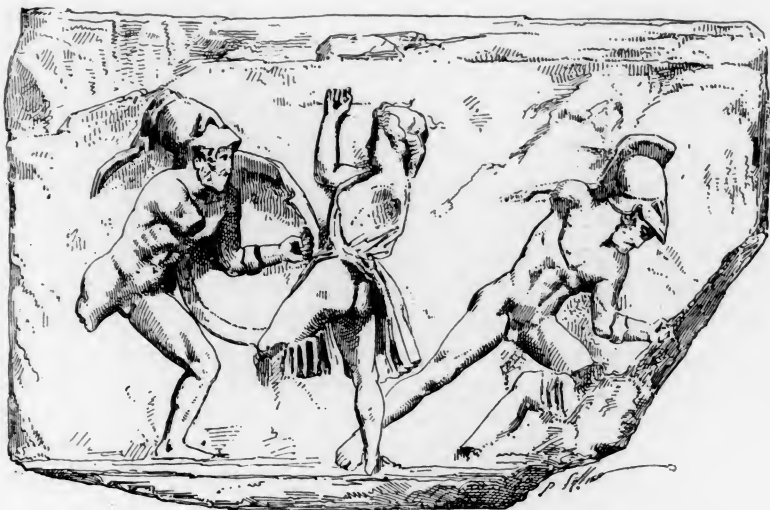
² *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6.

³ £22,000,000, accumulated in a reign of 23 years, or about £1,000,000 annually.

⁴ It is true that Tiberius, who was suspicious of Arruntius, kept him at Rome while leaving him his title. Nor did Lamia go to his province of Syria (*Ann.*, vi. 27); but this was doubtless entirely satisfactory to him, for Lamia was one of the friends of the emperor, and received from him a post of the highest confidence, the præfecture of Rome (*ibid.*). Claudius was obliged to compel by law the governors who were slow in going to their posts to leave Rome before the middle of April: *βραδύως . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένους* (Dion, lx. 17).

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 30. Cf. Dion, liii. 14; lviii. 23.

disinterestedness, are for us a sure index of the dependence in which the emperor kept his agents, and the good administration that he required of them.¹ Two of the most important provinces, Africa and Syria, had at the time of the emperor's death governors of rare probity, says Tacitus, men of antique virtue; in Egypt, the administration of the præfect Flaccus was above reproach,



Frieze from the Tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus.²

even in the eyes of Philo, his mortal enemy, so long as Tiberius lived.³ Accordingly attempts made from time to time were without effect. Tacfarinas in Africa could gather only vagabonds and bandits; Florus could not raise an insurrection in Belgica, nor Sacrovir in Gaul. In Greece a false Drusus appeared after the

¹ Sidon and Damascus disputed as to their boundary lines. The people of Damascus gave a great sum of money to the Jew Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, that he should support them by his influence with Flaccus, governor of Syria. The latter, learning this, was extremely angry with Agrippa and expelled him from his house. Few governors in the time of the Republic had been of such stern integrity (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8).

² British Museum (from Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln*, iv. p. 30).

³ These governors were Silanus and Vitellius. Cf. *Tac., Ann.*, vi. 32; *Dion*, lix. 8; and Philo, in *Flaccum*, p. 965-6. Under Tiberius, he says (p. 980 b, d), all governors who changed their authority into tyranny were accused at Rome, and judged without hatred or favour, in accordance with justice.

death of Sejanus, made a few dupes and disappeared, and Tacitus cannot tell us what became of him.

These facts prove more in favour of the administration of Tiberius than does the wordy embassy of Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and nine other cities of Asia, disputing the honour of building him a temple.¹ To us those demonstrations are sacrilegious and servile; but to the ancients they were no more so than would be, with us, the erection of a statue to a living ruler. They meant no more than this, but they did mean that Asia was content with the government of Tiberius.

On the frontiers peace was disturbed, but only for the moment, by a revolt of the Frisii in the year 28. A centurion in command in their country required for tribute skins of the bison (aurochs) instead of ox-hides; the Frisii expelled him and killed a few Romans whom they surprised on the edge of a wood. Tiberius was unwilling to enter on a war beyond the Rhine, which might set all Germany in commotion, and he left the Frisii free of tribute.

Upon the Euphrates the Roman policy had received another check. On the death of the prince established on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus, Artabanus had caused his son Arsaces to be recognized king of the country; he had then claimed, together with the treasures in Syria, the whole of Asia Minor (35 A.D.). Tiberius did not disturb himself at this. He chose one of his most judicious officers, the wise and prudent Vitellius, and invested him with supreme authority in the provinces of the East.² To this concentration of all the Roman forces in Asia he added even surer methods. A prince of Iberia, Mithridates, was encouraged to make conquest of the throne of Armenia; even at Ctesiphon an intrigue was set on foot among the disaffected Parthian nobles,³ and one of the Arsacides detained at Rome was sent into Syria. This prince having been carried off by a malady, another was substituted

¹ One of the arguments offered by Halicarnassus is that for 1,200 years the city had experienced no shocks of earthquakes, and that she could build the temple on a steadfast rock. (*Tac., Ann.*, iv. 55.)

² *Cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur . . . præfecit* (*Ann.*, vi. 32).

³ One of them, the governor of Mesopotamia, had served under Tiberius in Dalmatia, and had been rewarded with the title of Roman citizen. (*Ann.*, vi. 37.) Josephus expressly says that Vitellius bought over the kindred and friends of Artabanus. (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6.)

for him; finally, by bribes, Vitellius induced the tribes of the Caucasus to open to the Alanni the Caspian gates, and let loose these barbarians upon the rear of the Parthian empire.¹ This plan was successful; Artabanus, twice defeated in Armenia and threatened with a universal revolt, fled to the Seythii, while Vitellius, crossing the river without resistance, presented Tiridates to the crowd who rushed to meet the legions. The incapacity of the new prince rendered the chances almost immediately favourable to his rival. Driven out of Ctesiphon, he took refuge almost immediately upon the territory of the Empire; but Artabanus, rendered wise by misfortune, hastened to treat with Vitellius, giving him his son Darius as hostage, with large presents for the emperor.² Tiberius, more fortunate than Augustus, could boast in his last moments of having imposed peace upon the Parthians, after showing them the Roman eagles in the midst of their territory.

The emperor had now attained his seventy-eighth year, and for some time his strength had been failing. His mind, however, remained active; he affected gaiety to hide the decline which struck the eyes of all, and, crossing over to the coast of Campania, he made short journeys from place to place, finally stopping at Cape Misenum, in a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. Charicles, a skilful physician, came there to see him, but not professionally, for Tiberius was accustomed to ridicule those who, after the age of thirty, had need that others should teach them what was good or bad for their health.³ Charicles, in taking leave of Tiberius, felt his pulse on pretence of kissing his hand, and discerned that the emperor's death was at hand. The intention did not escape Tiberius, but instead of punishing it he ordered a banquet to be prepared, and remained at table longer than usual,

¹ *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.

² Suetonius (*Cal.* 14) and Dion (lix. 27) place the interview of Vitellius and Artabanus after the accession of Caligula. Suetonius (*Tib.*, 66) speaks even of a letter from Artabanus, full of the most outrageous invective. But I prefer to follow the testimony of the two Jewish writers who were almost eye-witnesses of the events. Josephus said (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6) that after peace had been made with the Parthians, Vitellius, by order of Tiberius, was on his way to attack the Nabathæans, when he received news of the emperor's death; and Philo declares that Tiberius had nowhere left to his successor a germ or spark of war (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1012 c.).

³ *Tac., Ann.*, vi. 46.



Cape Misenum: Ruins of a Theatre which belonged to the Villa of Lucullus.

as if to do honour to a friend who was about to leave him. Charicles, however, made known to Macro that the emperor had not two days to live; on the 16th of March he fell into a swoon which lasted a long time; on recovering, he called for his slaves, but no person replying he rose from his bed, sustained by the energy of his will, but fell dead upon the floor (16th March, 37 A.D.).¹

We have endeavoured to show Tiberius in his real character: loving neither pomp nor tumult nor the crowd; despising adulation to the degree that he found his senate too cringing;² braving hatred; scorning to flatter the people as much as he scorned their applause; measuring good and ill by the one standard of utility; a firm and active mind, but gloomy and severe, without prejudices or beliefs, except a faith in destiny,³ and, like it, impassible and implacable; suspicious, because he everywhere encountered sycophancy and treason; finally, cruel, because he felt himself menaced. Isolated, unsupported, without defender interested in his cause, he struck about him as an old lion creates desolation around his lair. Thus regarded, this great historic figure is perhaps less tragic; but I believe it more true.

Tiberius accepted the struggle which, sooner or later, was sure to come among a people lacking institutions and the customs which often take their place, and whose life consequently must be a continual revolution. Now we know what justice means in time of revolution. One of the members of the French revolutionary tribunal said: "We are not judges; they are not prisoners

¹ Many accounts were current concerning the death of Tiberius; some maintained that Caius had given him a slow poison, as if his seventy-eight years were not a sufficient explanation; others asserted that he was smothered under a mattress. The latter version, as the more tragic, is preferred by Tacitus. We give the preference to that of Seneca, who was at Rome at that time, and must have been well informed.

² Suet., *Tib.*, 27. One of his customary sayings was: *Oderint dum probent* (*ibid.*, 59), or again: *O homines ad servitutem paratos!* (*Ann.*, iii. 65).

³ Suet., *Tib.*, 69. Hence his credulity in respect to judicial astrology, a weakness which has prevailed too long for us to have the right of too much blaming him on this account. We shall rather reproach him for his indifference to the arts (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 47); although, like the good manager that he was, he finished the public buildings that had been begun, and watched over the preservation of those that existed (*Tac.*, *Ann.*, vi. 45; *Dion.*, lvii. 10), but putting his name on none. We may also attribute to the terrorism that prevailed during his latter years the absolute literary nullity of the epoch of Tiberius, quite as much as to the absence of superior talents.

at the bar! We are political enemies, they and we." This is the reason why, to inspire suspicion is to be an offender, and to be an offender is to be a criminal. It was a miserable time when false logic hardened the heart and stifled the voice of conscience. Better glorious inconsistencies, and all the chances of a generous imprudence, than these narrow battle-fields where men killed each other with forms of law; and we cannot admit that the lictor's axe was the sole means of government left to Tiberius after the death of Sejanus.

His situation was more difficult than that of Augustus, but it was possible for him to continue his predecessor's policy. He preferred, however, brutally to tear away the veil with which Augustus had concealed his despotism. The senate, the equestrian order, all the high society of Rome, trembled before him; and in his turn he trembled before all.¹ But the government and the morals of a country are intimately united: as liberty elevates men, so tyranny debases them; it speculates upon evil passions, and by so doing excites them, and society suffers doubly in its political interests and in its moral welfare. Such were the fruits of despotism; Augustus sowed the seed, and Tiberius and some of his successors reaped the harvest.

Four years earlier the chief priests of Judæa brought before the procurator a man whom they accused of calling Himself the King of the Jews and the Son of God. Pilate found no fault in Him: this kingdom of the truth seemed a very trivial danger to the Roman governor, and he would willingly have released the victim. But to Pilate, as to his master, public order was of more consequence than justice: he gave way in cowardly terror before the threatened riot: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it," he said; and the crime was committed.²

Tiberius had seen fall before him three heroes of a national resistance to the Romans: Arminius, Tacfarinas, and Sacrovir; but the hero of humanity triumphed in His death. The arms of

¹ *Timet timentes, metus in auctorem redit* (Sen., *Edip.*, act. iii.).

² The date of the death of Jesus Christ varies between the years 27 and 33, the latter date being the one generally accepted. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*) prefers the year 29. [His birth is placed at the end of 749 A.U.C., or about 4 B.C.—*Ed.*]

Christ nailed upon the cross of Calvary were to embrace the world,¹ and were to grasp upon their thrones the heirs of Cæsar and hurl them thence.

¹ Michel Angelo says in one of his sonnets addressed to Vasari: *Amor divino ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccio.*

² TI. CÆSAR. DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. IMP. VIII., surrounding the laurelled head of the emperor. Bronze coin of Tiberius.



Coin of Tiberius.*

CHAPTER LXXIV.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS (37-54 A.D.).

I.—CALIGULA (37-41).

BORN on the 31st of August, in the year 12 A.D., Caligula, whose true name, that of official acts and of coins, was Caius Cæsar, had nearly completed his twenty-fifth year. The old emperor preferred to him Tiberius Gemellus, his own grandson, but he allowed his personal wishes to give way to what he considered the public interest: the young Tiberius was but seventeen years of age, and Caligula, being older, seemed more capable of ruling; moreover, to select the youth as emperor would have probably been to insure his death. Tiberius, therefore, contented himself with bequeathing to his grandson a part of his private fortune and of the imperial prerogatives; but the senate set aside this will, and conferred all powers on Caligula alone.²

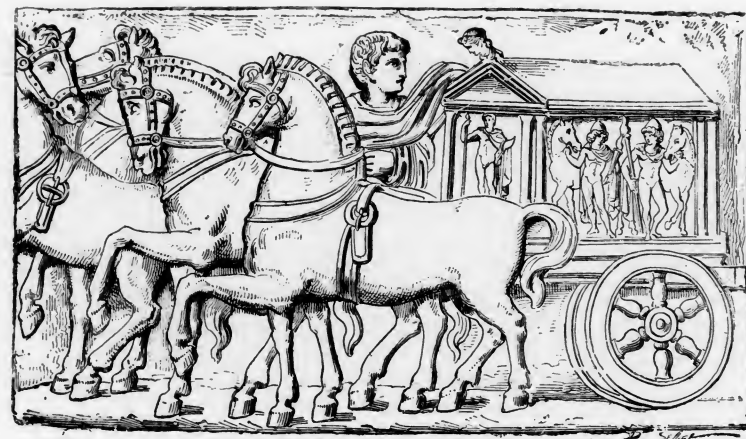
Caligula.¹

The funeral rites of the dead emperor were observed without much pomp, and with still less grief: none of the honours were decreed him which had been decreed to Augustus; the senate did not pledge itself to swear by his acts, nor was he apotheosized: all of which was nearly equivalent to declaring him a tyrant. Also his name was never placed on the list of emperors in the accession oath taken every year by the new consuls. But I think that if Tiberius had been able, as Pliny says, to witness this conduct, he would have cared but little for the affronts offered to his memory and still less for the divinity that they refused him.

¹ C. CÆSAR DIVI AVG(usti) PRON(epos) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestas)
III P(ater) P(atris), surrounding laurelled head of Caius Cæsar. Bronze coin.

² *Jus arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est* (Suet., *Tib.*, 14).

Rome, wearied by the gloomy despotism which had just ended, saluted with acclamations the opening reign of the son of Germanicus. The new emperor at first justified all hopes. He paid great honour to the memory of his mother and his two brothers, going piously in person to seek their ashes; and to remove all fear of further punishments he burned the papers of Tiberius. He forbade accusations of treason, recalled those who had been sent into exile, opened the prisons, and relieved from the sentence which

The Ashes of Agrippina brought back to Rome (British Museum).¹

had condemned them those other victims of Augustus and Tiberius, the writings of Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Severus: "Let men read them," he said, "I am more interested than any one else is that posterity should know all." To his grandmother Antonia he decreed the same honours that had been paid to Livia; to his sister, the prerogatives of the vestals; and to his uncle Claudius, the consulship. He adopted Gemellus, and conferred upon him the title of *Princeps Juventutis*. The people and the soldiers received largesses, which doubled the legacy of Tiberius.² At the same time

¹ Caligula caused the ashes of his mother to be borne to the circus in a *carpentum*. The coin represented on page 359, and the alto-relievo in the British Museum, given on this page, are memorials of that occasion. The car with four horses of the Museum, represents on the front, Mercury, guide of souls, and on the side, the Dioscuri.

² Tiberius had left 250 drachmas to each soldier of the prætorian guard, and Caligula doubled the sum. (Dion, *lix.* 2.) The urban cohorts had 125 drachmas apiece, the legions 85,

the odious tax on sales of merchandise was repealed throughout all Italy. The magistrates were restored to the full exercise of their rights, without appeal to the emperor from their sentences, and the electoral comitia were re-established; but neither candidates nor electors appeared. Finally, when he took possession of the consulship he pronounced in the Curia a discourse filled with such magnificent promises, that the senate, to bind the emperor by his own words, decreed that the imperial harangue should be solemnly read aloud every year.

With this worthy son of Germanicus, freedom and pleasure returned to Rome; the minds of men, so long oppressed, recovered their tone, and all voices, lately mute, broke out into joyous acclamations. There were *fêtes* and games and public shows: the golden age of Augustus had returned; was not this something better than liberty? A young emperor who gave everything to everybody. Incense smoked perpetually upon the altars, whither the white-robed throng, crowned with flowers, hastened daily to thank the gods for having given such a prince to the world; in three months 160,000 victims had been sacrificed, and the senate, not to remain behind, decreed that the day of Caligula's accession should be celebrated as that of a new founding of Rome.

What alarm, then, when in the eighth month of his reign Caligula fell ill! Every night the people besieged the palace to have news of him, and there were even some had offered their lives to the gods in exchange for his.

The malady arose from shameful excesses. "Caius," said the Jew Philo, who saw the emperor at Rome, "had changed his earlier mode of life, which, in the time of Tiberius, had been sober, for one very sumptuous; for all the talk was of drinking much undiluted wine and eating much food, and though the stomach were full and burdened with all these things, gluttony was not satiated. Then followed baths and emetics, and immediately thereafter again drunkenness and gluttony its comrade, and lewdness with boys and women, and other like vices which destroy both soul and body." As for Caius, his body withstood this ordeal, but not his mind. This unnamed disorder developed in him a sort of

the people 75, and, in addition to this, 11,250,000 drachmas were left to be divided among all the citizens.

furious madness; he became such as it is said Tiberius had predicted: "I let him live," said the old man, "but it will be for his own and the world's bane."

During his illness he had constituted his sister Drusilla heiress of all his property and of the Empire; some time after he married her, and when she died he made a goddess of her, under the name of Panthea¹ (38 A.D.). Gemellus caused him anxiety and was accordingly put to death. The virtuous Antonia reproaching him with his crimes, he poisoned her, or caused her to take her own life. Macro had been his confidant and protector in the time of Tiberius, but he now put to death him and his wife. Silanus, his father-in-law, shared the same fate.



Caligula and Drusilla.²

His sister Julia Livilla, after being the plaything of his caprices, was expelled from the palace and exiled to a desert island. Persons exiled, to whom the law left their fortunes and the imperial regulations allowed certain advantages, appeared to him to be leading far too easy lives, and he had them put to death, until there remained not a single great family in Rome that was not in mourning. One of the rights dearest to Roman citizens had been to be exempt in all cases from corporal punishment. A quaestor was beaten with rods, and senators were put to the



Julia Livilla.³

¹ The senator Livius Geminius took oath that he had seen her ascend to heaven, and this obsequiousness was rewarded by an imperial gift of 200,000 drachmas. (Dion, liv. 2.) See p. 23, n. 4, an inscription in honour of "the divine Drusilla."

² Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 219. The emperor is laurelled and wears the *paludamentum*. Drusilla wears the diadem. Sardonyx of three layers.

³ Bronze coin of Mitylene, with the inscription: IOYAIAN NEAN PEPMANIKOY; in the field, MYT.

torture. An old man, an ex-consul, came one day to thank the emperor for not having taken away his life, and Caligula gave him his foot to kiss. He found it amusing to oblige those who during



Caligula and Drusilla.²

his illness had made imprudent vows to keep their word; one of them hesitated: he was covered with vervain and ribands like a victim prepared for sacrifice, then given up to a troop of children, who pursued him through the streets, reminding him of his vow, as far as the Tarpeian Rock, whence he was pushed off.¹

After Drusilla he successively took away from their husbands two matrons, whom he married, only to repudiate them forthwith and send them into exile. A third, Cæsonia, was better able to retain his fancy, but at the price of what terrors! He would like, he said, to put her to the torture to know why he loved her so much; or this: "Let me but make

¹ A little city in Lusitania had also devoted itself for the emperor's recovery, but had prudently done nothing more than engage to fight his enemies, which assured to the town all the profit of this adulation without laying upon it any very formidable duty (Wilmanns, 2, 839).
² Group in the Gallery of Florence (Gori, pl. 93).

him. In the palace he strove in rivalry with charioteers from the circus, gladiators and buffoons. Three ex-consuls were one day solemnly called together to hear him sing: it was Nero in advance.

He was indeed an insane tyrant playing with the fortunes and lives of his subjects, one of those malevolent beings who kill for the pleasure of killing, and his reign was the orgy of power. For the honour of humanity we are compelled to believe that the attacks of epilepsy from which he suffered when a child, and the late disorder with which he had been afflicted, had so enfeebled his mind that it gave way under the strain of power. It is rarely that the sudden change from circumstances of constraint and terror to a position of unbounded liberty can be made with impunity. Caius was at the period of life when the countenance blooms with youth; but a pallid complexion, sunken eyes and hollow temples, together with premature baldness, gave him the aspect of an old man. His sleepless nights, his inordinate activity, and his fever of debauchery show an unsound body as well as a perverse mind: *turbata mens*, says Tacitus.



Cæsonia.¹

It has been believed that in the case of Caligula, as of Tiberius, history has been too severe, and that Suetonius and Dion have gathered a mass of anecdotes of which the credibility is far from certain. It may be that certain details of his life have been exaggerated, and that the follies which this troubled spirit could commit unawares have been overstated. But throughout his reign we find nothing of the administrative sagacity of Tiberius. This man, yesterday a slave, has no other idea than now to make men tremble before him; he takes pleasure in causing terror to his wives, his favourites, to all who approach him. "Let men hate me, if only they fear me," he was wont to say. He had a monomaniac desire of power, and studied before a mirror to make himself appear terrible. He would have neither counsellors nor ministers, and

¹ Head of Cæsonia on a bronze coin of Carthago Nova. In the field, SAL. AVG., the Health of the Emperor; a singular legend for a coin struck with the head of the woman who, in order to attach her husband to her, administered to him love-philters, which appear to have been potions aggravating his malady. (Suet., *Caius*, 50.)

with an ostentation of power, provoked peoples and individuals, without considering that the Germans might reply with a dangerous war; the Jews, whose faith he insulted, with a revolt; the populace of Rome, subjected to a tax, with a riot; the senate, whose lives he threatened, with conspiracies; and Chæreas, whom he maltreats, with a dagger's thrust. In the midst of a banquet he began suddenly to laugh, and the consuls inquiring what might be



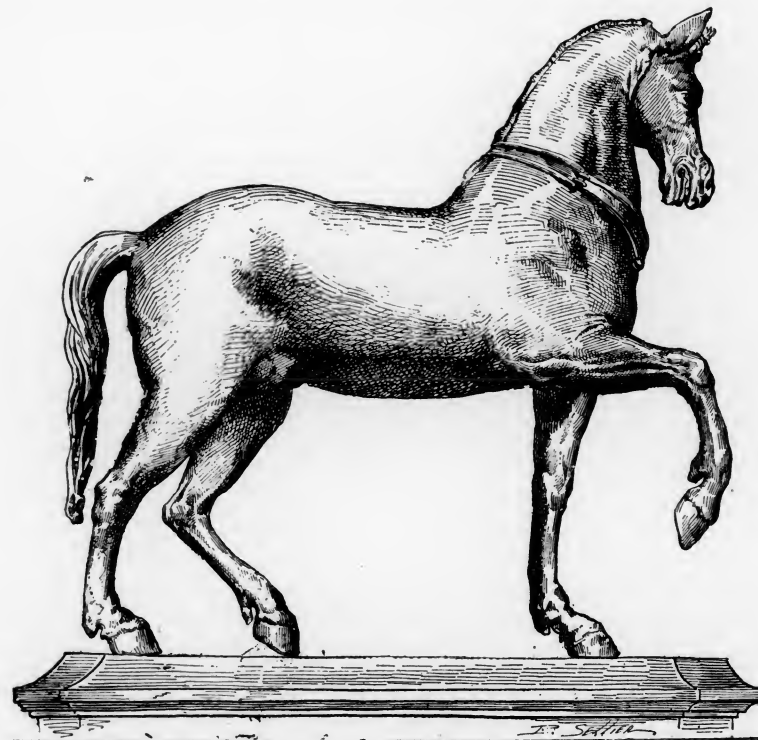
Statue of Caligula (Farnese Museum).

the amusing idea which enlivens the emperor: "I was thinking," he said, "how, with one word, I could have you both strangled." This idea of imperial omnipotence is his only statecraft, and with a maniac's tenacity he pushes it to its last consequences: he makes himself a god upon earth, and believes in his own divinity. "I have power over everything and over every person," he says: *omnia mihi et in omnes licere*.¹ With the conditions of power established by Augustus this was logic; but it was the logic of a madman.

¹ Suet., *Calig.*, 20. This was, indeed, the recognized theory: *Jure civili*, says Seneca (*de Benef.*, vii 4), *omnia regis sunt . . . ad reges potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietates*; and ch. 6: *Cæsar omnia habet, fiscus ejus privata tantum ac sua: et universa in imperio ejus sunt, in patrimonio propria*. Louis XIV. was wont to speak thus.

² Sen., *de Ira*, i. 20, and Dion, lix. 28.

a storm, he answered back the lightning by hurling into the air great stones from a machine, with heavy roar, to imitate the noise of the thunder. The most venerated sanctuaries were profaned. He ordered the statue of Jupiter to be brought to him from Olympia, and commanded that his own image should be set up at Jerusalem



Bronze Horse in the Museum at Naples.¹

in the temple of Jehovah, the most cruel of insults to the Jews. Fortunately, Petronius, the governor of Syria, took upon himself to gain time by directing the workmen to proceed slowly with the statue. Had the tyrant lived, this prudence would have cost Petronius his life. The same fate awaited Memmius, who, in Greece, had dared to disobey the order, reporting threatening

¹ Monaco, *le Musée National de Naples*, pl. 97.

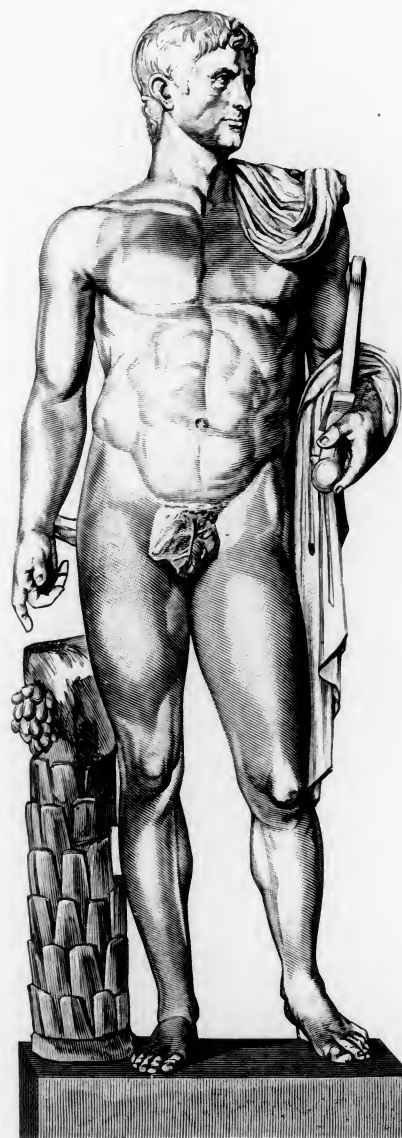
presages, in the hope of saving the great work of Phidias. Augustus and Tiberius permitted the Greeks of Asia to build temples to them; Caius took possession for himself of the one which the Milesians were erecting to Apollo, and he ordered the construction of others in Rome itself, where he instituted in his own honour sacrifices and priests; a strange priesthood, indeed, for he had made his horse, Incitatus, one of the new order, and proposed also to make the animal consul. It was a way of insulting the republican magistracy.



Neptune of the Lyons
Museum.¹

The veracity of those who relate these mad acts will perhaps be doubted, but any one who reads the *Legation* of Philo, which is a sort of official document, cannot hesitate to believe that Caius was quite in earnest about his own divinity. Philo, a person of importance in his own nation, and one of the eminent men of this age, had come to Rome with four other deputies to claim justice in behalf of the Alexandrian Jews. The first time that Caius saw the envoys he said to them, gnashing his teeth: "Do you not belong to that nation who are enemies of the gods, and, when all men recognize my divinity, despise me, and prefer to my worship that of your nameless god?" And again: "Those fools, who will not believe that I share the divine nature!" "The cause of the hatred that Caius bore to our nation," says Philo, "was his conviction that the Jews would never agree to his wish to be considered God." These words render probable the following conversation between Caligula and Vitellius, reported by Dion: "You know Diana is my wife. Do you see her when she comes to visit me?" "O master, it is only permitted to you gods to see each other." And this Vitellius was one of the great personages of the Empire.

¹ Beautiful bronze statue found at Lyons in March, 1859, in the bed of the Rhône, and near its left shore, between the bridges of the Hôtel-Dieu and of the Guillotière. Height, 59 inches. (In the Museum of Lyons.)



Chartier

Caligula in heroic Costume. (Statue found at Otricoli.—Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, No. 262.)

Shall we go on to tell of his frantic extravagances, his suppers costing 10,000,000 sesterces, his floating villa, vessels decorated with purple, gold, and gems, bearing trees, vines, gardens, and porticoes, and of that bridge thrown across the sea between Baiae and Puteoli, 3,600 paces long, made into a highway resembling the Appian Way? He went over it himself on horseback, in full armour, the troops following him with their standards, for it was an enemy conquered, Neptune. However, the emperor had been afraid of him, and before entering upon the bridge had offered a sacrifice to appease the sea god's anger, and had made another offering to Envy, in order to turn away, he said, all unfriendly influences. The next day there was a chariot race, the emperor leading, in the costume of the charioteers of the circus. Then a splendid *fête* by torch-light, and, for a last pastime, the guests thrown at random into the sea. In less than two years he had spent all the vast hoard of Tiberius;¹ condemnations supplied more money. One of the victims had less wealth than was believed: "I was deceived about him," Caius said; "he might have lived." He required a share in all fortunes disposed of by will; and if the testator kept him waiting too long for his legacy the emperor would send him poison. However, he was not pleased with speedy deaths; he would have his victims killed slowly: "Strike so that they may feel themselves dying," he said to the executioner.

Taxes of all kinds were established: two-and-a-half per cent. on all sums in litigation before the tribunals of the Empire; taxes on porters, on courtesans, and even, which was more serious, on all articles of food offered for sale in Rome. These taxes were levied before they had been publicly announced; and when there arose complaint, he caused the decree to be written in so small characters and put up so high that it could not be read, which gave him the opportunity to find many people guilty of disobedience. So the people and the emperor, so much in harmony at the beginning of the reign, ended by having no mutual goodwill; the former murmured, the latter punished. One day, in the theatre, the soldiers charged the audience; another time there was

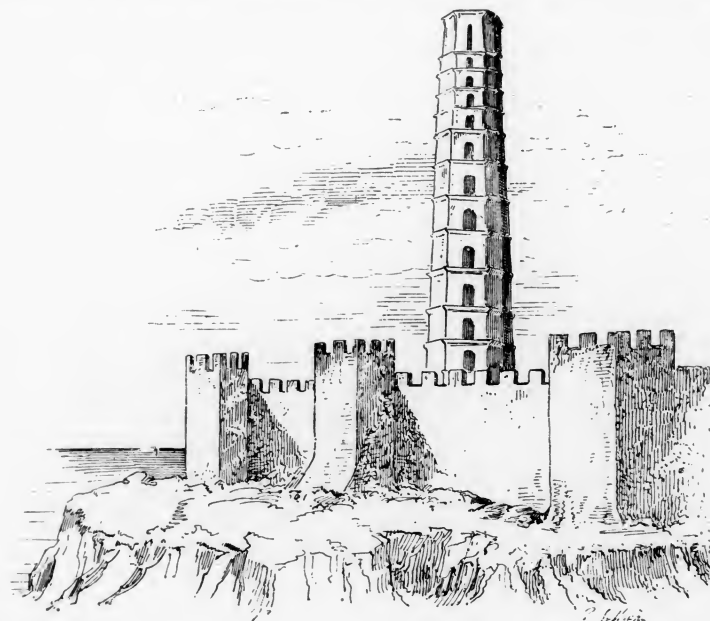
¹ See above, p. 361, n. 3.

a scarcity of criminals to throw to the wild beasts, and the emperor ordered the spectators to be taken instead.

He is malicious, and envious to boot. All fame of other men irritates him, and he would suppress history if he were able, as he suppresses the individuals who are in his way. He caused the statues of illustrious men erected by Augustus in the Campus Martius to be thrown down; he proscribed the poems of Homer, and endeavoured to drive Livy out of the libraries as a false and bad historian. The science of the juriconsults seemed to him useless; he often said that he would render it needless to consult any other authority than himself. Family traditions were held by him in no more respect; he prohibited to the noblest Romans their family distinctions: to Torquatus, the collar, to Cincinnatus, the hair worn in curls, to Cn. Pompeius, the surname Magnus.

"This prince, who seemed to live only to show," says Seneca, "what the greatest vices could do in circumstances of the highest fortune," notwithstanding, coveted military glory. In the year 39 he set off suddenly from Rome and made a journey to the banks of the Rhine; here he set on foot great preparations and even crossed the river. But on a false rumour of the enemy's approach he threw himself from his chariot, dashed on horseback to the bridge, and finding it encumbered with baggage trains, caused himself to be passed from man to man over their heads, in order the sooner to reach the left bank. He could not, however, disguise from himself that it was not thus that Cæsar fought, and, to efface the memory of this panic, he planned another campaign. During a banquet it was announced to him that the Germans had appeared; he valiantly left the table, went out against the enemy, and returned in the evening with some prisoners. These were the soldiers of his German guard, whom he had ordered to conceal themselves in a neighbouring wood. Upon this he wrote to the senate, reproaching them for their idleness and self-indulgence, while their emperor was exposing himself to fatigues and dangers for the sake of Rome. Some real Germans at this time made an incursion into Gaul, and Galba defeating them, the emperor had for once a lucid interval, and rewarded the general instead of punishing him. A British chieftain having presented himself before Caligula, the emperor at once decided on a great expedition

into that island (40 A.D.). The story is that the legions, having arrived on the shore of Gaul opposite Britain, were ranged in battle array, and that Caligula with his fleet sailed out a short distance, tacked, and came in again; then landed and seated himself on a throne prepared upon the shore, and ordered all the



Caligula's Lighthouse at Boulogne.¹

trumpeters of the army to sound an attack. The legions looked about for an enemy, and Caligula showed them the sea and ordered them to pick up the shells scattered along the shore. These were the spoils of Ocean, and he reserved them for the imperial palace and the Capitol.² A monument immortalized this victory: a light-

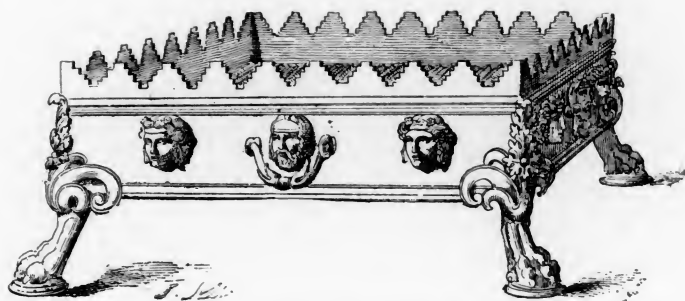
¹ This lighthouse was standing as late as the year 1644, when it fell. It was called *la tour d'Ordre*. It was octagonal, made of different coloured stones, with twelve stories, each a foot and a half less in width than the one below it. Each face of the first story was 24 feet in length, which made 192 in circuit and about 63 in diameter. It is believed that the height was about equal to the circumference. The origin of the name was either *Turris ardens*, or *Hodre*, the name of an adjacent farm. Henry VIII. of England, having taken Boulogne in 1544, surrounded the tower with four bastions, making a fortress of it. (E. Allard, *Travaux publics de la France*, p. 22.)

² Merivale has no faith in this grotesque story, and I agree with him in thinking that

house was erected on the very spot to guide in future days the passage of his fleets over this conquered sea. He had already seven times caused himself to be proclaimed *imperator*, but nothing less than a triumph was sufficient now to recompense such glorious deeds.

In order to have captives to march behind his chariot, he carried off all the Gauls of lofty stature, or, as he said, "of triumphal height," obliging them to clothe themselves like their neighbours of Germany, to learn their language, to let their hair grow long and dye it red.

The soldiers, no doubt, laughed at these strange victories,



Foculus, or Brazier, in the Museum at Lyons.

profiting, however, by the largesses thus procured for them. Once they themselves were menaced. Caligula, at a loss for amusements, chanced to remember, in the midst of the German legions, that twenty-five years before they had revolted against Germanicus, his father. Under pretext of haranguing them, he called them, unarmed, around his tribunal, and the cavalry were already making a ring outside to decimate them when the soldiers, suspecting danger, ran to their tents and snatched their arms. The blow had failed: Caius left his discourse unfinished, abandoned his project and fled.

In the interval of the military labours which detained him two years in Gaul—to the misfortune of that country—he lived

probably vague promises of submission brought to him by some British chief authorized Caligula in limiting his expedition as he did.

in the midst of banquets and executions, mingling them with each other, for he had always an executioner at hand ready to put a man to the torture, while the emperor sat by at table, or to put to death some provincial whose crime was his wealth. Every seven days he settled his accounts, periodically preparing lists of persons whose fortunes were necessary to him. The registers of the provinces were brought him, and he marked for death, in proportion to his needs, those who were best able to supply him.

One day, having lost at the gaming table, he went out for a moment, selected a few names at random from his registers, then returning, said to his companions at play: "You gain but a few drachmas when you win, while I, at one stroke, add 150,000,000 to my property."

At Lyons another whim possessed him: he sold the wardrobe of the imperial palace and the furniture of his villa. He acted as auctioneer himself, and it was necessary to pay, not what the object was worth, but for the associations attached to it, and, especially, for the rank of the auctioneer. "This," he said, "belonged to my father, Germanicus; this vase is Egyptian, it was the property of Antony, my ancestor; the divine Augustus wore this mantle on the day of Actium;" and the gold pieces fell into the hand of the imperial huckster. All the wearing apparel of the Cæsars, the cast-off garments of the demi-gods of Rome passed under the hammer. One day, as he was selling what remained of the material of certain entertainments that he had given, he observed Saturninus asleep on a bench: "Keep watch on the ex-prætor," the emperor said to the crier; "he nods his head to let me know that he wants to buy." And at every motion of the luckless sleeper the sum went higher. When Saturninus awoke he found that he was owing 9,000,000 sesterces; but he had bought thirteen gladiators.

Augustus had established at Lyons contests in eloquence and poetry; Caligula added to the rules of the games that the vanquished should themselves pay the prizes gained by the victors, and that authors of unsuccessful writings should efface them with their tongue, the alternative being to leap into the Rhone. A Gaul, however, had the honour one day of telling the emperor

what he thought about him. The emperor was seated, in the character of the Olympian Jupiter, grave and silent as became a god. The man of the people makes his way through the crowd, approaches the emperor, and stands gazing at him like one amazed. The god, flattered by the impression, inquired of the man what he thinks of him. "What do I think of you?" rejoined the man; "I think that you are a very great fool." Caius was in good humour that day and pardoned the frankness. The bold Gaul was, it is true, only a poor shoemaker.

A Roman did not fare so well—rather, we may say, fared better, since Seneca has consecrated his name and his courage. Canus Julius had had a sharp altercation with Caligula, and had maintained his cause very independently. "Be satisfied," said Caligula, dismissing him, "I've ordered your execution." "Thanks, excellent prince," replied Canus; and he passed in the most perfect tranquillity of mind the ten days given him by the law of Tiberius. He was playing at dice when the centurion came to him. "Wait," he said, "till I count the points." His friends beginning to weep, he said to them: "Why do you lament? You dispute with each other whether the soul is immortal, and I am going to find it out." "What are you thinking of?" one of them said to him, at the moment when he was about to be struck. "I am curious to observe," he said, "whether in this moment the soul is conscious of quitting the body."¹

But let us leave to Suetonius and Dion the shameful history of the third Cæsar. To relate it we should require their language, which hesitates at no word, no fact. What profit can we find in associating longer with this monster of cynicism and cruelty? He gives us the measure of what Rome could endure in the way of tyranny; but do we not know it already?

It will not be useless, however, to relate one last scene, in which we shall see to what degree of insolence Caligula had risen, to what degree of baseness the senate had fallen.

¹ Sen., *de Tranq. an.*, 14. Dion (lix. 9) attributes, however, to Caligula one good measure: the equestrian order being considerably reduced, he added to it many provincials. To diminish the power of the proconsul of Africa, he gave the command of the legion which was kept in that province to the legate of Naniia, a regulation which was continued. (*Ibid.*, 21.)

Caius had long decried Tiberius and encouraged those who spoke ill of him. On a certain occasion, however, he pronounced in the Curia one of those discourses which were destined, he thought, to secure him the reputation of the greatest orator of his time. His theme was the praise of Tiberius and the decrying of those who attacked the late emperor. "To me, your emperor," he said, "it is allowable; but as for you, you are guilty of impiety in accusing your former ruler." He then produced the papers which, at the beginning of his reign, he pretended to have destroyed, caused them to be read aloud by his freedmen, and derived from them proof that it was the senators who had caused the death of all those punished during the late reign: some by acting as accusers, others, as false witnesses; all, by rendering the decree of condemnation. And he added this terrible truth:

"If Tiberius committed acts of injustice you should not during his lifetime have loaded him with honours; nor, by the gods, have blamed after his death what you yourselves sanctioned by your decrees! It is you whose conduct towards him was irrational and guilty; it is you who killed Sejanus, corrupting him by the pride with which your sycophancy inflated him. And all this gives me cause to think that I have nothing good to



Caligula. Bronze from Herculaneum.

expect from you." The discourse ended with the inevitable rhetorical figure taught by the schools and required by the rhetoricians. Tiberius himself appeared upon the scene: "You are right, my son, and what you say is true; let there be no friendship nor compassion for any of them; they all hate you, and if they can they will kill you. Do not seek to please them, and care nothing for their words. Your own pleasure and safety are the sole rule of all justice. Secure these, and these men will honour you. If you act otherwise you will seem to have obtained a profitless honour, and will surely perish, the victim of their plots. He who commands is feared and revered while he is strong, but surrounded with dangers when he is believed feeble." Lest this page of eloquence should be lost for posterity, Caius immediately had it engraved on a tablet of bronze.

The senate believed that they had reached their last hour. Under the lash of these insulting words and threats, could they arouse themselves to some manly resolve? On the following day they re-assembled. The orators were effusive in praise of the frankness of Caius, and his piety towards Tiberius and his indulgence towards the senate. The Conscrip Fathers decreed him an oration for having conquered his just displeasure towards them, and, to celebrate for ever his magnanimity, decreed that on the anniversary of the day when this memorable harangue was read them, as well as on the festival of the Palatine, sacrifices should be offered to "His Clemency," while his golden statue should be borne to the Capitol surrounded by choirs of boys of the noblest families, singing hymns in honour of the prince.

Men of this sort were mutually worthy of each other; the subjects were well fitted to the master; all deserve to be subjected to the eternal and inexorable law of expiation which rules history and makes its morality: the victims paid for their cowardice and their vices, the executioner will soon pay for his cruelties.

The strength of a power is not measured by its violence. Notwithstanding the shedding of so much blood, this unhappy reign had weakened the springs of government, abased the dignity of the Empire, and compromised the public peace. To make the administration more uniform, Tiberius had seized every opportunity to reduce the allied kingdoms into provinces; Caligula took no

care of this kind: he made a gift of Ituræa to Soæmus; of Lesser Armenia to Cotys; of a part of Palestine to Agrippa; and gave back the Commagene to Antiochus, adding, as a compensation to the latter for the nineteen years of royalty that he had lost, a part of Cilicia and a large sum of money. It is true that not long after he took them away from Antiochus.

Artabanus had driven Mithridates out of Armenia; instead of sustaining the exiled king, Caius threw him into prison and left Armenia to the Parthians. He called to his court Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, then, irritated by the curiosity of which Ptolemy was

Agrippa.¹

the object, he caused him to be killed. Upon which the subjects of Ptolemy revolted, and it took a long war to subjugate them.

Tiberius was severe towards every one; he had broken to obedience the nobles as well as the soldiers, the people and the provinces: each man was held in his place. Caius replaced this necessary discipline by the most capricious tyranny and a boundless confusion. In the theatre he liked to see nobles, beggars, and knights pell-mell, a faithful picture of his own mental chaos and contradictory wishes. To-day he ordered his soldiers to charge the crowd, to-morrow he threw millions to the same populace. He distributed among them fruits and rare birds, and he allowed Rome to come to its last sack of corn, while *fêtes* and games were ready for the public daily. His soldiers received largesses for exploits that were ridiculous, but he had the intention of decimating a whole army. He flattered the prætorians and allowed them the greatest licence, and surrounded himself with a Celtic legion formed of coarse and violent Germans who enjoyed all his favour. When the provinces sent deputations to him he received them surrounded by his architects, and made them follow him through his palaces and gardens, listening to the workmen and the orators at the same time, and mingling his orders to the masons with his responses to the envoys. And so it came about that nothing was accomplished, and had it not been for a few men trained in the school of Tiberius disturbances would have broken out at many points.²

¹ Bronze of king Agrippa, with the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 4. At the time of his death there was not in the city corn for

For nearly four years no man among the people, the army, or the provinces protested against these saturnalia. The whole Empire, like the Gaul at Lyons, stood stupefied and amazed before this great folly. However, when Caius returned from Gaul



Passage between the Palace of Tiberius and the Public Palace.¹

to Rome with threats against the senators, whom he refused to allow to come to meet him, and even against the people themselves, wishing that they had but a single head so that he might

over seven or eight days. The only useful things accomplished by Caius were the construction of two aqueducts at Rome, and some harbours near Rhegium and in Sicily for vessels bringing corn from Egypt; and even these he did not finish. (Suet., *Calig.*, 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1; Frontin., *de Aqued.*) He also placed the great obelisk in the circus of the Vatican. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 40; xxxvi. 9; Suet., *Claud.*, 20.) It is worthy of note as a trait of the manners of the time that he allowed men to come to the public spectacles unshod, "a very ancient custom," adds Dion (lix. 7), "observed sometimes in the tribunals, often practised by Augustus in the assemblies, and abandoned by Tiberius;" on the other hand, he authorized the senators to be present at games wearing Thessalian hats as a protection against the sun. (*Ibid.*)

¹ Wey's *Rome*, p. 394. It was here that Caligula was killed.

destroy the nation at one blow, conspiracies began to be formed against this madman, "whom nature had brought forth to be the opprobrium and destruction of the human race."¹ Two of these plots were discovered; the third succeeded. A tribune of the prætorians, whom the emperor had insulted, claimed the right to strike the first blow. On the 24th of January, 41 A.D., there were celebrated in a temporary theatre erected at the foot of the Palatine games in honour of Augustus, at which Caligula was present. About noon he went out to take a little rest, and letting his German guard take the street which led to the palace, he himself entered a narrow passage by way of short-cut. Chæreas, on duty that day, followed him with the other conspirators, and struck him on the head with a sword. Caligula would have fled, but fell, pierced with thirty wounds.²

II.—ATTEMPT AT REPUBLICAN RESTORATION; CLAUDIUS (41).

We have seen what absolute power had made of the first two successors of Augustus; how in his latter years it disturbed and corrupted the firm intellect of Tiberius, and from the very beginning perverted in Caligula a feeble and ill-balanced mind, staggering under the two-fold intoxication of an unlimited authority and unbridled passions. This Empire, having in truth no institutions, thus passed, at the hazard of circumstances, from a tyrant to a madman, and if at any time it met with a good ruler had reason to thank the gods.

At the news that an attack had been made upon Caligula, his German soldiers rushed into the palace, killing every one whom they met: three senators thus perished; then, returning to the theatre which the emperor had just quitted when he met Chæreas, they made their way among the audience with drawn swords and threatening aspect. The senate, the knights, and even the people

¹ Sen., *Cons. ad Pol.*, 36.

² Chæreas sent to have Cæsonia and her daughter, a child of two years old, killed. The senate desired to brand Caius with infamy. Claudius opposed this, but caused his statues to be removed during the night. He was not solemnly declared a tyrant; but his name, like that of Tiberius, was not inserted in the list of emperors, "and," says Dion (lx. 4), "we make mention of them neither in our oaths nor in our prayers."

were in momentary expectation of a massacre; wounded men were brought into the theatre, and the heads of those who had been killed were heaped upon an altar. A public crier now announcing that the emperor, instead of being slightly wounded as had at first been reported, was actually killed, the zeal of the Germans suddenly abated and they withdrew. The senate, thus set at liberty, immediately assembled in the Curia, and as the populace gathered outside with loud cries for vengeance, they sent out Valerius Asiaticus, who harangued the mob, openly applauding the deed. "Would to the gods," he said, "that I had struck the blow myself!"

The republicans at last found the situation perfectly suited to their wishes. It seemed to them that the experiment of a monarchical government which many had desired had now been tried, and as Caius left neither son nor colleague in his office of tribune the future was not at all compromised. Nothing hindered a return to the Republic. This Chæreas asserted; his accomplices in the murder demanded the suppression of the imperial office; there was talk of abolishing the memory of the Cæsars and destroying their temples, and the senate indulged the pleasing hope of being once more supreme. They attempted to take advantage of the tumult and to turn the revolution to their own advantage. A decree honoured Chæreas and his friends with the title of restorers of liberty; a second decree condemned the memory of Caius, and ordered the citizens to withdraw into their houses and the soldiers into their barracks, promising to the former a reduction of the taxes and to the latter largesses. Chæreas had made sure of the soldiers of four cohorts;¹ and in the evening he did what had not been done before for nearly a century: he asked the watchword of the consuls, who gave him the word "Liberty."

As in the Ides of March the conspirators had made no plan for the moment following the murder, and they wasted time in words. But where could power lie, since arms and the toga were no longer united? The senate was incapable of taking a firm resolve; and against that decrepitude there now arose a firm, confident, and decided power, the prætorians, who had a fortress just

¹ Josephus does not say whether prætorian or urban.

outside the gates, who had arms and military discipline, and an evident interest in not allowing the State to return to the days when all things were transacted in the Curia and the Forum, and nothing in the army. While the senate deliberated and decreed, they acted. Claudius, the long-despised brother of Germanicus, had been with his nephew a short time before the attack; terrified at the tumult and cries of death he had hidden himself in a dark corner. A soldier discovered him and pointed him out to his comrades. He begged for his life: "You shall be our emperor," was the reply, and as he trembled so that he could not walk they carried him in their arms to the camp. The senate sent a deputation to reproach Claudius with this usurpation of the supreme power, and commanded him to await their decision, at the same time inviting him to come and deliberate with them.



Claudius.¹

The senators talked resolutely, but they soon perceived that the four cohorts of Chæreas, the slaves whom the nobles threatened to arm, together with the consular authority and the decrees of the senate, were all the feeblest of obstacles in the way of these veterans. As a last resort they fell on their knees before Claudius and conjured him to avoid civil war, adding in a lower tone that

¹ Statue, with uncertain and embarrassed air, found at Gabii. (Museum of the Louvre, Clarac, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., No. 142.)

if he desired the Empire he should at least ask it of the senate. Claudius at first replied in guarded language; then, guided by the advice of the Jewish king Agrippa and by the urgency of the officers, he gave to a second deputation only the promise of a moderate government in which the senate should have a large share of influence. Finally, with a decision which he had not hitherto shown, he harangued the troops, made them take the oath, distributed money among them¹ and promised largess to their comrades of the legions, on the model of the *donativum* granted to his soldiers by a victorious general when he received the triumph: it was the price of the Empire which Claudius paid. The soldiers later instituted this custom as a law, and finally it made of the Empire a domain sold at auction to the highest bidder.

The consuls, who would have come into possession of the supreme power had it been restored to the senate, did not readily relinquish the hope of success. During the night they posted at suitable points, to prevent a surprise, the urban cohorts, who were always jealous of the prætorians, and consequently devoted to the senate, and they gathered around the Capitol a great number of gladiators, marines, the soldiers of the night-watch, and a few prætorians whom Chæreas had gained over. These precautions being taken, they convoked the senate before daylight in the temple of Jupiter. But the situation was becoming perilous; fear caused the timid to hesitate: scarcely a hundred senators responded to the consuls' appeal. The latter appeared determined to run all risks. In answer to a pacific message from Claudius they exclaimed that they would never willingly return into servitude: this was practically a declaration of war. Claudius sent

¹ 15,000 sesterces, about £150 apiece. (Suet., *Claud.*, 10.) Josephus says 5,000 drachmas, or about a fourth more. Notwithstanding a slight difference in weight, the drachma was regarded as equivalent to the Roman denarius, which was always the quadruple of the sesterce. The *donativum* was a very bad custom, but of republican origin, like the distributions of corn at reduced price. On occasion of a triumph the general always gave up to his soldiers a portion of the booty. Thus Pompeius gave 6,000 sesterces to each soldier (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 6), and Cæsar, 20,000 (Dion, xliii. 21). The republican usage was entirely legitimate, because these largesses after a victory were made at the expense of the vanquished, and distributed solely among the victors; but the imperial was not so, for the *donativum*, drawn from the public treasury and granted to all the soldiers without distinction, was not the recompense of a service rendered to the State.

word to them by Agrippa that since they were desirous to fight, they had better select a battle-field outside the city, to the end that Rome at least and the temples should not be stained with the blood of citizens. This confidence on the part of the new emperor, and the desertions which multiplied from moment to moment among their defenders, had begun to shake the confidence of the most resolute, when suddenly a great tumult was heard outside the Curia: the soldiers on whom the republican party had counted were demanding an emperor, only leaving to the senate the choice of the worthiest. Immediately in the assembly the partisans of the Republic were silenced and personal ambitions broke out. Minutianus, a brother-in-law of Caligula, offered to undertake the burden of Empire; Valerius Asiaticus claimed the honour of that self-sacrifice; Scribonianus, and others still, offered themselves. While the consuls were discussing the claims of these candidates, Chæreas harangued the soldiers, reproaching them that they had so little love for liberty: "You ask an emperor," he said, "bring me an order from Eutrychus, and I will give you one." This was a charioteer of the circus who had been a favourite of the late emperor, and had had great influence with him. When the name of Claudius was shouted he exclaimed: "After a madman, do you desire an idiot? But wait, I will bring you his head." The harangue, however, did not succeed. "Why should we fight against our friends and brothers when we have an emperor?" said one of the soldiers; and, drawing his sword, he led the way to the camp of the prætorians, and all the others followed him. The populace had already preceded them thither, also eager to beg some largess in honour of the new reign.

The senators, left alone, reproached each other for their mad temerity; and in their turn, deserting the Capitol and their republican hopes, hastened to meet the man whom they had just now proscribed. Many were wounded by the angry prætorians, and there would have been many lives lost but for the intervention of Claudius. Chæreas, however, had set a dangerous example, and the new emperor, returning to the palace, ordered his immediate execution. He went bravely to his death. "Do you know how to kill a man," he said to the soldier employed to take his life. "Your sword may not be sharp enough; this one, which I used

for Caligula, is better;" and he insisted on being killed with the same weapon. A few days later the *parentalia* were observed, funeral festivals when each man made libations in honour of his ancestors. Many citizens included Chæreas in these domestic sacrifices; they besought him to be propitious to them, and implored him to forget their cowardly submission. Some of his accomplices perished with him; one of them, Sabinus, whom Claudius wished to associate with himself in the Empire, refused to live, throwing himself upon his sword with such violence that the hilt of the weapon entered the wound.¹

Such was this abortive revolution. It exhibits what we already knew: the ambitious hopes of certain of the nobles; the servility of the senate; the indifference of the citizens, now become mere town's folk; and, most of all, the weakness of the civil power which could not retain the obedience of a few cohorts. It was not the army, it was not the twenty-five legions, who had sold the Empire and conquered the senate without drawing the sword, without going out of their camp; a few thousand prætorians had been enough. How rapidly had the veil fallen which the first ruler had skilfully thrown over the imperial constitution! The fourth emperor was merely the man elected by a few of the soldiery to whom were united the Roman mob. The twenty-seven years since the death of Augustus had been enough to secure that preponderance of the army which we have shown to be inevitable as the result of the imperial institution.

We see thus what was at the basis of the Empire: namely, a permanent cause of revolution; Claudius shows us what there was at its summit: a perpetual terror. All his life he had before his mind the recollection of the assassinated Caius. He surrounded himself with guards, not only in the palace, but in the senate and even at banquets, where soldiers instead of servants waited on him, while other soldiers, spear in hand, kept watch around him.² No one approached him, not even a woman or child, until it had

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1-4, and *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 18. He shows that "the people regarded the imperial power as a necessary restraint upon the designs of the nobles, their acts of violence, new civil wars, and all the evils from which Rome had hitherto suffered."

² Dion, ix. 3. This order remained from the time of Claudius the etiquette of the imperial court. The habit of searching those who were to appear in the presence of the emperor ceased under Vespasian. (Suet., *Claud.*, 35.)



Claudius. (Statue found at Herculaneum.—Museum of Naples.)

been ascertained by search that the person had not concealed weapons, and he would not enter the apartments of his friends until all the corners had been searched and even the mattresses of the beds examined. But precautions were useless in such a case; Claudius did indeed secure himself against sword and dagger, but he perished by poison. He fears and watches all the world, and it is his wife who kills him!

Claudius was fifty years of age at the time of his accession. Almost always ill during his childhood, he had been left in the charge of women and freedmen, in the house of Livia his grandmother and Antonia his mother, who treated with severity the poor child whom they dared not show to the people or to the soldiers.¹ Everybody at last forgot him, and at the age of forty-six he was not even senator. There had been found only one office to give him, that of augur, and this man, incapable of understanding the present, was intrusted with the task of foretelling the future. He consoled himself by literary labour, writing several books, some of them in Greek, the Annals of the Carthaginians and of the Etruscans among others, two books whose loss history deplores.² He even made an attempt to introduce into the Latin language three new letters, and Quintilian considered this a needful reform.³ This patient study devoted to foreign peoples dissipated from his mind more than one Roman prejudice, and gave him intelligence enough frequently to see clearly into public affairs,⁴ but not enough will to govern even his own household. As he had not a nature capable of recovering from the effects of ill-treatment, he remained throughout his reign what he had been in his youth, when he trembled before Livia and Antonia

¹ He belonged not even by adoption to the Julian family, which by aid of that legal fiction had until then perpetuated itself in power. He was grandson of Antony and Octavia through Antonia his mother, and of Livia through Drusus his father, the brother of Tiberius. Augustus alone seems to have been friendly towards him, as appears in fragments of the emperor's letters. (Suet., *Claud.*, 4.)

² He founded at Alexandria a new *museum* [College], where every year his two histories were to be read aloud (Suet., *Claud.*, 42): a puerile vanity, but at the same time an effort to oblige the Alexandrian Greeks to take an interest in something besides themselves, and to study the people of the West. This Claudian College, whose existence the emperor doubtless secured by an endowment, was still in existence in the time of Athenæus, in the third century.

³ Suet., *Claud.*, 41-2; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 13; Josephus, *Ant. Jul.*, xix. 2; Quin., *Inst. or.*, xii. 10.

⁴ Οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεινῶς ἐπαρτεν (Dion, ix. 3).

—without manners or dignity, because he was without character; irresolute, because he had taken up a habit of obedience, so that



Messalina (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,297).

for profligacy, and by the servants who had grown old in his house.

with good intentions he allowed himself to do almost as much evil as a detestable ruler. The tyrants of Rome may be characterized by their kind of cruelty: that of Tiberius was cold and intentional; that of Caligula was savage; that of Claudius was timid and stupid. This emperor was the first to give the Romans the strange spectacle of a government of the seraglio, in which women and slaves are all-powerful. He was ruled by his wife Messalina, whose name has remained a synonym

III.—THE FREEDMEN; REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS.

In the early days of Rome the constitution and society were alike hostile to the freedmen, because all was done publicly and by the citizens. The case was very different under the Empire, where the ruler needed confidential agents whose lives were intimately associated with his own. The freedmen have an extremely bad reputation, and they deserve it for their spirit of adulation and servility. But, in the first place, this was the spirit of all men after the battle of Actium, of the greatest as well as the

smallest, so that it was not a new element in Roman society; and, secondly, the class of freedmen necessarily furnished distinguished individuals, for it resulted—as I have already said, and it must again be repeated, on account of the prejudice existing to the contrary—from a sort of natural selection made amidst the immense multitude of men fallen into servitude. Among those born slaves there were many who had some right to believe themselves the sons or brothers of their masters; and, besides this, we know that the most intelligent were carefully instructed and retained in the household, as scribes, grammarians, preceptors, artists, physicians, or confidential agents to manage their master's fortune. How many Turkish slaves, for the same reasons, have become pachas or viziers!

The freedmen of Julius Caesar took no part in public matters; those of Augustus were kept in the shade. But it is a necessity for absolute governments to make use of men of low degree. The kings of France were accustomed to bestow the great civil offices of the State upon new men only, and Louis XIV. systematically excluded therefrom the high aristocracy. For similar reasons, the Roman emperors acted likewise, when the reality concealed by Augustus was laid bare by his successors, and the State became the household of the ruler. The only minister of Tiberius was a knight; under Claudius, his servants ruled—four freedmen, Callistus, who pretended to have saved his master from poison under Caius; Polybius, his reader; Narcissus, his secretary; and Pallas, his man of business. The latter maintained that he was a descendant of the kings of Arcadia, a genealogy which the senate accepted, where a Scipio extolled the self-sacrifice of the noble freedman, who, for the sake of public utility, allowed himself to be counted among the servants of the emperor. These men were rapacious, but they were also devoted and faithful. "Narcissus," says Tacitus, "would have given his life for his master."¹ Claudius, who had just now seen the senate proclaim a Republic, could not associate it with himself in the government as Augustus had done, nor could he take for counsellors those nobles who so

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 53 and 65; Dion, lx. 34. For their power over Claudius, etc., cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 3; xiii. 4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 53; Suet., *Claud.*, 28; Juvenal, i. 108; and *The Cæsars of Julian*.

recently were disputing among themselves for the supreme power, and would so often conspire against himself. Freedmen were "safer," and he gave himself up to them completely, "and was," says Suetonius, "their servant rather than their ruler," "having," adds Tacitus, "neither affections nor hatreds other than as they were commanded to him by these men."¹

Contrary to the habit of *parvenus*, the freedmen of Claudius showed themselves favourable to those of their own condition, and placed them in all offices. Until the reign of Hadrian the freedmen were the real administrators of the government, filling all the posts in government offices, and many foreign posts beside.² Moreover, to those who look elsewhere than at Rome, this government of the *libertini* lacked neither activity nor even honour.

Claudius began his reign wisely. After having caused the senate to give him most of the titles that his predecessors had enjoyed, he proclaimed a general amnesty. He knew that Galba in Gaul had been eager to obtain the imperial power, and he now placed the latter among his best friends; we have seen that he attempted to save the life of Sabinus. He annulled all the laws of Caius, but caused the observance of the laws of Augustus. He abolished the new taxes, recalled exiles, restored property which had been unjustly confiscated, and restored to the cities the statues that Caius had taken away from them. He prohibited prosecutions for treason, and gave back to their masters or else caused to fight in the arena those slaves who had served as informers. Of an easy disposition, and averse to display—to which he had never been used—he readily fell into those simple ways of living which had promoted the popularity of Augustus, but he lost the advantage of them by strange inconsistencies. Thus, he went to visit his sick friends, but accompanied by a numerous and noisy escort; he rose up before the magistrates, and paid court to the consuls and the senate as if his entire hopes rested upon their favour,

¹ Suet., *Claud.*, 29; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 3: . . . nisi indita et jussa.

² See Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der röm. Verwalt.* In the provinces all the officials connected with the government were slaves or freedmen of the emperor, and they lived and died in office; so that, as in the ministries of modern governments, the governors were temporary, but the officials under them remained, preserving the records and the tradition, the understanding and the habit of business. See the report of L. Renier upon the excavations in the cemetery of Carthage, 29th April, 1881.

but the Conscript Fathers were obliged to deliberate under the surveillance of the prætorian prefect and his tribunes, admitted in arms into the Curia. He loved to decide causes, and his judgments were frequently good, following equity but contrary to the law, to the great scandal of the jurisconsults, who saw nothing but texts and formulas. A woman refused to recognize her son, and the proofs were not clear; upon this he orders her to marry the youth, thus forcing her to confess herself his mother in a new judgment of Solomon. His undignified manner, his shaking head,



Games: Combats of Animals (Painting from Pompeii).

his trembling hands, his stammering, and sometimes ridiculous sentences or vulgar jokes, deprived him of public consideration. "I have heard old men say," relates Suetonius, "that the lawyers abused his patience to the extent of recalling him when he was leaving his tribunal, and catching hold of him by the toga. A Greek advocate dared to say to him: 'And you also are old and imbecile!' A Roman knight, after having reproached him with his folly and cruelty, threw a stylus and tablets in his face, which made a deep wound on the cheek."

To keep the granaries at Rome always full, he made regulations in the interest of the grain trade which lasted for a century after his time, and he made himself responsible for all the losses that the contractors suffered by tempests; but he allowed his wife and his freedmen to take advantage of the markets and cause famines, so that one year it became necessary to establish a

maximum. He sent to execution those who usurped the title of citizen; he deprived of it all those even in the Oriental provinces who did not speak Latin; but Messalina and Pallas sold it to those who were willing to pay a high price. Augustus had abolished the censorship; Claudius restored the office, and exercised it rather with the taste of an antiquary enamoured of old usages than with any feeling of the real needs of the Empire. He censured citizens who had absented themselves from Italy without his permission, accepting no defence made by the lawyers; he caused a silver chariot of precious workmanship to be broken while in the seller's possession, and published twenty edicts a day—to advise all to have their tunns well tarred because the vintage was good; to recommend yew-tree juice as a remedy for the bite of vipers; to announce an eclipse, etc.¹

The populace, who saw themselves reflected in this timid and gossiping old man, sensual and gluttonous, a great lover of games,² of law-suits, and of coarse jokes, cruel but not malicious, a grumbler but not ill-tempered, a moralist about trifles, very paternal and good-humoured in reality,³ in spite of his facility at killing—the populace loved him, and one day, at a rumour of his assassination, there was very nearly a riot.

The freedmen, who had not been long enough in power to be entirely demoralized by it, and who felt themselves as well as their master surrounded with perils, replied to conspiracies by executions, but they also sought to justify their influence by services to the State. There was seen what probably no man expected: namely, in Rome, wise measures and useful labours; in the provinces, a liberal administration; in foreign affairs, a firm policy recompensed by success.

¹ This eclipse of the sun being about to take place on the emperor's birthday, he was anxious lest it should be considered a bad omen, and he announced it to the people with all the explanations which could at that time be given. During his censorship, which office he shared with his friend Vitellius, the father of the future emperor, he made a revision of the senate. Instead of punishing the unworthy, he contented himself, following the example of Augustus, with obtaining their voluntary resignation (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 25).

² He remained in the theatre even while the people went home to dinner. (Suet., *Claud.*, 33.)

³ One of his guests stealing from his dinner-table the golden cup which the guest had used, Claudius invited him to dinner on the following day, and gave him a vessel of clay to drink out of. (*Ibid.*, 32; cf. 38.)

The civil legislation of Claudius was remarkable; since the time of Augustus there had been made no innovations of equal importance.¹

Slaves who were disabled by illness had been hitherto, as a rule, either killed or abandoned by their masters; the more fortunate were carried to the temple of Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber, and whether they died or recovered was the god's affair; Claudius decided that abandonment meant emancipation, and that the master who killed his slave should be considered guilty of homicide.² This law attests the movement taking place in ideas of which Seneca is the most eminent exponent in the pagan society of his time. Slaves are not as yet really men, but they have ceased to be things which the master uses and abuses at will. At the same time it was not desired by the freedmen who surrounded the emperor that the ties of patronage should be relaxed: a statute forbade the freedman to testify in court against his patron, and threatened the enfranchised person, who should give cause to his late master to complain, with a return into slavery.

The old Roman law sacrificed the family to the *paterfamilias*. The Velleian decree defended women against their own ignorance of legal subtleties in reference to obligations,³ and the mother who had lost her children obtained by an imperial statute the right of succession in common with the other agnates, *ad solatium liberorum amissorum*. To soldiers marriage had been prohibited, but their rights as fathers of families were now recognized.⁴

According to the early laws, no son in the life-time of his father could acquire any absolute property. This incapacity was by degrees destroyed by the theory of *peculia*, and especially

¹ [Or so human. Thus, the State secretary, called a *cognitionibus*, and now established, saw that the charges brought against a prisoner were properly drawn up. Cf. Mr. Cuq's memoir on this officer.—*Ed.*]

² Suet., *Claud.*, 25; Dion, lx. 29. Under Tiberius an amelioration had already been made in their situation. See p. 317.

³ On the subject of this decree Ulpian says (*Digest*, xvi. 1, fr. 2, § 2): . . . *providentia amplissimi ordinis laudata: quia opem tulit mulieribus*. . . .

⁴ . . . *τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαιώματα*. See Dion, lx. 24. Dion might have added that this privilege was accorded to the soldiers *post honestam missionem*, as is said in the inscription, No. 2,652, Orelli, which belongs to the year 52 A.D., in the reign of Claudius. See also chap. xci. § 2.

of the *castrense peculium*, established by Augustus, which gave the son whatever property he might have acquired by military service. Claudius developed this new right, and endeavoured to protect the sons of living fathers against themselves and against usurers. The latter were forbidden to lend to such persons on interest. Tacitus is of opinion that this law arrested their rapacity. It is not probable that this was so; besides, in prohibiting creditors from bringing an action against a son, even after the father's death, the Macedonian¹ decree deprived them of a guarantee which would render loans more infrequent, but also more onerous to the honest debtor.

Augustus had attacked the very rigorous doctrine of the ancient law in regard to legacies, by giving obligatory force to codicils, and the settlements in trust thus became real testamentary dispositions; the jurisdiction in cases of trusts had hitherto been committed to the magistrates of Rome, as an annual commission, but was now intrusted to them in perpetuity. Claudius also conceded it to the provincial authorities,² which was one step more in the direction of liberality.

The gains of the advocates had become enormous; an unsuccessful and disappointed suitor had about this time killed himself in the house of one of them. Claudius would willingly have suppressed them altogether, but this was absurd; he, however, fixed the sum of 10,000 sesterces as the maximum fee in any case:³ and their demands probably became the greater in consequence, for such laws defeat themselves. Public holidays took up quite a portion of the year and diminished the public industry; the number of them was reduced,⁴ but can we suppose that idleness was thereby diminished? These measures were, however, indices of a creditable intention.

The upstarts who ruled in the emperor's name essayed too to maintain the distinction of ranks. A man cannot become a citizen unless speaking Latin fluently, though he were one of the most important in his province; he cannot become a knight

¹ *Digest*, xiv. 6, 1.

² *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 23.

³ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, xi. 5, 7.

⁴ *Dion*, lx. 17.

if his father was a freedman, nor a senator unless his ancestors for at least three generations have been citizens; the quaestorship, that is to say, the entrance to the public career, is permitted only to such as have fortune enough to give the people a gladiatorial combat. A free woman who had an intrigue with a slave fell into servitude.¹ The public order was carefully protected in Rome. The Jews again disturbed the city,² and men exiled from the provinces came in crowds: both classes of persons were expelled from Rome.

The aristocracy, deprived of office in Rome, held in the army the highest positions, and these Claudius allowed them to retain. A military regulation determined the promotion of the knights, who began by the command of a cohort, then obtained a troop of cavalry, and lastly arrived at the legionary tribuneship. It was not desired, however, that the army should remember its noble chiefs for too long a time, and it was forbidden to soldiers to hold the place of clients towards a senator, or to go to salute one in his house. A similar spirit of distrust was manifested by the emperor when he took possession of the right which had hitherto belonged to the senate, of granting permission to senators to travel outside Italy, and when he forbade the erection in Rome without special authorization of the statue of any person whatever. And even the populace saw itself deprived of its last liberties, its royalty in the theatre: severe edicts punished those who had insulted there an ex-consul and some noble matrons.³

In public offices Claudius made but few changes. The right hitherto exercised by the prætors of naming the guardians of wards passed into the hands of the consuls, and the procurators

¹ It was Pallas who proposed this law: the senate thanked him for it by giving him the insignia of the prætorship and 15,000,000 sesterces. He refused the money, already possessing, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, xii. 53), 300,000,000 sesterces, or about £3,200,000.

² *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 25: . . . *impulsore Chresto*. This name, which in Greek signifies useful, good, was common at Rome among the slaves; it is to be found in many early inscriptions. It has been conjectured that the Chrestus of Suetonius was a Greek converted to Judaism. According to Dion (lx. 6), the Jews being too numerous at Rome to be driven out without causing disturbances, Claudius contented himself with prohibiting their assemblies; but, if Suetonius be of doubtful veracity in the matter of these anecdotes, the secretary of Hadrian is no less so when he refers to legislative acts. The Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 2, attest the edict of expulsion.

³ *Tac.*, *Ann.*, xi. 13.

of the emperor obtained the privilege of having their decisions considered equivalent to the emperor's own.¹ The first of these measures seemed a good one, because it was impossible to look too high for an impartial protector of widows and orphans;² the second was bad, since it gave to financial agents an importance of which they made a bad use, and in making the public treasury at once judge and party in its suits, renewed the disadvantages of the old tribunals presided over by the knights. Three ex-prætors were employed to collect what was due to the State, and certain administrators of the public funds being accused of malversation, Claudius did not punish them at all, but examined their accounts, broke the contracts they had made, and watched their successors more closely.³

Claudius undertook great public works, says his biographer, but he cared less for the number of them than for their utility. He completed an aqueduct which had been begun by Caligula, bringing from a distance of forty miles the water of many springs, and distributed it in the higher parts of the city;⁴ he also constructed a harbour at Ostia, a work which Cæsar had not had time to execute, building two piers with a mole in front of them, on which was erected a tower like the lighthouse of Alexandria, as a guide for vessels by night.⁵ This work was of the highest importance for Rome, since without it the provisioning of the city in the matter of grain would have been very ill secured. The corn of Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa arrived very readily in Rome, the voyage being short and made in the summer. It was otherwise with the Alexandrian vessels, which did not sail until September; in the most favourable circumstances they required ten or twelve days to reach the mouth of the Tiber, and at

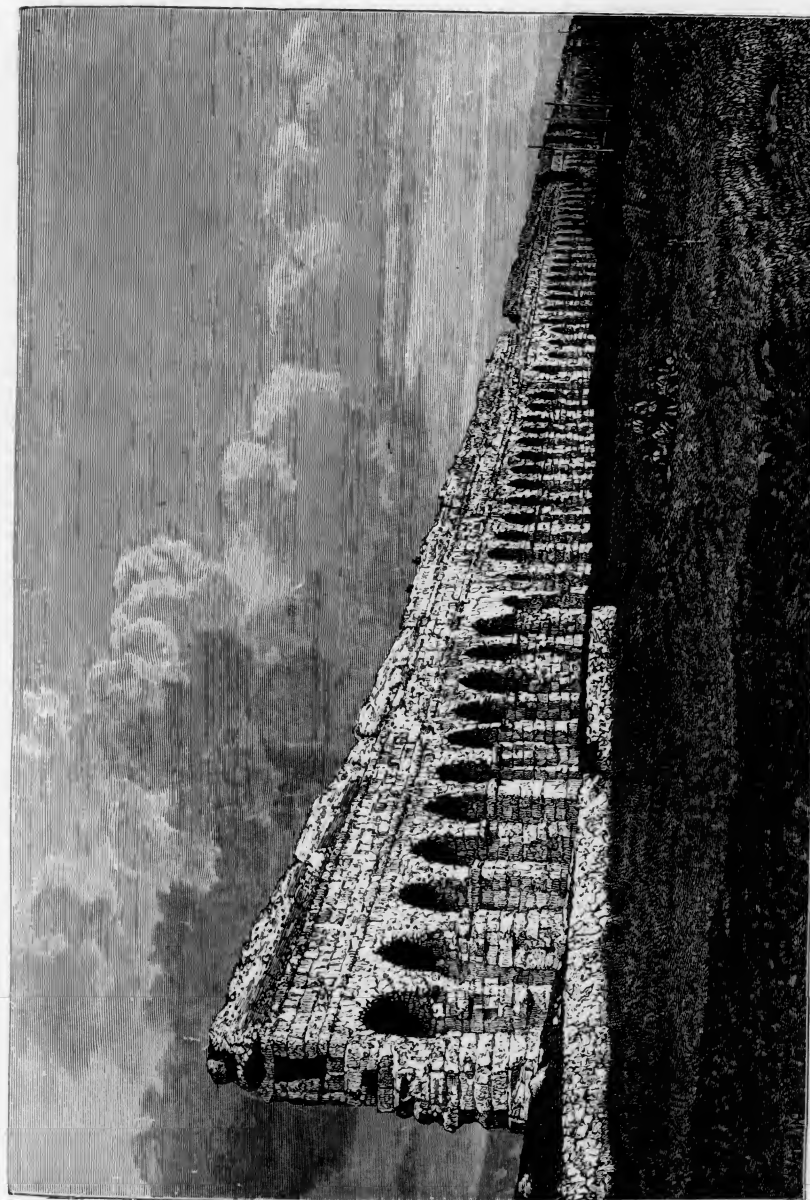
¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60. He even gave the consular insignia *procuratoribus ducentariis* (Suet., *Claud.*, 24).

² Marcus Aurelius returned to the original system, changing it for the better. See chap. lxxxi.

³ Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις ἐποίησεν (Dion, lx. 1). He took from the quæstors their Italian prefectures, abolishing the office, but restored to them the management of the public funds.

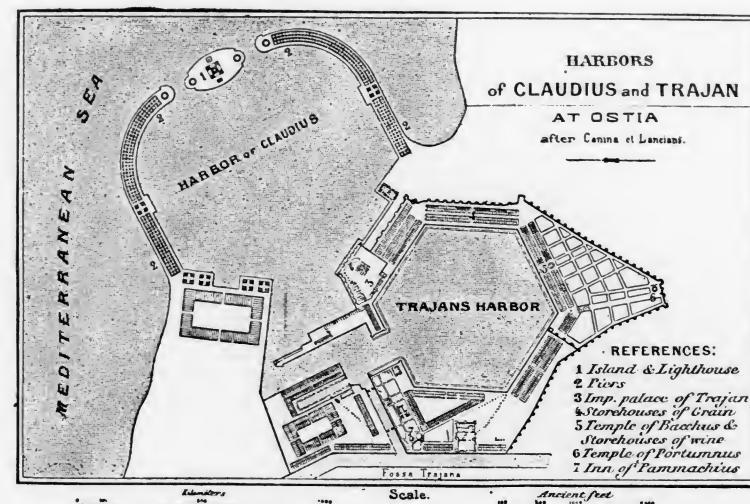
⁴ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 13, and especially Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24: "All previous aqueducts," says the latter author, "must yield to that of Claudius. Its cost was 55,500,000 sesterces. It is one of the wonders of the world."

⁵ Ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Γόμης ἄξιον (Dion, lx. 11).



Aqueduct of Claudius in the Campagna.

that time of year the Mediterranean storms begin.¹ Places of refuge had, therefore, been prepared in the straits of Messina for vessels disabled by tempests. When from Sorrento or Capri the messenger ships (*tabellarius*) were recognized by their peculiar sails, which announced the approach of the Egyptian vessels, all Campania came down to Naples and Puteoli to salute the merchant fleet as it entered that incomparable bay, protected by the great island of Ischia.² There it was in safety, but from Puteoli to



Harbour of Claudius at Ostia (Restoration: *Monum. dell' corrisp. arch.*, 1868, pl. 4).

Rome there was a voyage to make of about 125 miles along an open coast, which was very dangerous in stormy weather, and at the end of the voyage only the muddy mouth of the Tiber. Claudius resolved to transform this bad anchorage in a large, safe harbour. The engineers of that time declared it impossible; but the emperor persisted, and a basin of 170 acres was excavated. At the same time he encouraged the ship-owners by holding himself responsible for losses at sea, and granting privileges to those who should equip vessels for the transport

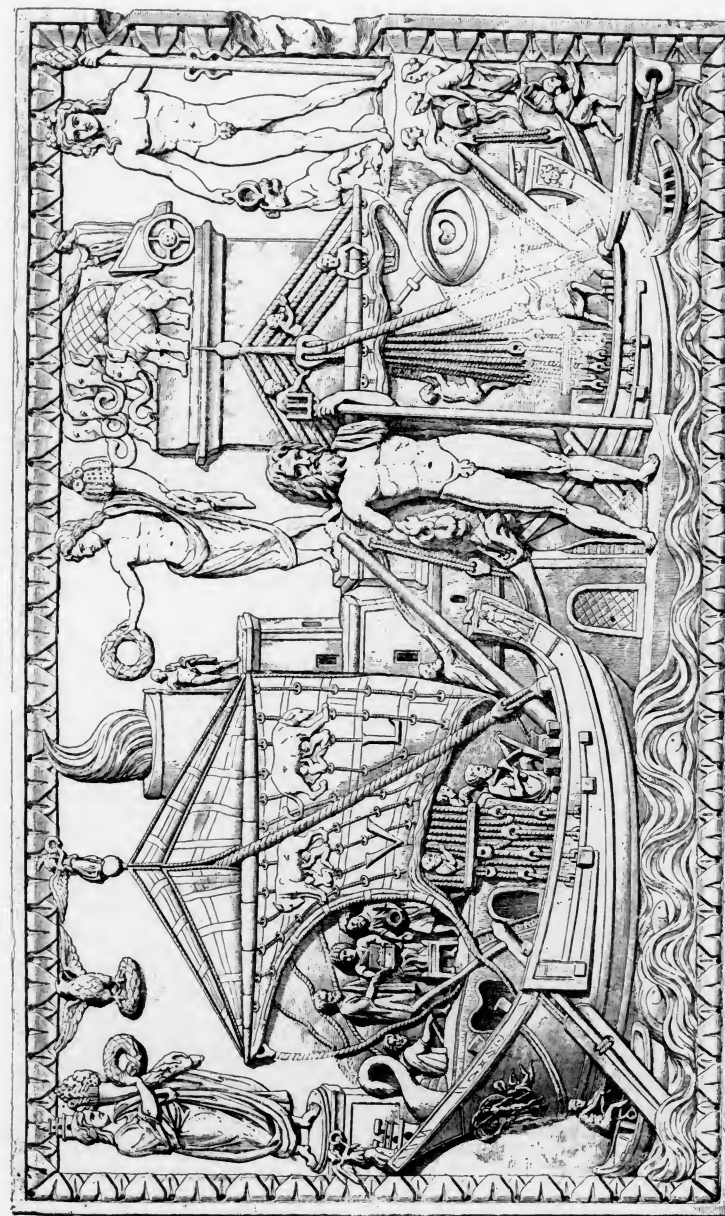
¹ See vol. iii. p. 328. Egyptian corn could not be brought down the Nile till after the inundation, which begins at the end of June or in the first days of July, attaining its mean height in the middle of the latter month and its maximum in the last ten days of September.

² . . . *Gratus illarum Campaniæ aspectus est* (Sen., *Epist.*, 77).

of grain: to citizens, the benefit of the laws in respect to *bona caduca*; to matrons, the rights attributed to mothers of four children; to Latins, the citizenship, when they had for six years brought corn to Rome in a vessel carrying at least 10,000 modii.¹ The harbour was excavated, and Rome had nothing more to fear from famine; unfortunately the Tiber carries away so much of its banks that its delta grows on an average thirteen feet annually, and the harbour of Claudius is now a mile and a half from the sea.

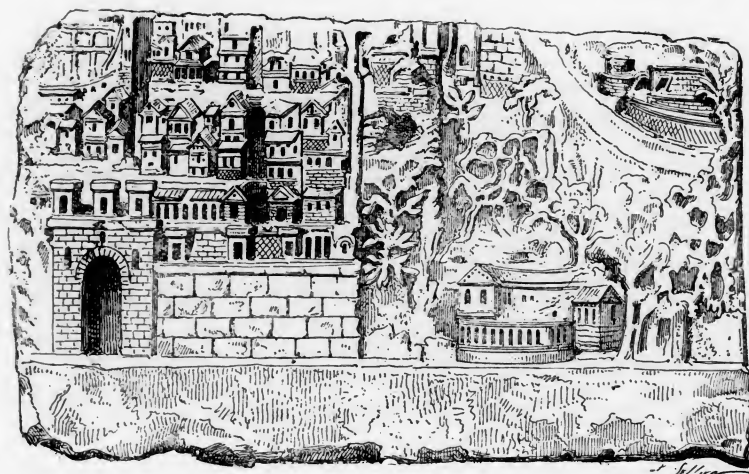
It was thought also needful to improve the navigation of the Tiber, which could be done either by deepening its bed or increasing the volume of its waters; this idea led to the reconsideration of a project presented to Augustus, namely, the draining of Lake Fucinus. This lake, which covered a surface of 39,520 acres, but whose greatest depth did not exceed sixty-five feet, had no natural outlet, hence rains and the melting of snows caused sudden freshets and disastrous inundations, during which the waters more than once rose nearly fifty feet. The Marsi had long begged to have this work executed, which would have given fertile lands to agriculture. It was now undertaken by Claudius. Constrained to abandon the original

¹ See, on next page, a bas-relief discovered in 1863 in the ruins of the portico surrounding the *emporium* of the harbour of Ostia. In the upper left-hand corner is the *Annona*, having on her head the figure of a lighthouse, and bearing a cornucopia and a crown; next the eagle, then the lighthouse itself, the Genius of the Roman people, and a quadriga of elephants: an emperor seated in the chariot, either Claudius, Nero, or Trajan, while in the right-hand corner Bacchus holds a vase which pours out gladness. Three nymphs on the pedestal of Bacchus are emptying an amphora in token that here the *vinaria naves* should unload. Between the two vessels stands Neptune calming the waves. The ship on the right hand, already moored, is reefing its sails and discharging its cargo; upon the sail is represented the eye which during the voyage has kept off evil influences. On board the vessel on the left, which is entering the harbour, the master is offering the sacrifice of prosperous return; on the stern and the top mast are winged figures holding crowns. On the sail are represented the she-wolf and the twins, announcing, without doubt, the nationality of the vessel, and the letters VL, which indicate either the owner or the port from which she sails. Cicero says that carrying vessels were of about 2,000 amphoræ (*Fam.*, xii. 15), and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 22), that their capacity went as high as 3,000. The amphora was equal to nearly six gallons, weighing fifty-five pounds; the vessels of which Cicero and Pliny speak contained 12,000 or 18,000 gallons, that is, fifty-five or eighty-two tons, which is the capacity of vessels now engaged in the carrying trade in wines on the Italian coast. Cf. N. Guglielmotti, *Delle due navi romane*, 1866. For corn the vessels were larger. Those of 10,000 modii, to which Claudius granted a privilege, averaged ninety-five tons, and the advantage of making them still larger soon became apparent. Lucian (*the Ship*, 5) speaks of an Egyptian vessel bringing corn into Italy which was 180 feet long (120 cubits), forty-six feet wide, and the same in height.



Bas-relief of Ostia (Coll. Torlonia). See explanation, p. 412, note.

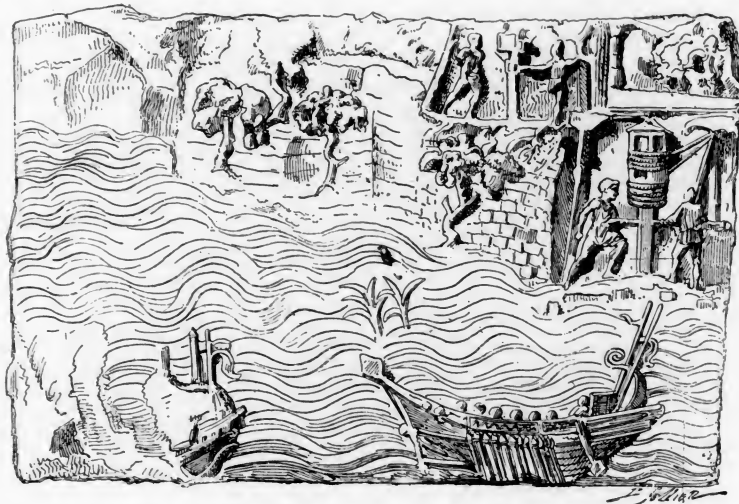
design of opening a communication with the Tiber, he decided to throw the waters of the lake into the Liris. For eleven years 30,000 men worked incessantly, cutting through the very hard rock and shifting beds of clay an underground channel over 18,000 feet in length, with a section averaging from eighty-six to ninety-six square feet, into which the labourers had access by thirty-two shafts, varying in depth from sixty-five to 425 feet; the same number of small slanting tunnels served for the removal of the excavated material. As this colossal work



Bas-relief found in Lake Fucinus, representing the buildings on its banks (*Revue arch.*, 1878).

approached completion, 19,000 men in twenty-four triremes gave a representation of a naval battle upon the lake. For fear this army, condemned to perish for the amusement of the people, might make some desperate attempt, another, formed of the prætorians and cavalry of the emperor's guard, lined the edge of the lake on rafts covered by a rampart, whereupon were reared *catapultæ* and *balistæ*. The combatants defiled before Claudius, crying out as they passed him, like the gladiators in the arena: *Morituri te salutamus!* "We, about to die, salute thee!" Claudius, delighted to see them so ready to bear their share in the entertainment, and not willing himself to remain behind-hand with them, responded: "I also salute you!" But at

this they throw down their arms and refuse to fight. The emperor had pronounced their pardon. And Claudius was seen in his robes, running along the edge of the lake, threatening some, persuading others, and finally deciding them to murder one another. What a state of society, what an age, when



Lake Fucinus after the completion of the engineering works.¹

19,000 criminals could easily be brought together at one time, in one place, to die, as a public amusement! Evidently, we cannot judge these men with the rigour of our modern ideas as to the sacredness of human life.

¹ Works of the Claudian channel (*Revue archéol.*, 1878, pl. xiii. A.) Land-slips prevented this channel from working successfully, and Nero abandoned the work *successoris odio* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24). A French company, in 1855, went on with the work of Claudius, giving the tunnel a section of 215 square feet. The Claudian canal, opened in 1869, and completed in 1874, by Prince Torlonia, has poured more than 1,000 million of cubic yards into the Liris, has given to agriculture the surface occupied by the former lake, 39,520 acres, and rendered healthful a whole region hitherto decimated by swamp-fevers. See upon these works and those of Claudius, an interesting paper by M. Geffroy, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences morales*, July, 1878.

IV.—PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND WARS.

The provincial administration was vigilant, as in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but with more liberal views. Officials guilty of extortion were punished on complaint of the provincials, among others Cadius Rufus,¹ who was accused by the Bithynians. Claudius often repeated in the senate that a good administration of any public office was a service to himself personally. "Do not thank me," he would say to those whom he had appointed, "it is not a favour that I do you; we are sharers in the burden of Empire, and I shall be indebted to you if you fill your office well."²



Coin of Cadius Rufus.³

Augustus had sought to establish in the midst of the subject nations a Roman minority, which should be the point of support to the government, a minority strong enough to make order everywhere respected; and he strove by his laws to render it worthy of its mission. But, with this system, the government of the provinces was carried on only in the interest of a pacified Rome. The effort was useless, for it aimed at nothing less than to arrest the world's movement. Augustus had given the parting advice to be miserly of the citizenship; but, in the short space of thirty-four years, the number of citizens had increased by 2,000,000. At the census of the year 14 A.D. there were but 4,937,000 out of more than 21,000,000 souls; when Claudius closed the lustrum in the year 48 he announced 5,984,072 citizens, or, according to other statements, 6,944,000, representing a population of 30,000,000, an average annual increase of 260,000, or more than one per cent. a year. Even in establishing from time to time some colony, and in making here and

¹ He was condemned in the year 49 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 22).

² Dion, ix. 11.

³ Γ. ΚΑΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ (*Cadius Rufus proconsul*). Two story edifice, on the base of which is the word NEIKAIEΩN. Bronze coin struck at Nicæa (*Cabinet de France*). The temple of Jupiter at Pergamos, of which so magnificent remains have lately been found, has also two stories.

there a few citizens, the emperors yielded to a necessity which they did not comprehend, and no one possessed that great art of making a force so easily produced and disciplined an element of progress and conservation. This secret of the greatness of Rome had been divined by Claudius: in the open senate, in the face



Claudius wearing a Wreath (Bust of the Vatican, Museum Pio-Cl., No. 551).

of the nobles who were so prompt to forget that their laticlave hid many an Italian and many a foreigner, he called to mind, with a rare historic intelligence, how Rome had been formed; he showed that the same law of continuous extension and progressive assimilation which had made the fortune of the Republic, must be the salvation of the Empire. This question was agitated in the year 48, in consequence of a petition of the notables of Transalpine Gaul, who, being already citizens, solicited the *jus honorum*,

or the right of being eligible to Roman dignities.¹ Many senators opposed this; Claudius supported it ardently, and the right of entrance to the senate was at first conceded to the Æduans; it was destined soon to extend to citizens of other allied peoples in Gaul and Spain.² The aristocracy never forgave the emperor,

¹ As a fortune of 1,200,000 sesterces was requisite for a senator, only the rich could solicit the *jus honorum*.

² Vienne, he said . . . *longo jam tempore senatores huic curiæ confert*. See Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 23-25, and the fragments of the discourse of Claudius found at Lyons in 1528. [A comparison of this original document, which is now printed as an appendix to every good edition of the *Annals*, with the far more elegant composition put into the emperor's mouth by Tacitus, shows us how far the speeches in classical histories are to be trusted.—*Ed.*]

and, after his death, expressed by the mouth of Seneca their hatred of the provincials' friend. "By Hercules," says the Fate, "I desired to add a few days to his life, so that he might make citizens the few who remained to be made; for he was possessed with the idea of seeing everybody in the toga, Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, and even Britons. But since a few foreigners should be kept for seed, let it be as thou commandest." Elsewhere Seneca reproaches Claudius with being only "a citizen of the town of Plancus, born at Lyons, sixteen miles from Vienne, a true Gaul, and, as became a Gaul, he took Rome"—took the rights and honours of Rome, that is to say, and gave them to the Transalpine nations.

In respect to the other provinces we have no definite information; without taking Seneca's spiteful exaggerations literally, one may, however, affirm that the same conduct, but in a somewhat different degree, was applied everywhere. In accordance with what the historian Josephus relates to us, Claudius was no less favourable to the Jews than to his own compatriots on the banks of the Rhone. The former, less ambitious, did not covet the honour of the laticlave, but, spread abroad as they already were throughout all the oriental provinces, they obtained for themselves in these countries, notwithstanding their turbulence at Rome, the free exercise of their customs and religion, and even an exemption from military duty. "It is right," the emperor wrote to them, "that each man live in the religion of his own country." But when they proposed to employ upon the fortifications of Jerusalem the gold sent from all parts of the Empire as offerings to the temple, Claudius put a stop to the work, which made too evident the eternal hope of this indestructible race.¹

The gods of Greece being akin to the Capitoline divinities, Claudius proposed to reconstruct in Sicily the temple of Venus Erycina, and he strove to introduce at Rome the Eleusinian mysteries.² At the same time he caused a decree of the senate

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 15; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 1, and xix. 7.

² The coloured plate represents a scene of initiation. The priests of the altar of Eleusis were selected at the age of twelve or fourteen by lot from among the Eupatrids. The lad thus designated remained in charge of the altar, *isoria*. Every year, at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, a new person was initiated into this office, which was regarded as a sacred

to be issued charging the pontiffs to restore to honour "the ancient wisdom of Italy," the science of the *haruspices*. This return to most ancient customs of Hellas and Latium betrays the fact that the old worship was menaced by foreign superstitions, and that the government sought to satisfy religious desires without going outside Græco-Roman traditions. One provincial body of clergy was suppressed, but this was done for political reasons rather than for any religious motive. The Druids continued their secret hostility to Rome, disturbing the emperor, who was much occupied with Romanizing Gaul. He took up the policy of Tiberius, and rigorously prosecuted those who would not yield. In 43 a knight of Narbonensis was put to death, because at the tribunal where he was party in a suit there was found upon him the druidic talisman of the serpent's egg.¹ But while Druidism was thus proscribed at Rome, Mithras,² the Persian sun god, made his way into the city, and a little later the Christian faith came also.

From this struggle arose another. Since Rome had come to close quarters with Druidism in Gaul, it became necessary for her to undertake its destruction in Britain also. With the skilful system of toleration inaugurated by Augustus it was not necessary to make the conquest of the British Islands. But the Druids, now subjected to an inexorable persecution, crossed the straits in crowds, and from the other shore sent back continual encouragement and stimulus to their former disciples. The island became a hot-bed of intrigues, which, for the tranquillity of Gaul, it was necessary to destroy. A fugitive explained, moreover, that this enterprise would be rendered easy by domestic quarrels among the Britons, and Claudius resolved to undertake it (43 A.D.). The legions of Lower Germany, alarmed at the idea of a war which had a bad name since Cæsar's time, refused to go.

ministry, for inscriptions show that he was ranked in the very highest class of the Eleusinian priesthood. In the illustration, copied from an amphora of Vulci in the British Museum, the initiated person, crowned with myrtle, is surrounded by his *mystagogues* or sponsors, and the hierophant or *daduchus*. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pp. 13 to 19, and pl. 3.

¹ Suet., *Claud.*, 25; and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 15: "... interemptum non ab aliud sciam. This man, wearing a talisman in court, fell under the prohibition of the decree of Tiberius.

² Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,844.



From Vulci

Imp. Exaltary
MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS - INITIATION

From a Vase

to be issued charging the gentils to restore to honour "the ancient wisdom of Italy," the science of the *hærespiæ*. This refers to most ancient customs of Hellas and Latium, but says the fact that the old worship was menaced by foreign superstitions, and that the government sought to satisfy religious desire without going outside Greco-Roman traditions. One powerful body of clergy was suppressed, and this was done for political reasons rather than for any religious motive. The Druids continued their secret hostility to Rome, disturbing the emperor, who was much occupied with Romanizing Gaul. He took up the policy of Tiberius, and vigorously prosecuted those who would not yield. In 43 a knight of Narbonne was put to death because at the tribunal where he was party in a suit there was found upon him the druidic talisman of the serpent's eye.* But while Drakiden was thus proscribed at Rome, Mithras, the Persian sun god, made his way into the city, and a little later the Christian faith came also.

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*The inscription shows that he was ranked in the very highest class of the Eboracæ. The inscription, called from an example of Vespasian in the British Museum, was discovered in 1854, and is now in the collection of the British Museum. It is a Latin inscription, and is surrounded by a border of small figures, and is surrounded by a border of small figures, and is surrounded by a border of small figures.

See, also, 20; and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 111. The inscription is now in the collection of the British Museum. The inscription is now in the collection of the British Museum. The inscription is now in the collection of the British Museum.

*Ogilby, *History of the Britons*.



Pæter, chronolith.

Imp. Frailery

MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS - INITIATION

From a vase

Selling, p. 11.

Narcissus came from Rome to harangue them, but no sooner did the freedman show himself than the indignant soldiers began to cry out: "These are saturnalia then, where slaves are the masters!" Upon which, seizing their standards, they followed their general, and broke up the assembly.¹ Plautius separated them into three divisions for the purpose of landing more easily. The coast was not even defended. The Britons believed that they had only to harass the invaders and waste time, and the latter would be forced to retire; but Gaul, now submissive, and not in arms against the Romans as in Cæsar's time, aided in the conquest instead of rendering it impossible. Plautius patiently followed the Britons across their marshes and into the depths of their forests, dispersed their bands, pushed them as far as the Severn, and gained, on the bank of that river, a victory after a two days' battle. He then marched towards the Thames, behind which river the islanders had gathered all their forces under the command of Caractacus, a powerful and renowned leader.

All the southern part of the island was subdued: it was the first time since the reign of Augustus that the god Terminus had really advanced. Plautius reserved for his emperor the honour of completing the conquest. Under pretext of difficulties which rendered his presence necessary the general besought Claudius to come over into Britain. The emperor did so, and crossed the Thames with his legions, who defeated the British chief and took his capital, Camulodunum (Colchester). The islanders had not the strength to resist a Roman emperor; they sued for peace, allowed themselves to be disarmed, and, at the



Claudius with a Wreath, and wearing Armour.²



Coin of Claudius, with the Legend: DE BRITANNIS (bronze).

¹ Dion, ix. 19.

² *Cabinet de France* (Cameo).

end of sixteen days, Claudius returned into Gaul with the surname of Britannicus.¹

Plautius, remaining in Britain, organized a new province there.² But the Roman power had not yet crossed that barrier which the Welsh mountains alway successfully opposed to invasions,³ and the successor of Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, found himself in 50 A.D. obliged to contend against a general rising of the tribes of the west. The Druids of the island of Mona (Anglesey) rallied around the standard of independence, both political and religious, all the tribes dwelling west of the mountain ridge which traverses England from north to south. The hero of the former war, and bravest of the British chiefs, Caractacus, who had preferred exile to pardon, again held the supreme command. At the same moment the Iceni, on the south of the Humber, took up arms, and the Brigantes, a powerful tribe, occupying a region further to the north from one coast of Britain to the other, were preparing for an outbreak. The Roman province had enemies on every side; but, fortunately, there was no concerted action in this triple attack, and the Iceni, driven by the auxiliary cohorts alone from a camp they had believed impregnable, and the Brigantes, subdued by mingled gentleness and severity, returned to peace. A colony of veterans, to keep watch upon the northern tribes, was established at Camulodunum, not very far away from Gaul, so that succour could easily come to them; and Ostorius was at last able to go in search of the western tribes in the precipitous mountains of the Ordovici (the centre of Wales). Caractacus harassed the enemy for some time, but on both sides a general action was desired. The Romans accepted the battle-field chosen by the Britons, a stretch of ground sloping downwards from high hills, its approaches defended by a river with steep banks. While the fighting was at long range the islanders had the advantage, but when the legionaries under their *testudo* came close, the sword and javelins made great gaps in the ranks of the Britons,

¹ Dion, ix. 20-21. According to Suetonius, Claudius had no occasion to fight.

² Between the Avon and the Severn. Claudius decreed an ovation to Plautius, went to meet him outside the walls, and accompanied him, walking at his left. (Suet., *Claud.*, 24.)

³ There have never been any Roman inscriptions found in Wales.

who had neither helmet nor cuirass. They fell in crowds; their chief, unfortunately for himself, was able to flee. He took refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans. This British Vercingetorix being taken to Rome, with his wife and daughter and his brothers, entered the city in the midst of a great festival, where the spoils taken from him were displayed; he asked for life, but without cowardice, and—a new thing at Rome—the request was granted him.¹ Later, when he had seen all the splendour of the city, he expressed his surprise at Roman ambition. "What!" he said, "you have such magnificent palaces, and you envy us our poor cabins!" (51 A.D.).

While Rome rejoiced over victories gained in Britain, the Silures continued a war of ambushes and surprises, which cost the lives of many Roman soldiers. On one occasion they surrounded a corps left in their country to construct fortresses, and would have destroyed it had not Ostorius arrived with the entire Roman force. Another time they captured two auxiliary cohorts, and distributed the spoils and the prisoners among their neighbours, who at once murdered them on the druidic altars still standing in the island of Mona; and again a whole legion was defeated. But A. Didius, the successor of Ostorius, who had died in Britain, restored tranquillity to the province. He was not able to extend its limits, but contented himself, for the protection of the conquests of his predecessors in the south-east of the island, with throwing out a few fortified posts.²

The fame of these victories, gained at the extremities of the world, and over tribes whom Cæsar had not been able to subjugate, whom Augustus and Tiberius had not ventured to attack, resounded throughout the Empire. There has been lately found in Asia a monument erected by Cyzicus to Claudius, the conqueror of Britain.³

The legions had crossed the ocean; they also crossed the Rhine. As early as the first year of the reign of Claudius

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 31.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 39-40, and *Agric.*, 14.

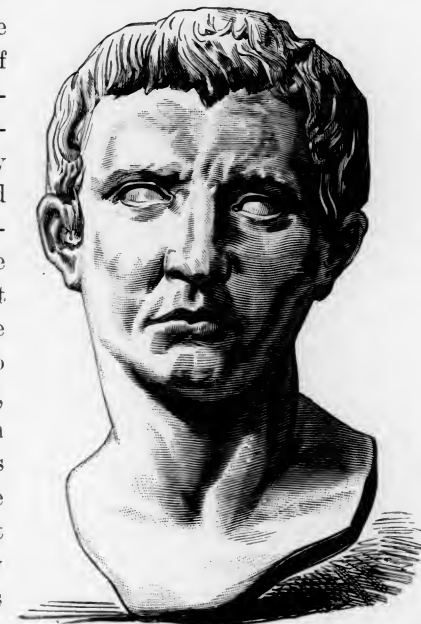
³ *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1876 and 1877 (note by M. Mowat).

the Catti, the Marsi, and the Chauci had been conquered, and the last of the eagles of Varus recovered. So that to this reign belongs the glory of having plucked from the barbarians, after fifty years, their last trophy; for all that, the memory of the great defeat still commanded prudence in this direction.¹ Britain was only an island, whose further shores the Roman eagles had seen; Germany was the beginning of a world of barbarians of which no man knew the limits. It was said at Rome, that to gain a province there was only to take a drop out of the ocean; that it was better to stop at the natural limit made by the Rhine, and thence to endeavour to break up the German confederations, to divide the tribes, to bring the chiefs into the interest of Rome. This policy of Augustus and Tiberius was also that of Claudius, and its success was manifest when the Cherusci asked Rome to give them as their king a nephew of Arminius, born at Rome, and all his life a resident of the city, bearing even the significant name of Italicus (47 A.D.). Low as this nation had fallen since its defeat, it soon became unwilling to obey an agent of the emperor. Italicus was expelled, but the Langobardi, doubtless gained by Roman gold, restored him, and the proscribed patriots of the Cherusci went to make common cause with the Chauci and Catti, the only German nations who still dared to look a Roman in the face. The former harassed at intervals the troops of Upper Germany; the latter, led by a Roman deserter, ravaged the Gallic coasts from their flotillas, while the inhabitants, enervated by peace and prosperity, submitted to their incursions, quite unable to defend themselves against the German marauders.² But a great general had appeared in Lower Germany, Corbulo, who by his severity recalled the old days of the Roman Republic. He found the legions enervated by long idleness; an inexorable discipline and incessant labour restored to them the aspect of the ancient legions. He was soon known by the neighbouring tribes, and the Frisii, who had been free for nineteen years, consented without resistance to receive laws and magistrates

¹ Dion, ix. 670; Suet., *Claud.*, 24.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 16-17. *Dites et imbelles* (*ibid.*, 18).

from him, and to observe the limits which he prescribed for them. A fort was built to keep them under control. Corbulo also proposed to reach the Chauci in the rear of the Frisii, and his vessels would have put a stop to the piracies of the former, as his soldiers were already threatening their frontiers, when an order from the emperor arrested him. Returning across the Rhine with the Roman eagles which he had hoped to lead to conquest, he allowed himself only to say: "Fortunate were the Roman generals of the past!" This much-admired expression, was, however, only the ambitious cry of a republican, who regretted the time when generals despised the powerless displeasure of a feeble government, and at their own will plunged Rome into new wars (47 A.D.). To keep his soldiers employed, however, Corbulo caused them to dig a canal, eleven miles in length, between the Rhine and the Meuse, to prevent the inundation of the country by the high tides. Claudius recompensed him for this with the insignia of the triumph.



Corbulo (*Icon. rom.*, pl. 9).

His successor, Curtius Rufus, obtained the same honour for having opened in the territory of the Mattiaci a silver mine, the produce of which was of little value and lasted only for a short time. Mattium was more than 120 miles distant from the Rhine; it is evident that this system of armed peace had placed under Roman influence the territory lying beyond the Rhine to a considerable distance from the river.

Still another inference may be drawn from these facts: if the imperial government was reluctant to have the legions acquire military fame, it offered them another kind of renown, the credit

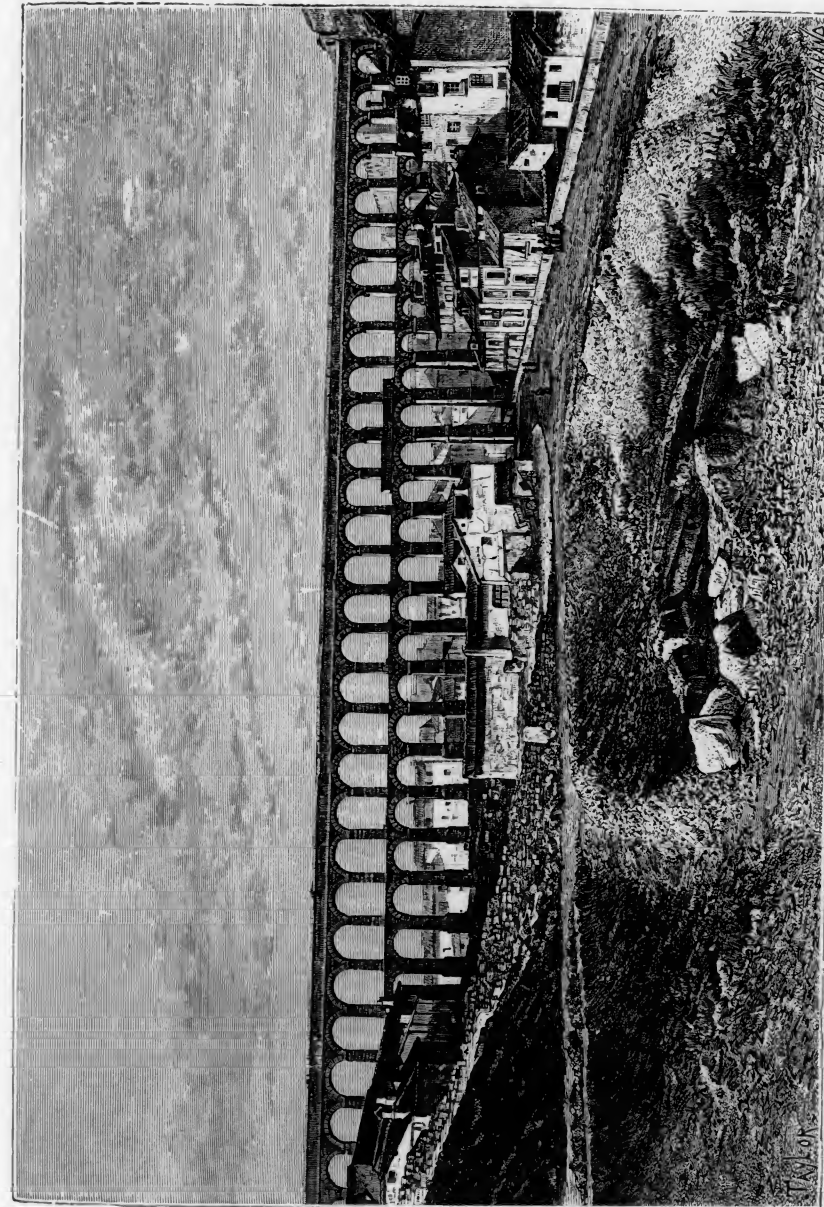
of great works of public utility. We see Corbulo digging a canal, Rufus opening a mine, and the army of Upper Germany continuing the immense entrenchments of the *agri decumates*. Soon after this, Paulinus finished the highway commenced by Drusus along the Rhine, and Vetus opened navigable communication between the Saône and the Moselle, that is to say, between the Rhone and the Rhine, between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean. In Spain and the Danubian provinces there is building of bridges and aqueducts and roads by the Roman legions; in Asia Minor there is opening or improving of harbours.¹ Everywhere the leisure secured them by a wise policy is usefully employed.² Tacitus should have comprehended these grand fruits of peace too well to have made favourable mention in his grave history of the anonymous letters wherein the emperor was implored, in the name of the armies, to grant in advance to their generals the honours of the triumph, so that the latter might no longer seek to obtain them by subjecting their troops to such severe labours.

Tacitus also sees only a gratification of vanity to the empress in the sending of a colony of veterans to the Ubii, whose city, Agrippina's birth-place, from that time took the name of *Colonia Agrippina* (50 A.D.); but the Empire had need of a strong Roman position on the Lower Rhine, and the site was so well chosen that, to this day, Cologne has remained one of the great cities of Germany. The Romans themselves during the war of Civilis, not long after, had cause to recognize the wisdom of this measure.

In Upper Germany the emperor contented himself with again repulsing the Catti, without attempting to subjugate them. The honour of this expedition belongs entirely to the Gallic cohorts of the Nemetes and Vangiones, who surprised the enemy and delivered a few soldiers of the army of Varus, captives among the Catti for forty years. Pomponius, camping with his legions near the Taunus, awaited the Catti there, in the hope that

¹ *Soranus Asiae proconsul portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat.* In the year 65. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 23.)

² *Plures per provincias similia* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 20). Probably, in Syria, for example, where Tacitus extols the efforts of Cassius to re-establish the ancient discipline: *revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones*, etc. (*Ibid.*, xii. 12.)



Roman Aqueduct at Segovia.

they would pursue his cohorts to the camp. But the fear of being attacked in the rear by the Cherusci, now faithful to the Romans, stopped them, and it was only deputies and hostages who came to solicit peace (50 A.D.). The Frisii being reduced to a demi-servitude, the Chauci held in subjection, the Cherusci disabled, and the Catti humiliated,¹ Claudius had the right to coin a triumphal coin with the legend *de Germanis*.



Triumphal Coin
of Claudius,
with the Legend
DE GER-
MANIS (silver).

In the south the king given by Drusus thirty years before to the Suevi of Moravia, Vannius, threatened by a revolt, had implored the succour of the legions: Claudius left the barbarians to settle their quarrel among themselves; but the troops gathered on the other side of the Danube, and stood ready to oblige both parties to respect the territory of the Empire. This conduct was successful. The dispossessed king was received with his followers into Pannonia, and the two victorious chiefs who divided his kingdom themselves solicited the emperor's friendship (50 A.D.).

The tranquillity of the regions on the right bank of the Danube is attested by the very silence of the historians; an event of some importance, however, occurred in the extreme east of these provinces. Rhemetalees, whom Caligula had made sole king of the whole of Thrace, having been killed by his wife, his former subjects revolted, and Claudius, taking advantage of the opportunity, reduced the kingdom to a province (about 46 A.D.); twenty years later Agrippa said to the Jews: "Two thousand Roman soldiers are enough to guard Thrace."² Byzantium had furnished assistance on this occasion, and again in the war made upon the king of the Bosphorus (49 A.D.); in recompense for which services she obtained an exemption from tribute for five years.³

This king of the Bosphorus, a descendant of the great Mithridates, and bearing his name, owed the crown to Claudius.⁴ The

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 27-8 and 29-30: *Egregia adversus nos fide*.

² Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 28.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 63. The same favour was granted to Apamea, ruined by an earthquake; Rhodes was again free, and Bologna, destroyed by fire, received a gratuity of 10,000,000 sesterces. (*Ibid.*, xii. 53.) Cos, in honour of its god Æsculapius, was enfranchised from all tribute. (*Ibid.*, 61; cf. Dion, ix. 24.)

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 624. Cf. Casy, *Hist. des rois du Bosphore*. Among the Alps, Claudius

emperor, shortly after his accession, had made a new distribution of the vassal kingdoms. He restored to Antiochus Commagene, which Caligula had first given him and then taken from him; set at liberty the Iberian Mithridates, whom Caligula had thrown into prison; augmented the territory of the Jew Agrippa, and erected Chalcidice into a kingdom for Herod, the brother of



Sauromates,
King of Pontus
and the
Bosphorus.



Mithridates, King
of the
Bosphorus (bronze).

Agrippa; and he had ceded to Polemon some districts of Cilicia in exchange for the Bosphorus, transferred to another Mithridates. This new king, who was ambitious and turbulent like his renowned ancestor, seeking to increase his own power at the expense of his neighbours, was deposed by Claudius

who gave the throne to his brother Cotys. Mithridates made an attempt to involve in his cause other nations in this region, persuading some and attacking others, and finally drew upon them a Roman expedition. The wretched towns of the allies of Mithridates were easily taken, and were treated with great severity. One of them offered 10,000 slaves to redeem itself, but slaves and masters alike were slain. Mithridates delivered himself up, and when he appeared before the emperor he said to him haughtily, "No man has brought me hither. I came of my own will. If you doubt it, let me go, and see whether you can find me."¹ (49 A.D.)



Gotarzes (Arsaces
XXI.) (silver coin).

Claudius had given his liberty to the Iberian Mithridates in order that he might regain possession of Armenia. The dissensions among the Parthians rendered this enterprise facile. This unfortunate people had fallen back, after the death of Artabanus II. (44 A.D.), into their habitual anarchy. Vardanes and his nephew Gotarzes disputed for the crown, by turns defeated and victorious. For the third time they were about to make war upon each other, in Bactriana, at the extremity of the empire, when suddenly Mithridates

augmented the little territory of Cottius, and gave the title of king to this mountain chief. (Dion, ix. 24.)

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 21.

entered Armenia with Roman troops, who took the cities, while the Iberians ravaged the open country. Vardanes remaining finally sole master of the empire, reduced Seleucia, which the Parthians had held in a state of siege for seven years, and made his preparations to invade Armenia. The governor of Syria, Marsus, threatened Vardanes that if the latter crossed the frontier he himself would cross the Euphrates. New catastrophes prevented this war. Vardanes was killed by some of the Parthian nobles during a hunting party and Gotarzes returned; but the nobility despatched a secret messenger to Claudius to ask from him as king Meherbates, son of that Vonones who was the candidate presented by Augustus and Tiberius to the Parthian throne. The emperor hastened to grant this petition, calling the senate's notice to the fact that, like Augustus, he had had the glory of reconquering Armenia and giving a king to the Parthians.¹ But instead of pushing the enterprise with energy, Meherbates preferred to enjoy his fragile royalty; the zeal of his partisans abated; he was conquered and taken prisoner (49 A.D.). Gotarzes cut off his ears, and, after this humiliation, suffered him to live. Gotarzes himself died almost immediately after this, and the sceptre passed to his son Vonones, who lived but a few months (50 or 51 A.D.). The not inglorious reign of Vologeses, his successor, lasted thirty years.



Meherbates, son
of Vonones.



Vologeses I.
(Arsaces XXIII.).

Claudius was premature in boasting that he had equalled in the East the fortune of Augustus. His *protégé* in Parthia was a disgraced fugitive; his candidate on the Armenian throne, still more unfortunate, was overthrown by a nephew, Rhadamistus, whom he had loaded with benefits, and who now murdered him with his wife and children, causing them to be smothered, not to violate the oath he had taken to his uncle that he would neither by sword nor poison attempt the life of the latter. Habituated as men were in the East to crimes in royal houses, this perfidy excited indignation. Vologeses thought it a favourable occasion to recover

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 8-10.

Armenia for his brother Tiridates. All the cities opened their gates to him, but winter and a contagious disorder drove him away. Rhadamistus, returning from Iberia, put to death with unsparing hand those whom he called rebels. They revolted against



Claudius (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 12).

him, invested his palace, and the king owed his safety only to his horse's speed. His wife, Zenobia, some months advanced in pregnancy, accompanied him. Not to retard her husband's flight, she bade him kill her; he struck her with his sword and she was thrown into the Araxes for dead. The blow, however, was not

mortal; some shepherds rescued her and she was taken to Tiridates, who treated her as a queen. The Roman influence in Armenia was lost until Corbulo, at the beginning of the reign of Nero, restored it.

In Lycia some Romans had been killed, and this small state was in great disorder; Claudius deprived it of a liberty which it had misused, and the country was united to Pamphylia.¹ Elsewhere we shall take up the affairs of Palestine, only saying now that at the death of Agrippa, in 44 A.D., Claudius, who considered this king's son too young to succeed him, had again united Judæa to the province of Syria.

To conclude the story of the few events in provincial history during this reign which have come down to us, we will refer to the successes of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania at the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This general crossed the Atlas, the peaks of which he found covered with snow, and penetrated through a scorching country to Tafilet.² His successor, Geta, narrowly escaped perishing from thirst with his entire army. The unexpected discovery of a spring saved them, and a decisive victory over the Mauri gave him an opportunity to make of the country two provinces, separated by the Mulucha: Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Cæsariensis, into which numerous colonies carried the language and manners of Rome.³ These conquests gave Claudius the honour which Sylla and Augustus obtained, of extending the *pomœrium*.

To this or the subsequent reign belong the bold explorations spoken of by the geographer Ptolemy, which were pushed, by Julius Maternus, into the interior of Africa as far as the country of Agysimba, "the land of the rhinoceros," and by Septimius Flaccus, into the land of the Ethiopians three months' march beyond the Garama. Pliny relates (vi. 24) that a freedman of the farmer of the imperial customs on the Red Sea, having doubled Arabia, was driven by gales as far as the island of Taprobane, where he remained six months, learning the language of the country, and on his return brought with him four ambassadors,

¹ Dion, ix. 17.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 1. Cf. Walkenaer, *Recherch. géogr. sur l'intérieur de l'Afrique sept.*, p. 370.

³ Dion, ix. 9. They were governed by procurators. (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 11.)

who gave to Claudius curious information concerning their island, its inhabitants, and their commerce with the Seres (Chinese).

This reign was not lacking, therefore, in military and political renown. Mauretania and half of Britain conquered; the Germans held in check, humiliated, and deprived of the last trophies of their former victories; the kingdom of the Bosphorus held in subjection; Thrace and Judæa reduced to provinces,¹ and the dissensions among the Parthians for a long time kept up; at home, certain wise laws, useful works, and an increasing prosperity;² in the armies, discipline and an activity employed in promoting the public welfare, under the command of officers who had grown old in their positions;³ lastly, remote embassies renewing the curious spectacle which, under Augustus, had so flattered Roman vanity. Surely in these facts, these results, there was enough to satisfy the pride of a ruler more exacting in that regard than Claudius ever was. We must now, however, direct our attention again to Rome, there to witness the death agony of the Roman aristocracy, and to see what an example is offered to the world by the imperial household. The lessons taught in the palace penetrate far and wide; Messalina had rivals among the Roman matrons, and Locusta did not exert her skill for Agrippina only.

¹ Ituræa was also, like Judæa, united to Syria after the death of its king, Sohemus, 49 A.D. (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 23.)

² In the year 49 there was, however, a great famine in Greece, corn being sold at six drachmas the bushel, perhaps even at twelve, and the following year there was a riot in Rome on account of the price of corn. Claudius was pursued by outcries and threats in the streets, but took prompt measures to bring back abundance. (Euseb., *Chron. ad Ann.*; Suet., *Claud.*, 18; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 43.)

³ The appointments made by Claudius are praised by Tacitus. See, on Cassius, *Ann.*, xii. 12, and on Corbulo, xi. 20. We may also mention Ostorius, *ducem haud spernendum* (*ibid.*, 39); Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of Britain and Mauretania, under whom Vespasian made his first campaigns; Burrus, the prætorian prefect; Galba, who commanded successfully in Aquitania, Germany, and Mauretania: *Africam moderate . . . Hispaniam pari justitia continuit* (*Hist.*, i. 49); Vinius *qui Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit* (*ibid.*, 48). Vitellius even merits this eulogy from Suetonius: *in provincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato* (*Vitell.*, 5).

V.—MESSALINA.

Vice and the public executioner had so decimated the Roman nobility that Claudius was obliged to make new patricians in the same year (48) that he admitted the provincial aristocracy to the senate. The one replaced the other, the world's instead of the city's notables filled the senate, a sure token that provincial emperors would soon appear. The *gentes* created by Caesar and Augustus were already extinct,¹ and but few were left of the fifty "Trojan houses" enumerated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus under the first emperor. Claudius himself had aided in reducing this number: during his reign perished thirty-five senators and more than 300 knights—many victims to the shameful passions or the avidity of Messalina; some carried off by the suicide which men without beliefs and without useful employment of life² esteem the last resource of an existence worn out by pleasure and by fear; but the larger number condemned in consequence of imprudent plots or accused of crimes. The unsuccessful attempt made after the death of Caius was still fresh in men's minds, and it was believed possible to repeat it; even after the time of Nero there were republicans in Rome, for the insane conduct of the new emperors revived the regret of many for that form of government which had conquered the world. More numerous yet were those who, seeing so strange a figure in the chief place, believed it easy to dethrone a ruler of whom his mother said that he was a mistake of nature—a man begun and not completed.

On one occasion an armed assassin came as far as the bed where the emperor lay; twice his life was attempted in public, once, at the exit of a theatre, and again during a sacrifice.³ A

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 25.

² We have already seen with what readiness men took their own lives in the reign of Tiberius. Dion (lx. 11) relates that Claudius compelled the knights to come to the senate house whenever they were summoned. One day he so severely reprimanded certain who had disobeyed this order that they killed themselves.

³ Suetonius (*Claud.*, 13) and Dion (lx. 15) believe in the reality of all these conspiracies. Tacitus speaks of a knight discovered with a dagger among the persons who came to salute the prince (*Ann.* xi. 22), and Dion (lx. 18) of another, doubtless the one whom Otho, governor of Dalmatia, denounced, and whom the consuls and tribunes threw down

grandson of Pollio and a grandson of Messala attempted a revolution,¹ and obtained the complicity of persons attached to the imperial household. Pomponius began a civil war, and Scribonianus incited the army of Dalmatia, promising the soldiers to re-establish the Republic, while Vinicianus, one of the candidates for the imperial power after the murder of Caligula, together



Claudius and Messalina as Triptolemus and Ceres (Cameo).

with a prætor and a number of senators, prepared an insurrectionary movement at Rome. Scribonianus, being proclaimed emperor, wrote to Claudius a letter full of violent reproaches, ordering him to retire into private life, whence he ought never to have emerged. The timid emperor would have willingly obeyed, but the respect of the legions for the family of the Cæsars saved him. Alarmed by an unfavourable omen, the rebels refused to march upon Rome, and the first emperor who had risen out of the *castra stativa* was put to death after a reign of five days. His wife denounced his accomplices, and all who could not buy the favour of Messalina and the freedmen perished. In spite of the recent laws, information given by slaves against their masters was received, and senators were subjected to torture. Children were spared, but most of the wives shared their husbands' fate. One of these distinguished herself: Arria, wife of the ex-consul Pætus. She followed her husband to Rome, and when she saw

from the Tarpeian rock. Tacitus also speaks of the persuasions of Silius, designated consul, addressed to Messalina, that she should kill the emperor (*ibid.*, 26). This would make nine or ten plots, if the accounts are accurate.

¹ Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 43) says merely these words.

him condemned, instead of imploring Messalina, who was her friend, to spare her life, she plunged a dagger into her breast, and withdrawing the weapon, handed it to Pætus, saying: "Take it, it does not hurt."¹ Vinicianus and many others killed themselves. In singular contrast to the effeminacy of their lives, these degenerate Romans sought in their last hour to prove themselves worthy of their heroic fathers. When Valerius Asiaticus, after a pathetic defence, had obtained from Claudius only the choice of the mode of death, he at once became calm, since he had no longer to plead for his life, bathed, and gave a great feast, at which he showed much gaiety. Rising from table, before opening his veins, he went out to look at his funeral pile erected in his garden; finding it too near his trees, he caused it to be removed to another place, not to endanger their magnificent foliage. To die well



Messalina.²

was the sole point of honour left to these Romans, and Messalina gave frequent occasion for its exhibition.

Claudius was not a man to retain the affection of his wife. He had been twice married before his accession to the Empire: first to Pætina, whom he presently repudiated, then to Urgulanilla, by whom he had a daughter Claudia, and from whom he was divorced on account of her disreputable life and also from a

¹ Pliny, *Epiet.*, iii. 16.

² Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 13.

suspicion that she designed his murder. Messalina, his third wife, was great-granddaughter to the excellent Octavia, the sister of Augustus, but inherited rather the faults of Antony than the virtues of her ancestress. Her mother, Domitia Lepida, had set her an example of irregular conduct, and she was already publicly disgraced when Claudius married her. It seems probable that she

suffered from one of those maladies which overpower the conscience and lead to all forms of immorality.¹



Messalina.²

With this dissolute woman we come, for the first time in the West, upon the life of oriental courts: a mixture of plots and punishments, and monstrous profligacy. The oriental despotism which was now established on the Palatine brought with it the manners of Alexandria and Ctesiphon: female rivalries, the influence of the freedmen, and conspiracies in the palace. From the beginning

Rome surpassed the most famous

scandals. Till this day history has had but one Messalina, and Juvenal still pursues the imperial courtesan with the cutting lash of his indignant verse. A few years later another empress poisoned her husband; an emperor murdered his mother, his brother, and his wife; and all follies, all vices, and all forms of cruelty were let loose upon this trembling and rotten society.

History would cease to concern itself with the debauchery of Messalina if this conspicuous scandal had not encouraged

¹ She was an extremely vicious woman, but doubtless unsound in health. She was twenty-four years of age when she died. M. Ménière, in a curious book entitled *Études médicales sur les poètes latins*, believes Messalina to have been a victim of nymphomania. "At the Salpêtrière," he says, "there are Messalinas, cases which have absolutely nothing to do with morals."

² Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 228. The bust of Messalina, wearing a wreath of laurel, rises above a cornucopia, from which emerges a child's head, no doubt that of Britannicus. Rome, helmeted, is in front of the empress. Rubens, who admired this cameo, has made a drawing of it preserved in his work. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, etc., p. 38.

others, and if cruelty had not been mingled with her orgies. Her step-father, Silanus, dared to disdain her advances; she accused him of a plot, and the accusation was confirmed by Narcissus, because a dream revealed it to him, and without further inquiry Silanus was put to death. The senator Vinicius, rendering himself guilty of the same contempt towards the empress, was poisoned at her instigation. Asiaticus died in consequence of his great wealth: he had still further embellished the gardens of Lucullus; Messalina desired to have them, and Claudius put the owner to death. Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, seemed to inspire her uncle with too strong an affection, and by her pride wounded the empress; the latter invoked morals, talked of adultery, and Julia, sent into exile, quickly found the assassin's dagger. Seneca, wit and moralist, whose conduct, unhappily, was rarely in accordance with his writings, had the confidence of Julia, and for that crime was banished to Corsica, where he remained eight years.¹ Another Julia, also a niece of the emperor, had the same fate. Poppæa disputed with her about the dancer Mnester, and she accused her of adultery, drove her to suicide, while the player received from the emperor himself the order to obey Messalina in all points. We should require the licence of the Latin tongue to tell of the misconduct of the empress, and her shameful orgies both in the depths of the palace² or by night in the streets of Rome.

The emperor shut his eyes to everything; Justus Catonius, showing some indignation and threatening to inform the emperor, was at once put to death. The weak affection of Claudius for the mother of his children, Britannicus and Octavia, the connivance of the freedmen, and the certainty that any indiscreet revelation would be punished by death, secured impunity and encouraged more audacity. Messalina even essayed to legalize crime and render prostitution legitimate, that she might add one more

¹ One of Seneca's enemies accused him of being Julia's accomplice: . . . *domus Germanici adulterum* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42).

² Dion, ix. 18. In regard to these disorders, cf. Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 16: "Women count the years, not by the number of consuls, but of husbands . . . They take a husband only to make a lover jealous. To be chaste merely proves a woman unattractive, and most repulsive must she be who contents herself with but a couple of lovers."

delight to her profligacy—that of vice making a jest of the law and scoffing at the last remains of public morality. If we are to believe the story which Tacitus tell us (but of which



Messalina and Britannicus (Museum of the Louvre).³

zest to her profligacy. Silius bore his part in it with the idea that the comedy would end in tragic fashion, with the disappearance of the ruler as well as of the husband. As for the old man himself, timid and credulous, he doubtless assured himself with the formalistic spirit of the early days, or else he had

¹ Josephus says only that Claudius προανήρκει Μεσσαλίαν διὰ ζήλοντιαν (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8).

² *Ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quendam ostenta portenderetur* (Suet., *Claud.*, 29).

³ Group, in Pentelic marble, found near Rome, outside of the gate San Lorenzo. Messalina, wearing the *stola* and the *palla*, holds in her arms the young Caesar, represented with the features of the infant Jupiter, in allusion to his lofty destinies. (Clarac, *Descript.*, No. 183.)

Josephus makes no mention),¹ she formed the idea of marrying according to the usual forms, Silius, one of her lovers. Their union is said to have been announced in advance, recorded in authentic acts, consecrated by the prayers of augurs, by religious ceremonies, by a sacrifice and a solemn feast. Claudius, alarmed by omens menacing to Messalina's husband, is said to have himself signed the contract, in order to turn away the evils impending over him.²

To the empress, this outrageous parody of ordinary rites was intended to give new

been persuaded by the others that destiny would be satisfied by a marriage accomplished according to legal formulas, and going no further than that.¹ Accordingly, it is not to be doubted that he reserved to himself as compensation, after having saved the emperor, to complete the oracle by avenging the husband and what we should call his honour, had not such a sentiment been unknown to the Romans of that time, and, most of all, to Claudius.

The freedmen of the imperial household, from the first rendered uneasy by this strange adventure, began to be alarmed when they saw Messalina despoil the palace in order to adorn the dwelling of Silius, and heap upon her new husband all the emperor's treasures. Young and bold, Silius would not allow himself to be led as their imbecile patron had done, and, related as he was to the noblest families, and at the moment invested with the consulship, he was formidable. What he had just dared to do showed his ambition; evidently he would not stop in the dangerous position he had taken; already he was urging Messalina to rid herself of Claudius. Callistus and Pallas hesitated, however, to brave the wrath of the empress; they remembered Polybus, whom she had sacrificed,² although he had been one of her lovers. Narcissus was more resolute: he revealed all to Claudius, who was at this time at Ostia, superintending the arrangements for provisioning the city. "Do you know," he said to the emperor, "that you are repudiated? Silius has the people, the senate, and the army on his side; if you delay a moment Rome will be in his power." Claudius, at these words, which certain of the senators confirmed, fell into his wonted terror: he believed Silius already proclaimed, and begged those around him to tell him whether he was still emperor. But Narcissus felt that he had staked his life, and that he must go on to the end or perish; and he brought his master to Rome.

¹ It was probably thus that Messalina proposed to defend herself when she besought the emperor to listen to her, and the first vestal was indignant that she had been condemned unheard, *indefensa* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 34). In the *Apokolokyntosis*, the accusation incessantly repeated is, that Claudius condemned Messalina without giving her the opportunity to defend herself. It is noteworthy that Seneca, exiled by Messalina, and writing in the time of her rival, is not so severe against her as are Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Dion; but Pliny, with a word (x. 83) goes further than all of them.

² Dion, lx. 31.

It was in autumn; Messalina in her palace was enacting a vintage scene: men were treading the grapes, and the wine flowed into the casks; women, wearing deerskins, like bacchantes, were dancing around them, and Messalina, with streaming hair, a thyrsus in her hand, accompanied by Silius crowned with ivy, joined in the dances. One of their companions in the revel climbed a tree, no doubt to represent some divinity hidden in the foliage.



Chartier

Vintage or Bacchanalian Scene (Bas-relief in the Museum of Naples).

"What do you see up there?" some one cried. "I see," he said, "a storm approaching from Ostia."

The storm, whether it came from heaven or earth, was approaching.¹ Rumours are at first spread abroad that Claudius is coming in great displeasure, and shortly couriers announce him. The feast is broken up, for these debauchees have made no preparations for resistance. Messalina takes refuge in the gardens of Lucullus; Silius goes to the Forum, ostensibly to attend to the duties of his office; others run hither and thither; but centurions are already on their track, and seize them in the streets, or

¹ *Sive ceperat ea species seu forte lapsa vox in præsagium vertit* (Tac., Ann., xi. 31).

where they conceal themselves. After a few moments of anxiety the empress recovered her assurance. She directed her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to go and meet their father; she implored Vibidia, the chief vestal, to go to the pontifex maximus and beseech his clemency; she, herself, followed by three persons, who alone of all the court had not abandoned her, crossed the whole width of the city on foot, mounted into one of those carts used to carry away garden refuse, and took the road to Ostia.

If the emperor had been alone she would have saved herself. But Narcissus, not to leave him alone for a moment, was in the chariot, and his two friends, Cæcina and Vitellius, accompanied him. The latter, a servile courtier, waited until his prince had spoken, and Claudius spoke in a most confusing fashion, sometimes incensed against Messalina, sometimes mollified at the remembrance of their children.

And so Vitellius could say nothing but "O crime! O penalty!" nor was Narcissus able to extract from him any other words.

Meanwhile Messalina approached, crying out that she was the mother of Octavia and Britannicus, and that the emperor must hear her defence. Narcissus drowned her voice, reminding the emperor of Silius and the marriage; but he was careful to urge on the charioteer, and to occupy the emperor's eyes he placed



Pontifex Maximus (Bronze of the Cabinet de France, No. 3,572).

before him a statement of the orgies of Messalina. At the gates of Rome the children were waiting for the emperor; but they were sent away. Vibidia, however, made her way into the emperor's presence, and urged upon him the odiousness of giving up a wife to death without allowing her to plead her cause. Narcissus rejoined that Claudius would hear Messalina, that she should have the opportunity to vindicate herself; and he advised the vestal to return to her sacred duties.

The freedman conducted Claudius to the house of Silius, and exhibited to the emperor the wealth of the Neros and the Drusi, now the reward of adultery. At this sight Claudius was at last aroused and his anger broke forth; he allowed himself to be led to the camp of the prætorians, harangued them, and made them judges of the accused. Silius, on being brought before them, made no attempt to defend himself, and bade them kill him at once. Many Roman knights of illustrious lineage showed the same firmness. The prefect of the night-watch, the superintendent of games, and a senator were also put to death. A wretched actor, Mnester, involved in this tragedy, hoped for a moment to save his life, "making mention of the express command by which Claudius himself had subjected him to the will of Messalina; it was not," he said, "as in the case of the others, either interest or ambition which had made him guilty, and he would have been the first to perish had the Empire fallen into the hands of Silius." The freedmen rejoined that after having sacrificed such illustrious victims they could not save the life of a mere play-actor; and that, voluntary or not, the crime was equally heinous. The prætorians would not even accept the justification urged by Montanus, a young Roman knight of virtuous life but extreme beauty, that although he had been summoned to the empress, she had at once, capricious in her dislikes as in her fancies, driven him away.

While these executions were going on, Messalina, in the gardens of Lucullus, was making ready a petition, not without some hope remaining, and even with occasional bursts of anger, so much pride still remained to her in this extreme danger. If Narcissus had not hastened her death that fate would have overtaken himself. The emperor had returned into the palace, and, soothed by a delicious repast, which had been served earlier

than usual, he was recovering from his anger. "Send word to the unhappy Messalina," he said, "to come to-morrow and justify herself." Narcissus perceived that he was lost if all was not over before night; he went out abruptly and signified to the centurions and tribune of the guard to go and kill Messalina, a freedman Evodus being directed to superintend the execution.

Evodus hastened to the gardens, where Messalina lay extended on the ground, her mother Lepida beside her, the latter exhorting the fallen empress to make her death honourable by herself striking the fatal blow. But this depraved soul was destitute of energy; she abandoned herself to tears and vain lamentations, when suddenly, the gates were thrown violently open, and the soldiers appeared, the tribune silent at their head: the freedman, with all a slave's baseness, lavishing insults upon Messalina. The empress, for the first time convinced that she must die,

accepted the proffered dagger, with trembling hand she held it towards her breast and her throat, but dared not strike, and finally the tribune despatched her with a thrust of his sword. Claudius still sat at table when word was brought him that Messalina was dead, no particulars being given as to the manner in which she had perished. Claudius made no inquiry on the subject, but directly called for wine, and finished his repast



Messalina as Hygieia.¹

¹ Statue of the Vatican (Museum Chiaramonti, No. 632).

composedly. On the subsequent days he manifested the same indifference; he saw, without a sign of anger or of sadness, the joy of her accusers and her children's grief. The senate voted that the statues of Messalina should be thrown down, and they decreed to her murderer the insignia of the quæstorship.¹

We have given nearly as much space to this story of a wanton's death as to that of the great victims of the Republic; and for the reason that this contrast illustrates the two epochs: these tragedies of the seraglio are now a part of the history of the Roman people.

Claudius had sworn to the assembled prætorians "to remain single, since marriage had proved so unfortunate to him, and to allow himself to be slain by them if he should violate this oath." This, however, was not satisfactory to the freedmen, who, to remain masters in the imperial household, wished to make an empress, and at once busied themselves in arranging a fourth marriage for the emperor. Each supported rival claimants. Narcissus recommended Pætina, the divorced wife of the emperor; Callistus, the rich and beautiful Lollia Paulina, whom Caligula had divorced; Pallas, a daughter of Germanicus, Agrippina. The latter, to whom her mother had bequeathed her imperious spirit and her ambition, was the widow of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had left her a son, now eleven years of age.² Although beautiful, she had nothing of the woman in her character, but everything of the selfishly ambitious man: the long perseverance, the cold calculation, and, at the fitting moment, the implacable resolution—implacable and remorseless. It was her determination to be empress, and that her son should be emperor; and to this end it was necessary to marry Claudius. He was, however, her uncle, and the Roman law forbade marriage between persons so near of kin. A *senatus-consultum* removed this obstacle, and a knight set the example of such a marriage. Immediately upon her marriage, Agrippina sought to take the command. Claudius, who knew how to preserve peace in the Empire, could never command it around him,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 32-33.

² Suetonius (*Nero*, 6) accuses her of having poisoned her second husband, Crispus Passienus, in order to obtain possession of his property. Nero was born December 15, 37 A.D.

for though he was capable of correct ideas he was entirely unsuited to govern men. The freedmen and the empress disputed for the possession of the old man; the latter obtained it.

The freedmen were greatly at a disadvantage in the struggle with her. The fear lest Octavia and Britannicus, the children of Messalina, should one day be in a position to avenge their mother by destroying those who had caused her death, chained them to



Claudius, Agrippina, Livia, and Tiberius.¹

the fortunes of the new empress. Hence she immediately came into possession of power and influence, which she seized with a resolute hand and knew how to preserve. The tone of the government was at once changed, says Tacitus,² and in Agrippina Rome had a mistress who did not handle affairs with the levity of Messalina. In public, severity and often arrogance; in the palace, no more immoralities, unless they were such as would promote authority; but an insatiable greed, which concealed itself under the pretext of augmenting the resources of the State. Daughter, sister, and wife of *emperors*, she asserted herself to be called to share an Empire which her family had founded or

¹ Cameo on onyx of the Cabinet of Antiques at Vienna.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 7.

strengthened, and she wished to receive the same honours as Claudius himself, the senate's homage, the thanks of ambassadors, the supplications of captives, and, a spectacle new to Rome, to be present at reviews, and to preside in military attire under the standards.¹ The senate had decreed her the privilege of going up to the Capitol in the litter used to carry the sacred objects, and the right that Livia had had of putting her head upon the coins of the emperor. She was the first woman and the only one who aspired to found a colony with formal rites, a colony which has lasted to this day, the city of Cologne; she was rather the emperor's colleague than his wife.

The first act was to break off the marriage contract of Octavia with Silanus, who, regarding this rupture as a death sentence, killed himself on the very day of the emperor's marriage; and at once Agrippina affianced Octavia to her son Domitius (49 A.D.). To gain for him a share in the popularity at that time enjoyed by a writer noted at once for his talents and his misfortunes, she assigned to her son Seneca as a tutor, for which purpose she recalled the philosopher from exile² and appointed him prætor. The following year (50 A.D.), Pallas, citing the examples of Augustus and Tiberius, extorted from Claudius the adoption of Domitius, although the latter was but two years older than Britannicus, the emperor's own son. The new imperial prince took from that day the name by which he is known in history, that of Nero; and he was soon surrounded with honours that indicated him as heir to the Empire. The consulship was decreed to him, to take effect upon his twentieth birthday; meanwhile he was consul-elect, *princeps juventutis*, and outside Rome he had the proconsular authority. In his name a *donativum* was presented to the soldiers, a *congiarium* to the people, and his mother, who lost no occasion of showing him in public, and of presenting him as the natural successor of Claudius, caused him to celebrate magnificent games, and give, as prætor, a combat of gladiators. She further made

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 37: *feminam signis Romanis præsidere: ipsa semet parti a majoribus suis imperii sociam ferebat. Nos vidimus . . . indutam paludamento.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 19; Dion, lx. 32.)

² Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 8. The marriage of Domitius and Octavia did not take place till after the former had been adopted by Claudius; then to prevent Domitius from marrying his sister, Octavia was received by adoption into another family. (Dion, lx. 33.)

him the advocate of the provinces. In the year 52 he harangued the senate in Greek, for the purpose of soliciting favours for Ilium, Rhodes, and Apamea; and in Latin, to procure the sending of money to relieve Bologna.¹ Claudius, forgetful of his own son, allowed all this to be done. At the games of the circus, where Nero appeared wearing the triumphal robe, Britannicus wore only the *prætecta*;² one at a time his partisans were removed; and after a word which Agrippina chose to regard as an insult to her son, his slaves and freedmen were driven away from him, and his preceptors were put to death. The two prætorian prefects, understood to be devoted to the young prince, were replaced by Burrus, a brave soldier and as an officer devoted to the welfare of the State, who, however, in accepting this position from Agrippina, committed himself to serve the interests of her son at the expense of those of Britannicus, now isolated, and, as it were, a prisoner in his father's palace.



Nero, Consul-elect, and *princeps juventutis* (Silver Coin).

An act of feminine vengeance, the murder of Lollia Paulina, who had presumed to dispute with Agrippina the hand of Claudius, and the exile of Calpurnia, whose beauty the emperor had one day praised, caused little astonishment, notwithstanding a hideous detail preserved by Dion: Agrippina had commanded Lollia's head to be brought to her; not recognizing the remains, disfigured by death, she opened the mouth to assure herself, by certain peculiarities of the teeth, that it was indeed her victim's head. An accusation set on foot against the proconsul of Africa, Statilius Taurus, under pretext of extortions, made more stir, and restored to the senate an instant of courage. Statilius owned immense wealth, and this was his crime. Like so many others, he killed himself before the decision. Notwithstanding Agrippina's efforts, the senate declared the accusation a calumny and expelled the informer from the house.³ Another senator had just been exiled for entering complaints against Vitellius.

Meanwhile Britannicus was growing up, and there was reason

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 58.

² Suet., *Nero*, 6.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 57, and Suet., *Claud.*, 43.

to fear a revival of affection for him in the heart of the old emperor. Some threatening language had escaped from him while intoxicated,¹ and Narcissus did not hesitate to let it be known that



Britannicus as Bacchus.²

he considered a fresh catastrophe needed; he flattered Britannicus, and prayed the gods to hasten his maturity that he might drive away the enemies of his father. Unhappily the freedman fell ill, and was obliged to go to drink the waters of Sinuessa, in hope of restoring his health. As his vigilant fidelity no longer protected the emperor's life, Agrippina resolved to take the opportunity to put an end to her anxieties. She addressed herself to one Locusta, a poisoner by trade, who had lately been condemned, and yet Tacitus adds, had been long kept ready as a needful in-

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 57.

² Statue found at Tivoli; Guattani, 1784, and Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 937, No. 2,390.

³ *Diu inter instrumenta regni habita* (*Ann.*, xii. 66). It should be said that Josephus, who had no reason for sparing Agrippina and Nero, is much less positive: *καὶ λόγος ἦν παρὰ τινῶν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνέφητο* (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8).

strument of the imperial policy.³ Locusta was employed to prepare a favourite dish of the emperor; but the poison being rejected, a physician, under pretext of his art, introduced into the victim's throat a feather covered with a violent poison (13th October, 54 A.D.). The murder was accomplished, however, before the hour

which the astrologers had fixed as most favourable for the accession of the new emperor; the gates, therefore, of the palace were closed, and it was announced that Claudius was recovering. He was already dead when the senate, consuls, and pontiffs, were offering prayers in the temples for his recovery, and the comedians were sent for to amuse him.

In the palace there were all possible preparations to secure the Empire to Nero.

Agrippina, feigning profound grief, held Britannicus in her arms, and with perfidious caresses kept him and his sisters Antonia and Octavia within her reach until at noon the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown up, and Burrus presented Nero to the cohort of the guard. The troop, at a signal from the prefect, received him with acclamations. Some of the soldiers did indeed call out repeatedly for Britannicus, but their words having no echo



The Young Nero.¹

they followed the general movement. Nero then went out to the camp of the praetorians, harangued them, and promised them the same largess that had been given by Claudius, upon which the soldiers, as their share of the bargain, proclaimed him emperor. The senate came after, confirming the soldiers' decision, and the provinces accepted it without hesitation. No man, in opposition to the imperious empress, whom palace and senate and army obeyed, dared mention the name of the unfortunate

¹ Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 15.

young prince whom his father seemed to have disinherited. Narcissus, his only defender, received an order to die. Another person, Silanus, a descendant of the Cæsars—possibly, therefore, a rival—was poisoned. Agrippina had herself ordered these



Agrippina (Bust of the Capitol, No. 14).

executions, that her son should find no obstacle on the road which she herself had opened to him by the murder of the emperor.

Claudius had been murdered; but this was no reason why he should not be apotheosized. Divine honours were decreed him.¹ In reality this decree of the senate was only an official engagement to molest no person on account of the late reign, since it was thus declared that all the acts of the late ruler were ratified, and his name was placed on the list of emperors.

Seneca, however, avenged the public conscience by

very severe strictures upon the new-made god and his colleagues in divinity.² It is a curious testimony to the true sentiments concealed under the hypocrisy of official religion and policy. The following is a summary of it:

"What was done in heaven the third day before the Ides of October I desire to relate to our descendants. If you are

¹ He had a temple and sacrifices and priests, *sodales Augustales*. Agrippina herself was, as Livia had been, priestess of the new divinity, having the *flaminium Claudiale*. (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 202.)

² The *Apokolokyntosis*. The text of this satire, which is very incomplete, does not contain the metamorphosis which the title announces.

curious to know how I obtained this true history, inquire of him who saw Drusilla ascend to heaven. He is inspector of the Appian Way, by which, it is well known, the divine Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar went to the gods. He will tell you that he saw Claudius following with unsteady steps the same road.

"It was in the middle of the day: Claudius began to expel his soul, without its being able to find a place of exit from that ill-made body. Mercury, who had always been amused by



The Parcæ.¹

the droll creature, took one of the Parcæ aside, and said to her: 'How can a woman be so cruel as to see a wretch in such torments? For nearly sixty-four years he has been quarrelling with his soul, and does not yet know whether he has ever yet been alive. What are you waiting for to do your office?' The Fate consented to cut this thread, entangled around a worthless spindle; Claudius finally threw up his soul, and ceased, not to live, but to appear alive.

"You have not forgotten what went on upon the earth and how great was the public rejoicing. In heaven it was announced

¹ From a mutilated fragment of the Parthenon (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 824, No. 2,071 F.).

to Jupiter that a respectable-looking old man had just arrived, white-haired, with shaking head, lame foot, and some kind of threat on his lips. Being questioned as to his country, he replied in an inarticulate voice; he is neither Greek nor Roman. Jupiter, not very well informed about matters in this lower world, does not recognize the new comer, and cannot even decide to what nation he belongs. To escape from this difficulty the god summons Hercules, who, having explored all the world, ought to know all nations of men. But when the hero beheld that strange face, that crooked gait, when he heard the voice, like that of no animal on earth, he who had not trembled before Juno's monsters, was troubled, and believed some thirteenth labour was about to be laid upon him. However, looking closer, he recognized a kind of human shape, and asked him in Greek whence he came. Claudius was delighted to meet a Greek scholar, and to find an occasion to spin one of his long yarns. Hercules, who did not very well understand what the other was telling him, was afraid that the fool was about to play some trick upon him. He finally, however, was re-assured, and, being quite a good-natured divinity, he would have allowed himself to be duped, had it not been for Fever, who alone of all the Roman gods had accompanied Claudius. 'You,' she said to Hercules, 'who have visited more countries than the most indefatigable muleteer, you know that there are Lyonnese. Well, this man belongs to the town of Plancus. He is a Gaul, a downright Gaul.' Upon this, Claudius, in a rage, ordered the execution of Fever; but to see the indifference with which all present heard the order you would have thought them his freedmen."

Meanwhile the Olympian senate assembles. The work, which is mutilated here, does not allow us to be present until near the close of the session, when Father Janus, a jovial frequenter of the Forum, begins to speak. He represents that formerly it was a great matter to become a god, but that now the honour is decreed to anybody and has ceased to be of value: so he counsels that no more gods be made, and that the next individual who, having been apotheosized in painting or bronze on earth, arrives in Olympus, be beaten with rods. But Jupiter disagrees. "It concerns our state," he says, "that Romulus be not the only one

to eat boiled turnips; I vote, therefore, that the divine Claudius be allowed his divinity, and that this marvel be added to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." Opinions were very diverse; Hercules being gained over to the cause of Claudius, ran hither and thither, as if he had been in the Roman senate, saying to this one and that: "Do not disoblige me, I have made this my personal affair. Another time, if you want something of me I will do it for you."

"But the divine Augustus rises, and for the first time since he has been among the gods makes his noble voice heard. He relates the murders ordered by Claudius, without allowing the accused to speak in their own defence. 'This,' he says, 'is not the way things are done here. Look at Jupiter; it is true he cast Vulcan down from heaven and broke his thigh, and that he hung his wife up by the feet one day, being angry; but he never has killed anybody, long as he has reigned. Verily, if you make such gods as Claudius, you yourselves will never be recognized any more.' This opinion carries the day; Mercury seizes Claudius by the nape of the neck and drags him away to the infernal regions. As they are on the way, they meet, upon the Via Sacra, a fine funeral procession, and as it is extremely magnificent it at once appears that they are about to inter a god; now, at last, Claudius understands that he is dead. Narcissus hastens to meet him, and preceding him, in the manner of a herald, announces Claudius Cæsar. At once a crowd of victims rush towards him, striking their hands together and chanting the hymn of the priests of Apis: 'We have found him, we have found him! Rejoice!' He, astonished, inquires how it happens that all his friends, acquaintances, and relatives are met together in this place. 'It is you, assassin of your friends and kindred, who have sent us hither,' replies Pompeius, to whom Claudius gave back the surname of Magnus, but from whom he took his head. They drag Claudius into the presence of Æacus, one of the three judges in Hades, who condemns him unheard, saying: 'Suffer thou what thou hast caused others to suffer.' Claudius regards this procedure as unjust, but he cannot regard it as new, having often applied it himself. When it is a question what shall be the penalty, some propose that Claudius shall take the place of Tantalus; others, that of Sisyphus or Ixion. Æacus replies that in relieving these veterans

of Hades this hope would be given to Claudius, that he in turn might some day obtain a substitute; and he condemns the imbecile and avaricious old man to seek for a gain which for ever escapes him: he shall eternally throw dice into a bottomless dice-box. Already this new son of Danaus is seeking with convulsed fingers to seize the fugitive dice, when Caligula arrives and claims him as his slave, bringing witnesses who have seen him scourge his feeble-minded relative; he obtains him, and then gives him over to one of his freedmen, who compels the pettifogging Cæsar eternally to drag sacks of law-papers."

This mythological pamphlet appeared to the people, or rather to the courtiers of the new reign, to lack in point and boldness; and a new conclusion was put to it, replacing the punishment of the counterfeit emperor by a transformation into a pumpkin.

Claudius, it may be, merited this funeral oration, which mocks the masters of heaven as well as those of earth; but it was not the affair of the flatterer of Claudius to write it.¹ However, I am not certain that Horace and Augustus himself would not have laughed in secret at this impertinent response to the *Carmen sæculare* of the year 17 B.C. Sixty-three years back Roman society was much the same, but the satirical philosopher pulled off the mask under which the first emperor and his poet laureate had attempted to hide it.

¹ *Cons. ad Polyb.*, 26, 31, 32. The *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vulgo *Apokolokyntosis*, is a Menippean satire, a mixture of prose and verse; the anapæsts are elegant and vivacious, and strange to say, recall in their design certain hymns of the Church.



Agrippina and Claudius (Silver Coin).

CHAPTER LXXV.

NERO (13 OCTOBER, 54 A.D.—9 JUNE, 68 A.D.).

I.—THE "QUINQUENNium NERONIS."

WE arrive at the fifth emperor¹ without having yet seen a natural succession, or an adoption determined by reasons of state. The Cæsars did indeed have recourse to adoption, even when they had a legitimate posterity, and this would have been admirable had it been a care for the public welfare which designated the individual; but the selections were usually made at random, at the will of the imperial household or of the prætorian guard. The former desired a prince whom they might lead, the latter an emperor whom they could plunder; and for this anything would do, boy or old man, imbecile² pedant, like Claudius, or a ferocious mountebank, like Nero.

The new master of the world was not yet seventeen years of age,³ he belonged to the *gens Domitia*, and the branch of that family called "brazen-beard" (Ahenobarbus). Every Roman family claimed some connection with the gods, and the legend among the Ahenobarbi was that Castor and Pollux had appeared to one of their ancestors, charging him to announce to the senate the victory of Lake Regillus, and in proof of their divine character had, by a touch, changed his black beard to a russet colour. This characteristic remained in the family; they had also another: it was a harsh and violent race, "heads of iron," said Crassus, "and hearts of lead." The father of Nero had killed a freedman who

¹ The official name of Nero in inscriptions and upon coins is: *Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus*.

² The word is used in its Latin sense: Claudius was irresolute, and very feeble in character; not, however, feeble-minded.

³ He was born at Antium, the 15th of December, 37 A.D. He was short-sighted and carried an eyeglass made of a cut emerald. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 64.) The cognomen of the Claudian family, *Nero*, was an old Sabine word meaning brave and hardy: *fortis et strenuus* (Suet., *Tib.*, 1).

refused to drink to intoxication. Upon the Appian Way he had intentionally crushed a child under his horse's hoofs; and once, in the open Forum, had knocked out the eye of a Roman knight who had the boldness to differ from him.

The son was worthy of the father. He was by nature a hypocrite, cowardly, malicious, and as such well prepared for the usual crimes of Roman despots; he possessed, moreover, a certain taste for poetry and art, which, in his incapacity to attain either, rendered him envious of artists and poets, and finally cruel towards them. We have before us a vain and grotesque tyrant, a vile profligate, leaving to history neither a thought nor an act worthy to cover the least of his infamous deeds.

Eminent tutors, however, had not been lacking to Nero; but education is not given by words and books alone; good examples go further than the choicest instruction. Accordingly, the lessons of Burrus and Seneca were less effectual than those taught the young man by the homicidal and licentious court which surrounded him; Nero was what the manners of the time, the violent temper which he inherited, and, above all, the absolute power he attained, made him. The purple which his three predecessors had dipped in the blood of so many victims was, like the shirt of Nessus, impregnated with deadly venom: it infected with the cruelty that made first an executioner and afterwards a victim of the rash man who dared assume it without being capable of defending himself against its subtle poison.

Nero, besides, was not the pupil of a sage; Seneca, to whom Burrus left the care of that imperial education, was not so much the philosopher that he has been called as he was the Rhetorician, a surname that was given to his father. The latter was wont to be declamatory on trivial themes; his son was rhetorical on subjects of philosophy. He was a philosopher in the same way that Lucan was a poet and Tacitus a historian, the latter alone of the three possessing genius.

Seneca is a new example of the practical tendencies of the Roman genius: elegant and skilful in the arrangement of words, he traverses all schools, but stops at none,¹ although that of

¹ Cf. *Epist.*, 33. His writings have no value from the point of view of philosophic originality. He adds nothing to what he borrows.

Zeno seems to have had his literary preference. On the way he gathered up those moral verities which form the common stock of humanity, sure to be found in different proportions by those who look for them, underlying all systems which have endured. "It is only sand without cement," Caligula said of the writings of Seneca, but in that sand glitter specks of gold.¹ Therefore he has remained, like Cicero, one of the instructors of youth; in the time of Quintilian, who judges him with severity and yet with candour, his books were in all schools.² There is always this difference between the two philosophers, that the style of Seneca, full of affectations and subtleties, is loaded with an ornamentation which is not the grand style, while the diction of Cicero is a model of Latin elegance. In the latter, everything is simple and done without effort; there is intelligence, and of the best kind, and a rich moral fervour which shows the upright man and good citizen. In the former, the rhetorician's work is too manifest, coldly arranging a production in which there is more art than conviction, less mental power than talent of saying things well. At that epoch, when men trifled with everything, even with life itself, and literature was as in our own days, a trade, Seneca remained to his last moment a consummate actor. His rôle was that of the virtuous man; his theme, moral philosophy. He has been called a spiritual director; it was his wish to be so, always provided that he should be excused from directing his own conscience, and he carefully separated his maxims and his conduct. "In his books he condemns tyranny," says an ancient historian,³ "and he was a tyrant's tutor; courtiers, and he was never absent from court; flattery, and no man ever flattered so basely."⁴ He extolled poverty, in the midst of vast wealth;⁵ virtue, and if we may

¹ Plutarch in a work which we have lost, but which Petrarch had read, declared that no Greek writer could be compared to him for moral precepts. (Lipsius, *Proleg. in Senec.*)

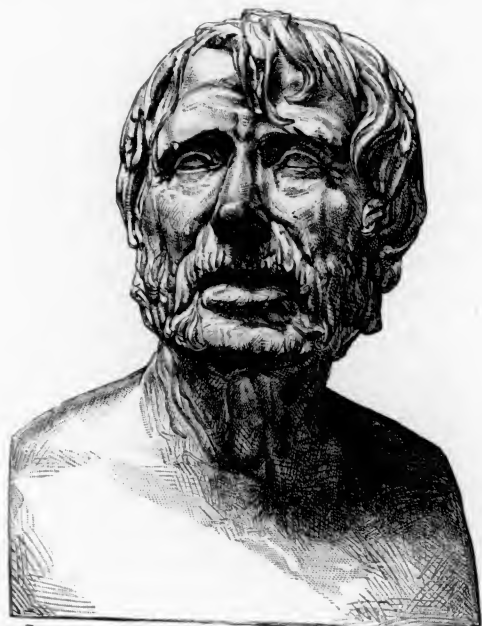
² *Inst. orat.*, x. 1. Fronto is still more severe.

³ Dion, who is very severe to him (cf., lxi. 10; lxii. 2). He accuses Seneca of having, by the exorbitant usury he obtained upon loans, amounting in all to 10,000,000 drachmas, caused in great part the revolt in Britain. Seneca himself admits that he carried his commercial transactions as far as Egypt. (*Epist.*, 77; *De Vita beata*, 17.)

⁴ Let the reader peruse his *Consolations to Polybus* and his *Treatise on Clemency*, written after the murder of Britannicus.

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42; xiv. 52; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 5.

believe Dion,¹ he was scarcely better than his contemporaries; a simple life, in gardens rivalling the emperor's own, and in villas filled with all the luxuries of Roman refinement. "I should like to know," said an ex-proconsul in the open senate during the time of Seneca's greatest favour, "I should like to know by what philosophic procedure he has in four years amassed 300,000,000



F. Chartier

Bust of Seneca.²

sesterces."³ To conclude as he had lived, he died with emphasis. In spite of his treatise concerning Providence and his eulogies upon suicide, after the manner of Cato, he held too strongly to life to anticipate Nero; but when the fatal messenger came, he made libations to Jupiter Liberator, declaimed his most brilliant maxims, and, through jealousy, perhaps, encouraged his wife, the beautiful Paulina, to die with him.

¹ Dion, lxi. 10; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42.

² Museum of Naples. The authenticity of this bust has been of late disputed.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42.

These words may seem hard, but we well know, in what concerns action and the energetic and rational conduct of public affairs, what these intellectual men are worth whose cadenced periods should never have been heard save in the prætorium or from the chair of Quintilian. Elsewhere we will do justice to the writer who has best responded to the needs of these terrible days by his philosophy of death.¹ Here we are considering the man, under the assumed character of a sage, whom Agrippina employed as her son's preceptor, and we are forced to acknowledge that this egotist who, after the care of his fortune and reputation, saw nothing of any greater worth than the art of discoursing well, could not be other than a poor teacher and an inadequate minister.

Seneca could not devise for his pupil any better system of education than the method at that time in use, concerning which we have the details. Rhetoric was its basis, and it took the form of a study of the poets, that is, of the abuse of harmonious words, brilliant images, ideas sometimes vague, sometimes too precise, and the perpetual employment of that mythology which made the gods descend upon earth so often that the mind had no cause to look upward to the skies. Suetonius even accuses Seneca of concealing from the young prince the ancient orators whose virile words ruled cities, that he might protect his own discourses from the dangerous comparison between true eloquence and declamation.² The pupil, like his master, had a brilliant exterior: for the senate and the public appearance, a grave air, pompous phrases, and effective language. But in private life he was allowed to form low or frivolous tastes. Seneca had anticipated Rousseau's advice: Nero learned to do many things with which it was designed to occupy or distract his mind—he could paint, engrave and carve, could drive a chariot, accompany himself upon the lyre, could even compose verses with assistance.³ It would

¹ In chapter lxxxvii. § 2. Garat, who set about re-reading Seneca during the Reign of Terror, said: "There was but one thing left for us to learn—how to die." This is almost the whole of Seneca's philosophy. Cf. Havet, *le Christianisme et ses Origines*, vol. ii. p. 256.

² *A cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca (principem avertit), quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret (Nero, 52).*

³ A very able writer says of him: "He painted well, and was a good sculptor; his poetry was good." Suetonius (*Nero, 52*) says in effect, that he did all this, but does not add that he did it well, and Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 3) only gives him credit for having learned the elements

have been far better had he been trained to the management of affairs.

All this, however, would have been well enough if, to regulate such external and multiform activity, the tutor had been able to implant in the heart of his pupil those strong doctrines of duty which are to the moral life what ballast is to the ship—the condition of equilibrium and steadiness. Not that Seneca was sparing of good advice: he gave much and in a magisterial tone. If he wished to recommend clemency, he dedicated to the young prince a treatise on the subject, and made haste to publish it; or he prepared another upon anger, in the finest pedagogic style. Vanity, that disease of artists, so fatal to statesmen, led him to compose on all occasions discourses for his pupil, after each of which the city resounded with praise of the philosopher's wisdom and the writer's genius.¹ This was for his advantage; but such an education, all words and figures, pedantic, declamatory, and false, led Nero to attach no more serious importance to the virtues thus recommended to him than to the other themes habitual to rhetoricians. He listened more willingly and understood better when Seneca said to him what Villeroy remarked to Louis XV. when a boy: "Look at that city, those people: all is yours."² What possible use were the maxims of Zeno to this young madman after such teaching as to his omnipotence?

It is not safe to say that this was intention on Seneca's part, and that it was for his advantage, in order to retain the power, to teach Nero no part of his royal trade. To teach this, Seneca needed to know it himself; and it is probable the philosopher had neither the practical sense nor the firm will which make the great minister.³

We may also doubt whether the austere reputation of Burrus is more firmly based than that of Seneca. His culpable compliance with Nero's wishes is matter of history, and Josephus, a

of poetry *Inesse sibi elementa doctrine ostendebat* Nerva, the future emperor, was one of the revisers of Nero's poetry. Cf. Martial, *Epigram.*, vii. 70.

¹ *Crebris orationibus quas Seneca testificando quam honesta præciperet, vel jactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgabat* (*Ann.*, xiii. 11).

² If these are not the exact terms the sense is the same.

³ Philosophers and men of letters have naturally great indulgence for Seneca; not so historians. Cf. H. Schiller, *Gesch. des Nero*, *passim*, and pp. 294 *et seq.*

contemporary, accuses him of having sold to the Syrians, for a great sum of money, the imperial letters which became the cause of the revolt of the Jews and their great war.¹

This excuse, however, may be made for both: Nero had scarcely emerged from childhood when he came into possession of imperial power; for how long a time will he be able to control his passions, in the midst of a society where the wisest were so rarely masters of theirs? Five years, was the reply of the old historians, who forget that during this much-praised *quinquennium* occurred two murders, that of Britannicus and that of Agrippina. It is true that the removing of an heir presumptive passed for prudence at that time, and that murders in the ruler's own family were regarded as domestic concerns with which the public had no right to intermeddle.



Nero as a Child (Bust of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,293).

Like Caligula, Nero began well, and, being spoiled by power, ended as he did. In a discourse composed for him by Seneca,² the young emperor promised the senate to take Augustus as his model, and to keep the imperial household distinct from the State, so that public affairs should no longer be managed by favourites and in the secrecy of the palace, but openly by senators and consuls, the legitimate magistrates of the State. The delighted senate sought to bind the new ruler to his promises, decreeing that his words

¹ Πάθουσι [Βουήρων] πολλοὺς χρόμασιν (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8).

² Tacitus remarks that Nero was the first of the Cæsars who had occasion to borrow another's eloquence (*Ann.*, xiii. 3).

should be engraved on a silver plate, and solemnly read aloud by the consuls every year.

But the discourse having been recited, and the show ended, Nero returned to his pleasures and to the young companions who already flattered his dawning passions, finding eulogies for all his follies and excuses for all his crimes. The frivolous and ambitious court gathering about him did not venture, as yet, to enter into rivalry with the other, over which his mother and the old statesmen reigned. Otho, the licentious Petronius whom Nero called the arbiter of taste, and all the gay companions of the young emperor, still respected Agrippina; Burrus awed them, and Seneca was too yielding to excite their ill-will. For the



Laurelled
Agrippina.
Gold Coin of the
year 51 A.D.

moment Nero is the good son, the good young prince; he has caresses for his mother, pity for the unfortunate, sympathizing words when there must be severity. At the first combat of gladiators he will have no one killed; and one day, when Burrus brings him two death-sentences to sign, he cries, "Alas! I would that I could not write!"¹ Another day when the senate addresses formal thanks to him, he bids them forbear, saying: "Wait until I deserve it." Seneca doubtless suggested the reply; this sentimentality, very uncharacteristic of a Roman, made part of the rôle which the philosopher desired his pupil to play, and, believing above all things in well-turned periods and effective phrases, Seneca felt that everything was secured when the prince had well recited his lesson.

Agrippina, on her part, was not anxious that her son's mind should mature early. She had raised Nero to the imperial throne chiefly that she might reign under his name. It is said that an astrologer had predicted to her that her son should be emperor, but that he would destroy her life. "Let me die," she replied, "if he but reign." Like so many other anecdotes this is made after the event, and shows only one side of Agrippina's character. The sentiment ascribed to her by the French poet is truer:

Je le craindrais bientôt, s'il ne me craignait plus.

The empress could not expect to retain the supreme power

¹ Sen., *de Clem.*, ii. 1.



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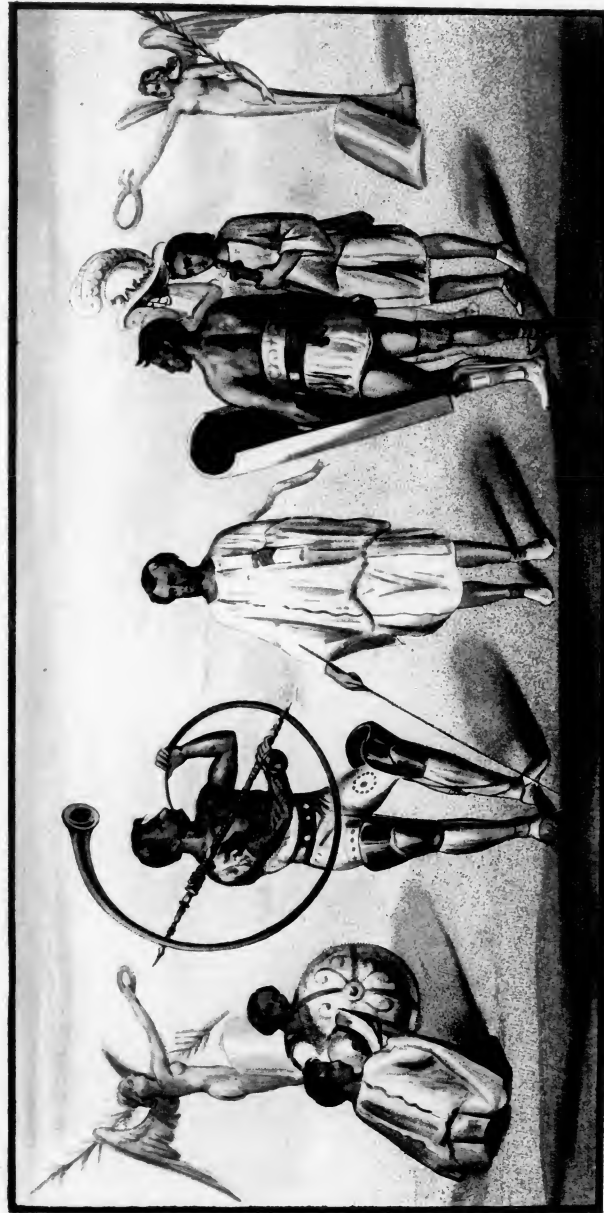
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Je le craindrois bientôt, s'il ne me craignoit plus.

The empress could not expect to retain the supreme power

(Sen. de Clem., l. i.)



GLADIATORS

From a wall painting at Pompeii

entirely in her own hands, but she hoped to have a share of it. Burrus and Seneca, who owed to her their elevation, and Pallas the freedman, steward of the palace and favourite of the empress, could not be expected to oppose her designs, and Nero himself appeared to agree in the partition of authority. We have seen that¹ she had caused the death of Narcissus for her own interest, and that of Silanus for her son's; and her maternal forethought did not stop here. Had it not been for the opposition of the two ministers² she would, by other murders, have freed Nero, without his connivance, from all future obstacles. Accordingly the emperor showed himself grateful for this love of the lioness

Laurelled Agrippina.³

defending her young with teeth and claws; his first countersign given to the guard was: To the best of mothers. She never left him, writing his despatches, dictating his replies to ambassadors, and that all the city should see her influence over him, she accompanied him in his litter, or caused him to walk beside that in which she was carried.⁴ She would not have dared to accompany him to the Curia; but he assembled the senate in the imperial palace, and, behind a veil, she was able to hear all that passed. On one occasion, when Nero was receiving the Armenian deputies, she approached, intending to seat herself at the emperor's side, but Nero, warned by Seneca, came down to meet her, by this mark of respect preventing what

Busts of Nero and Agrippina, borne by an Eagle.⁵

¹ See p. 452. Narcissus had opposed her marriage with Claudius; he also possessed 100,000,000 sesterces, which she secured.

² . . . *Idaturque in cedes nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam essent* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 2).

³ *Cabinet de France*, Cameo, No. 231.

⁴ *Matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit* (Suet., *Nero*, 9. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 11.) Agrippina's head is never alone on the Roman coins, except on Greek or Asiatic pieces; but it is repeated with that of Nero on a large number. Cf. Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, i. p. lxx. and ii., *passim*; Mionnet, ii., *passim*; Cohen, i. 175-6.

⁵ *Cabinet de France*, Cameo, No. 237.

would have scandalized even the Romans of that period: the public manifestation of a woman's arrogant intermeddling in affairs of State.¹

It soon began to appear necessary to the two ministers to restrain this domination which had disgraced Claudius, and to cause the emperor to be respected, even by his mother. Unfortunately, Burrus and Seneca, notwithstanding the austerity of their doctrines, found no other expedient for breaking down Agrippina's influence than that of encouraging the passions of the young emperor. His friends Otho and Senecio had more licence given them, and Seneca himself was concerned in the intrigue with which Nero's career of profligacy began, one of that philosopher's relatives lending his own name to cover the emperor's *liaison* with Acte, a freedwoman. He excused himself, doubtless, before his own philosophy, by repeating the line which an old commentator on Juvenal attributes to him: "Let us prevent this wild beast from once tasting blood."²

Nero threw himself with ardour into the path thus opened to him, and soon began to talk of repudiating his virtuous wife, Octavia, and marrying Acte. Agrippina meanwhile complained that they had given her a slave for a rival; and, by her reproaches, merely alienated her son from herself. Perceiving this, she changed her tone and conduct, and lavished upon him pleasures and gold, for Pallas had made a fortune for her equal to that possessed by the emperor himself. It was, however, too late: her caresses were as ineffectual as her anger had been. "I should prefer," Nero said, "to renounce the imperial power rather than support this tyranny."³ The ministers, by causing the disgrace of Pallas, left Agrippina no uncertainty as to her own loss of influence.⁴ At this blow, Agrippina broke out into threats that she would reveal all: she would present Britannicus to the



Agrippina and
Nero
(Gold Coin).

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 5.

² *Ad Sat.*, v. 109: *Non fore sævo illi leoni quin, gustato semel hominis cruore, ingenita redeat sævitia.*

³ Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 2; Suet., *Nero*, 28; Dion, lxi. 2.

⁴ He was replaced in the management of the finances of the imperial household by the freedman Etruscus, who retained his position until the reign of Domitian. Cf. Statius and Martial.

prætorians, would publish all the crimes of the Cæsars, the poisonings and incest, and would restore to the legitimate heir the paternal crown which an usurper retained to insult his mother.

Nero too well remembered the "food of the gods"¹ not to be beforehand with her. Britannicus, says Tacitus, was entering upon his fifteenth year. On one occasion, at the Saturnalia, Nero and he were playing with other lads of their age, and the party drew lots for the royalty; the lot fell to the emperor, who gave the others orders easy to execute, but bade his brother come forward in the presence of the assembly and sing them some song, to exhibit the fine voice which had been so much praised."² Nero hoped to embarrass the boy and raise a laugh at his expense. Britannicus, not at all disconcerted, gave the old verses of Ennius:³ "O my father! O my country! O house of Priam," etc.

By these complaints of another royal boy deprived of the paternal heritage, Britannicus seemed to recall his own misfortunes and the usurpation. Public emotion was excited; the young emperor's hatred was increased thereby, and from that day he formed the resolution to set himself free from the imprudent youth who dared to remember the past. Locusta was still kept alive, and a tribune of the prætorians had her in charge. Nero called the soldier and ordered a poison which Locusta prepared, but which was too feeble or seemed to the emperor too slow. He threatened the tribune, and struck the poisoner a blow with his own hand; he ordered her immediate execution, but she remonstrated, saying that it was her intention to avoid sudden death in order to conceal the murder. "Am I afraid of the Julian⁴ law?" cries the imperial assassin; and he will have Locusta prepare at once in the palace, under his own eyes, a more rapid poison; he tries its effect upon animals, and will have the dose increased.

It had been the custom at table for the younger members of

¹ *Θεῶν βρῶμα*: this was the name given to mushrooms, in memory of the dish by means of which Claudius had been made a god, by poisoning him.

² Suetonius (*Nero*, 33) says that Britannicus had a beautiful voice, and that this was one of the reasons why Nero hated him.

³ This, at least, is the opinion of Justus Lipsius. The verses are in Cicero (*Tusc.*, iii. 19).

⁴ *De veneficiis*.

the imperial family to partake of a separate and more frugal repast in the presence of their elders. Britannicus still sat among the children, but he had formed the habit of eating nothing until the dish had been tasted by a confidential slave. To kill both slave and master would have revealed the crime. Britannicus was handed a beverage which the slave could taste with impunity, but so hot that the prince called for water to render it cooler, and with the water the poison was added to the cup. The unfortunate boy fell senseless. Some screamed with terror, others fled from the table, but those who had most presence of mind remained seated, and looked at Nero, who, with perfect composure, said to them: "This is an attack of epilepsy to which my brother is subject; he will speedily recover consciousness." And he went on drinking, while slaves took up the body to bear it to the funeral pile which had been made ready in advance for the last scion of the Claudian family.

On the morrow Nero issued an edict, in which he apologized for the promptness of the obsequies. It had been, he said, the custom of their ancestors to withdraw from public observation the funerals of the young, not to prolong the grief by more formal obsequies. For himself, deprived of a brother's support, all his hope now depended upon the State—a new motive for the senate and the people to surround with their affection a prince left alone from a family born for the supreme power.

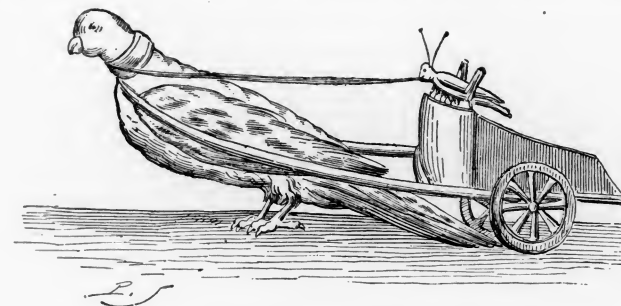
Agrippina, who was present at the banquet, recognized her own teaching, and with Britannicus her last hope perished; nor could she conceal her terror. In the city not a voice was raised against the fratricide, and many even excused it;¹ the noblest, even the most austere, persons in Rome, says Tacitus—by these words doubtless indicating Burrus and Seneca—made themselves accomplices by accepting the lands and palaces of the victim (55 A.D.). Seneca even went further: a few months later he dedicated to Nero his treatise upon Clemency, in which he congratulated the young emperor on not having as yet shed a drop of blood.²

¹ *Plerique hominum ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum æstimantes* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 17).

² *De Clem.*, 1, 2, 9. Merivale even believes (vi., 93-5) that Seneca knew what was done and aided in it. Dr. Raabe, in his work on Nero, expresses the same opinion: *So sind (Seneca und Burrus) und bleiben sie doch immer in den Augen der Nachwelt Kindermörder* (p. 119).

Locusta also had her reward, impunity and vast domains; with them, however, the obligation to make pupils in her art, which seems to have become an institution of State.¹

Agrippina, however, did not retire from the conflict. She amassed money, and flattered the senators and centurions, as if to gather a party: at least it was so asserted. Nero then deprived her of her guards and sent her away from the palace; he did not, however, break with her, but, from this time forward, he visited



Nero as a Parrot, driven by Locusta as a Grasshopper.²

her rarely, and always accompanied by a guard, as if he feared some treason, and manifesting coldness and embarrassment in his manner towards her. The disgrace of the empress was quickly recognized; all abandoned her save a few women who still visited her, either from some remaining affection, or more probably to take a feminine pleasure in her humiliation. An incident worthy of an oriental court came near precipitating the catastrophe which some persons now began to foresee. Agrippina had a friend, Julia Silana,³ widow of that Silius who had been Messalina's lover. This person, no longer young but extremely rich, proposed to take a young husband. Agrippina, not so old as Julia, and remaining in

It has, on the other hand, been maintained in Germany (Stahr, *Agrippina*, p. 247), and even in England, that the whole story was a fable. I have said in its place why I do not believe in the murder of Germanicus under Tiberius; for contrary reasons, I absolutely do believe in that of Britannicus under Nero.

¹ . . . *impunitatem, prædique ampla, sed et discipulos dedit* (Suet., *Nero*, 33).

² Pompeian painting, often called the Caricature of Seneca, but also regarded as Locusta driving Nero. (Monaco, *le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 16.)

³ Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 209.

widowhood, considered the intention unbecoming,¹ and prevented the marriage. To revenge herself, Silana caused the empress to be accused by two of her clients of inciting to revolt Rubellius Plautus, who on the mother's side was as near akin to Augustus as was Nero. The emperor was to be assassinated, upon which Agrippina, marrying Rubellius, would reign jointly with him. The two clients dared not go straight to the palace with so grave a revelation, but repeated what they had been taught to a freedman of Nero's aunt Domitia, a mortal enemy of Agrippina, and the freedman, delighted to serve his mistress's hatred, revealed the whole to the actor Paris, an old comrade in slavery. The latter had free entry to the palace at all times, and he now came to the emperor during a nocturnal debauch. On hearing the story Nero was filled with terror and rage: he wished to kill them all, beginning with his mother, and to expel Burrus, who had been blind to this conspiracy, doubtless because he owed his fortune to the empress. Seneca calmed the imperial anger by explaining to Nero, that, although there was an accusation, there were as yet no proofs; and Burrus promised that the empress should die if she could not prove herself innocent.

In the morning Burrus, Seneca, and the freedmen went to her dwelling, and the haughty empress was reduced to appear before her own creatures as an accused person. She did this with her accustomed arrogance, demanded an interview with the emperor, and, instead of begging for her life, ordered her accusers to be punished, and that positions of importance should be bestowed on those who had proved themselves her friends. For once again Nero obeyed his mother. Silana was condemned to exile,² her clients, to banishment from Rome, the too zealous freedman, to death, and no notice was taken of the rest.

These gloomy stories of the palace have become, owing to Tacitus and to the general taste for dramatic narrative, almost the sole history of the emperors; there is, however, another, and Seneca and Burrus, now more at liberty, were making it, as they essayed by wise measures to conciliate for their pupil the affection

¹ *Impudicam et vergentem annis dictitans* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 19).

² The difference between exile and banishment (*relegatio*) was that the former destroyed, and the latter did not destroy, the civil rights of the person punished.

of the senate and the provinces. These two ministers, who under a different master or with a firmer character of their own, might have preserved their honour, showed sufficient ability in the ordinary affairs of government. They complemented each other well, the philosopher supplying what the soldier and statesman lacked, and they gave the rare example of two friends dividing power without any mutual treason.¹ They took measures against counterfeits,² caused dishonest pleaders to be condemned,³ suppressed the dues which had been paid to judges, supporting the principle that the State owed its citizens gratuitous justice;⁴ and listened to the complaints that were still made against dishonest publicans. This is not to say that the old exactions had reappeared, but only that the people, habituated to order and justice, had become more fastidious. Seneca understood, better than the mocking spitefulness of the *Apokolokyntosis* would make us believe, the new paths upon which men had entered. The citizen of the town of Corduba, the philosopher who, in his writings, even went far to efface the difference between the slave and the patrician, could not in public affairs make great account of Roman supremacy and provincial inferiority. Thus by the progress of ideas, and by reason of the very position of the emperors themselves since the time of Tiberius towards the aristocracy, the provinces saw their condition ameliorated. For twenty years after his death the memory of Nero was cherished in the East, and everywhere, save in Rome and Italy, Domitian was regarded as an excellent ruler.

At the instigation of his counsellors Nero proposed in the year 58 A.D. a measure which we should call very democratic, namely, the suppression, in favour of commerce, industry, and the poor, of all indirect taxes, which would have implied, as a necessary consequence, the augmentation of the taxes on property and on inheritances. The rich, to whom this project was unfavourable, caused the senate to reject the imperial measure, and Tacitus,

¹ It is a singular fact that Seneca and Suetonius never but once mention the name of Burrus (*de Clem.*, 7, and *Nero*, 35), and the two Plinys never. We know him, and only imperfectly, through Tacitus.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 41; Suet., *Nero*, 17; Paulus, *Sent.*, v., all of chapter 25, and especially paragraph 6.

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 30, 33, 52; xiv. 18, 28, 46.

⁴ Suet., *Nero*, 17: *Præbente ærario gratuita*.

always friendly to the higher class, congratulates himself on the failure of a plan which may, perhaps, have been impracticable, but certainly was incomprehensible to him.¹ However, some useful reforms were made. It was directed that the regulations made in regard to each form of tax should be publicly posted, so that the tax-payers might be able to know perfectly how far the rights of the publicans extended. At the end of a year there was release from any tax which the collector might have omitted to



Rope Dancer, as Faun (Monaco, pl. 16).

levy; for complaints, on the contrary, all days were legal; the magistrates were enjoined never to refuse to examine into an accusation against farmers of the revenue; and all suits of this kind were to be settled in the Forum before the ordinary judges, with a right of appeal to the senate, instead of being brought before the officers of the treasury, in that case both judge and party. Certain advantages were granted the corn-growing provinces in the matter of transportation to Rome: vessels employed in this service ceased to be comprised in the census, so that merchants beyond sea no longer paid any tax upon such portion of their fortune as was represented by their vessels. The mania for games had seized upon the provinces; all the governors desired to celebrate them, but they were forbidden to do so, since it was usually the inhabitants upon whom fell

¹ *Ann.*, xiii. 50-51.

the costs of this ruinous display. Further regulations of a very wise character, says Tacitus, were established, but they were not long observed. The suppression of the tax of the fortieth and fiftieth,¹ and of some other dues illegally levied, continued up to the time of Trajan.

At Rome, the guards stationed to preserve order at the games were withdrawn, in order that the people might appear more free, but really that the discipline of the soldiers might not be impaired. Men who had served as informers were sought out, and their recompense reduced to one-fourth of what the Poppæan law had allowed; senators who were in needy circumstances were relieved;² the poor were protected against the quæstors of the treasury, who used their right of search too severely; the public credit was reinforced by a gift of 40,000,000 sesterces to the *ærarium*;³ the people, finally, received distributions of money and provisions, and especially were entertained with games and theatrical representations. Notwithstanding Nero's taste for amusements of this kind, play-actors and charioteers were expelled from Italy, for the theatre and the circus had become places for cabals and factions.

Another measure was directly for the benefit of slaves: at Rome the prefect of the city, and in the provinces the governors, were required to receive the complaints of slaves suffering from the cruelty of their masters,⁴ and later the Antonines instituted for cases of the kind a severe penalty. This is a proof of movement towards a more generous solution of this great social question; it had already begun under Claudius, and will be seen to increase in almost every reign, and bring about important changes in legislation. But the old Roman party which had just proposed the law against freedmen were able to obtain the passage of a still more terrible one, namely, condemning all the slaves of an assassinated master and those enfranchised by will who resided

¹ *Tac., Ann.*, xii. 51. The four per cent. tax on the price of slaves was henceforth paid, not as formerly by the buyer, but by the seller, as was the case in all sales; but this in reality made no difference, since the seller augmented his price by so much. (*Ann.*, xiii. 31.)

² They received an annual donation of 500,000 sesterces (*Suet., Nero*, 10).

³ In the year 62 the emperor complained in an edict that he was obliged to give every year 60,000,000 sesterces to the State, to refill the exhausted *ærarium*, and he appointed a commission composed of three ex-consuls, *ad vectigalia publica*, doubtless to take measures to make good the deficit. (*Tac., Ann.*, xv. 18.)

⁴ *Sen., de Benef.*, iii. 22; *Digest*, i. 12, 1, § 1; *ibid.*, xiii. 7, 24, § 3.

under his roof, to share the punishment of the murderer. If they were not guilty of killing their master, they were at least criminal in not having defended him.¹ An occasion shortly presented itself for enforcing this terrible law. The prefect of the city having been assassinated, all his slaves, four hundred in number, were ordered to execution. The populace, seeking to deliver them, armed themselves with stones and sticks, but Nero promulgated a severe edict, and lined the streets through which the condemned were to pass with the prætorian cohorts. The people now began to have pity for these unfortunate beings whom at an earlier period they had regarded as only good to furnish amusement in being thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre. Nero was the author of the law, which he observed for many years, of never admitting sons of freedmen to a seat in the senate.

Through dislike of the palace functionaries and their late domination, in the time of Claudius, the senate were disposed to increase the severity of the laws in respect to freedmen, by permitting patrons to restore to servitude those who had shown themselves unworthy of liberty. This was calling in question the position of a crowd of citizens. The emperor wisely refused any general measure of the kind, and only authorized individual prosecutions on account of particular occurrences;² but he suffered the senate to suppress the fees of the advocates and the obligation for quæstors-elect to give games of gladiators: a two-fold favour to the aristocracy, since the former decision, by removing the poor from the bar, gave over to the rich the influence which that function secured; and the latter relieved of a heavy expense the young nobles who were entering on public life.

Some few changes were made in respect to the jurisdiction of the inferior magistrates. What remained of the prerogatives of the tribunes and ædiles was still further diminished to the advantage of the prætors and consuls, so that the two former offices, once so important in the State, sank to the condition of simple magistracies of the city of Rome. The quæstors, to whom Claudius had intrusted the administration of the treasury, lacked authority by reason of

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32.

² *Ibid.*, 26-27.

their youth; and the old regulation of Augustus was revived, giving this office to ex-prætors.¹

Upon the whole, Burrus and Seneca, aided by the senate, for whom they manifested great consideration, guided the State sensibly. The young ruler himself, in his public life, appeared with dignity. When, as consul, he sat upon the tribunal, he was attentive, and listened carefully to those who pleaded before him, forbidding long harangues; upon the conclusion of the case, he did not at once give a decision, but put it in writing the following day, after having privately consulted with the other judges. This parade of conscientiousness ended with the sitting of the court, and Rome, which had marvelled at his precocious gravity, learned with amazement that its emperor ran about the city streets by night in the disguise of a slave, frequenting shops and taverns to break and pillage, or attacking late pedestrians, at the risk of finding some one stronger than himself.² Thus it happened that a senator, Julius Montanus, gave him back with interest the blows received, and very nearly caused the emperor's death. But Julius had the imprudence to recognize his sovereign brawler, and the still greater folly of humbly apologizing for the act. Upon this the emperor bethought himself of his tribunitian inviolability, and the senator was obliged to die by his own hand. From that time forward Nero did not again risk himself without guards, who followed him at a distance, and in case of need interposed an armed defence.³ By day, in the theatre, the emperor disturbed public order, encouraging the applause or the outcries, exciting the people to break the benches and to fight each other on the stage, ending by himself taking part in the encounter, and throwing missiles from his high seat, one of which, striking a prætor, wounded him in the hand.⁴

These coarse follies were only whims willingly pardoned in the young emperor. Sons of good families and young fops (*trossuli*) considered these proceedings vastly amusing, and delighted to

¹ Upon these reforms, see Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 26-29, 31, 34. Suetonius says (*Nero*, 16): *Multa sub eo animadversa severe et coercita nec minus instituta.*

² [These pranks are attributed to Antiochus Epiphanes by Pölybius, and to our Prince Henry (V.) by Shakespeare.—*Ed.*]

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 25.

⁴ Suet., *Nero*, 26.

imitate them, which they did so effectually that, according to Tacitus, Rome by night resembled a city taken by assault. Moreover, it was but the obscure crowd who as yet furnished material for the imperial amusements. But passions grew apace and crimes were about to begin.

II.—MURDERS AND ORGIES.

Otho had married Sabina Poppæa, esteemed the most beautiful woman in Rome. The very type of an ambitious coquette,¹ the model of those women who have not the excuse of passion for their misconduct, she loved herself only, worshipped only her own beauty, and cared for nothing but to secure the supremacy of her own fascinations. She hoped to die before losing the charms of her face, and to increase their effect she was never seen without a veil. Otho was deeply enamoured of Poppæa;² but he committed the error of praising her to Nero, who desired to see her. Fascinated and allured by artful denials and skilful coqueting, he soon forgot both the virtuous Octavia, his own wife, and his imprudent favourite, the husband of Poppæa. Otho was exiled, as governor of Lusitania (58 A.D.), and detained in that remote province for ten years.

Up to this time Nero had concealed his irregularities and vices.⁴ Under the influence of this arrogant and artful woman, who had risked all to reach the point where she now stood, he ceased to control his evil dispositions, and his two ministers lost ground as Poppæa gained it. Too proud to remain the emperor's mistress, Poppæa desired to share the imperial throne. Two women hindered the fulfilment of her wish: Octavia, the legitimate wife, and Agrippina, who was not disposed to have the marriage



Poppæa.²

¹ She employed all recipes at that time known, and they were already numerous, to prevent *des ans l'irréparable outrage*. She covered her face with a mask as a protection against the sun, and wherever she went a herd of 500 she asses followed her, to supply milk for the baths whereby she sought to preserve the freshness of her skin.

² ΠΟΠΗΑΙΑ ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ (Poppæa, wife of Nero Augustus). Silver coin.

³ Her statues were overthrown at the same time with Nero's; but Otho, upon his accession, had them replaced.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 47.

she had brought about broken off in favour of a rival vastly more dangerous than the freedwoman Acte. Agrippina was the more formidable of the two, for—daughter of Germanicus and lineal descendant of Augustus, sister of Caligula, and wife of Claudius—she united in her own person all the prestige, and, many persons were not far from thinking, all the rights of the imperial house in which Domitius Nero was but a stranger. Would she have gone so far as to make good her threats?

Would she have been willing to overthrow the fortune she herself had reared? It is difficult to believe that she would, although we can easily imagine the commission of one crime more in this family of Roman Atridæ. Poppæa made it her business to persuade Nero that his life was in danger, and Nero, weary of obeying when all the world beside yielded obedience to him, had already substituted hatred for affection towards Agrippina. Poppæa irritated by sarcasms the impetuous youth, and at other times she pointed out to him the insulting pride, the dangerous ambition, of this woman who would not hesitate to sacrifice her son to her ancestors and to herself.

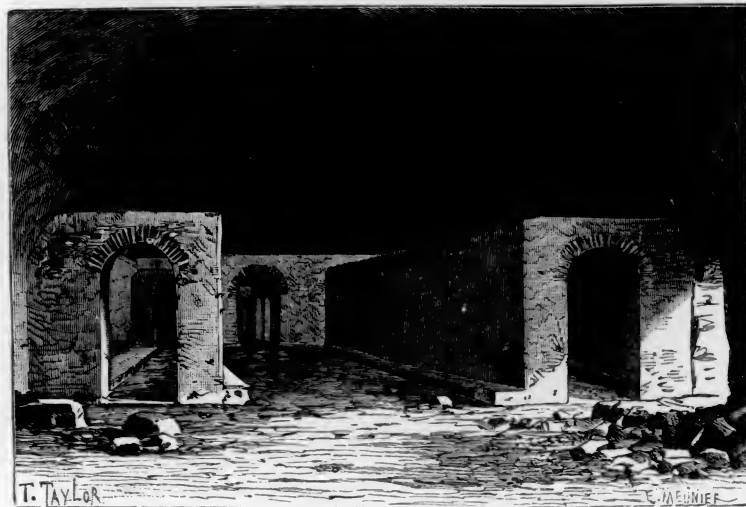


Octavia and Nero.¹

Nero was only too willing to listen to language like this. The idea of ridding himself of an inconvenient censor, already familiar to his mind, no longer alarmed him; for some time he had hesitated not so much at the heinousness of crime as in respect to the means of accomplishing it. Steel left traces, and it was not easy to administer poison: Agrippina remembered too well the mushrooms which had despatched Claudius and the cup served to Britannicus; she had, moreover, it was said, familiarized herself with antidotes, and might save herself even after an act of imprudence. The freedman Anicetus, in command of the fleet at Misenum, proposed a plan which seemed likely to keep away all suspicion. Nero was at Baïæ; he invited his mother thither by affectionate letters, loaded her with demonstrations of devotion, and after supper himself attended her to the splendidly appointed vessel which awaited her.

¹ NERO. CLAV. CÆS. AVG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. COS. Heads of Octavia and Nero facing each other, surmounted, the former by a crescent, the latter by a star. Bronze coin.

The gods, says Tacitus, seemed to have prepared specially for that night the radiance of the celestial fires and the calm of a peaceful sea. The vessel pursued its silent course; one of Agrippina's women, sitting at the foot of her mistress's couch, was talking with rapture of the emperor's change of feeling, of his manifestations of affection, and of the favour in which Agrippina was now held. Suddenly a crash was heard, the vessel gave way, and the waves rushed in through a great gap; one of the officers

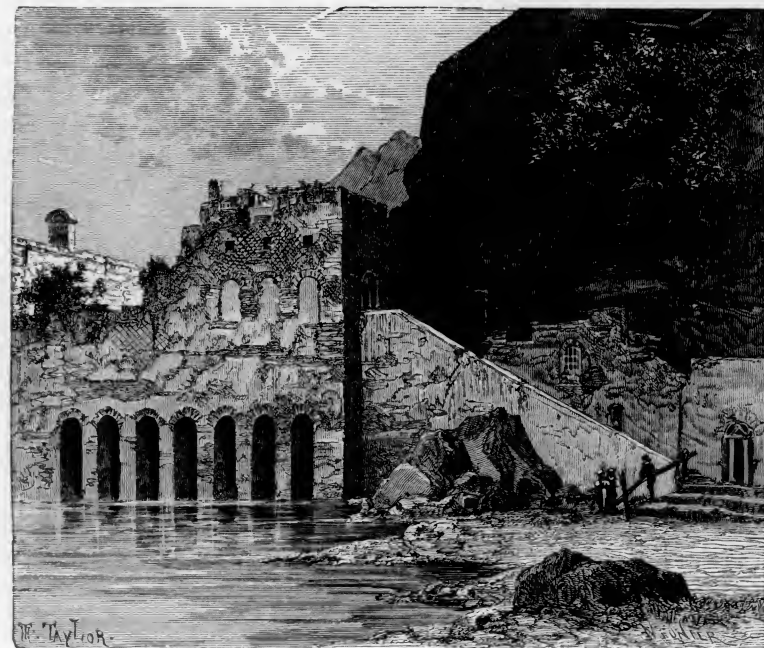


Interior View of Nero's Hot Bath at Baïæ (Engraving in the Nat. Library, Paris).

on guard near the empress was crushed in the disaster, but the canopy over the bed protected the empress and her attendant. Freeing herself from the wreck, the latter, in order to attract notice and secure her own safety, cries out that she is the emperor's mother, upon which she is despatched with oars and boat-hooks. Agrippina, keeping silent, swims, although wounded, and, being picked up by a boat, finally reaches Lake Lucrinus and her country-house.

The crime was too evident; the empress, however, feigned not to be aware of it lest it should be accomplished, and sent word at once to her son that the goodness of the gods and the fortune of the emperor had saved her from the greatest danger.

Nero was already aware of the event, and, alarmed at the idea of his mother's anger and the probability that she would excite the prætorians against him, he asked counsel of Seneca and Burrus, who perhaps had not been aware of the meditated crime.¹ They remained for a long time silent; at last Seneca spoke: Would the soldiery be willing to complete the murder, he inquired of the



Baths of Nero at Baïæ, seen from the sea.

prætorian prefect. But Burrus, on behalf of his prætorians, declined the task. "They are too much attached," he said, "to the family of the Cæsars and also to the memory of Germanicus; let Anicetus finish what he has begun." The freedman accepted the proposal. "At last," Nero said, "I shall reign."

The conference was just ending when Agrippina's messenger

Xiphilinus, following Dion (lxi. 13) accuses Seneca of being the instigator of the murder, affirming that there are numerous witnesses on this point. Tacitus limits himself to saying: . . . *incertum an et ante ignaros* (Ann., xiv. 7).

arrived. Nero let a dagger fall at the man's feet, and cried out "An assassin!" He was seized and loaded with chains. Nero had now the pretext that Roman baseness needed to transfer the blame: it is the mother who had tried to kill her son, and in despair at the failure had attempted her own life. The murderers penetrated to the bed-chamber of the empress; one of them struck her on the head,¹ and she was quickly despatched.

No sooner was the infamous crime committed than Nero had a moment of remorse and terror. His base counsellors hastened to his relief, while Seneca wrote to the senate in the emperor's name, to accuse Agrippina and thank the tutelary genius of the Empire, which had sought by a shipwreck to frustrate her guilty designs.² Burrus brought the centurions and tribunes to the emperor to felicitate him on having escaped his mother's conspiracy. The cue was given: the victim became the assassin. The temples stood open, incense smoked upon the altars; the whole court, then the senate, the adjacent cities, the provinces, all united in thanking the gods for the emperor's safety. There was a general rivalry throughout the Empire, in stifling, by outbursts of rejoicing, the cry of nature in the murderer's heart.³ One man alone, on the day when the senate vowed statues to Minerva and to the emperor on account of the discovery of the pretended conspiracy—one man alone, Thræsea, had the courage to rise and go out: "Useless and dangerous courage," Tacitus says. But it was not useless; for this silent protest showed at least that there were yet those "that had not bowed the knee to Baal." It was indeed needful that some one, though at the cost of his life, should guard and transmit the sacred trust of conscience. In pagan Rome, this honour belongs to the Stoics; and Thræsea, with his wife, daughter of the heroic Arria, and his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, were at the time the most illustrious representatives of that school. An isolated group, they could but give the tyrant the lesson of their silence.

¹ *Feri ventrem*, she is reported to have exclaimed. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 8.)

² Quintilian cites a passage from this letter (viii. 5, 18): *Salvum me esse adhuc nec credo, nec gaudeo*.

³ Quintilian further quotes the words of Julius Africanus, in the name of Gaul: *Rogant te, Caesar, Gallie tue ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras* (*ibid.* 16). The Arval Brethren offered sacrifices at the Capitol, in the Forum, and before the paternal house of Nero, thanking the gods for his safety. (Henzen, *Scavi nel bosco sacro dei fratelli Arvali*, p. 20.)

This lesson, however, was unheard by him amidst the acclamations of the public. When he returned from Campania to Rome, the tribunes came out to meet him, the senate had put on festal garments, women and children were ranged in bands according to age and sex as in religious ceremonies, and everywhere amphitheatres were erected as in the case of triumphs. Imperial Rome celebrated the murderer's festival, and Nero triumphed through the baseness of the Romans. What thoughts occupied his mind as he made his way up to the Capitol, through the crowded masses of human beings, as guilty as himself, since they so willingly became his accomplices? At what caprices, what crimes, will he now hesitate, since it is not alone their political rights but their consciences which these men have surrendered into his hands?

Poppæa had now only Octavia to fear. This young woman, innocent and unprotected interested the people, and a remnant of affection for fallen royalty protected in Nero's house the daughter of Claudius. Octavia, moreover, made no effort against her unworthy rival: gentle and submissive, she yielded at every point to Poppæa, who, to make herself more sure of her sway, removed Nero from public affairs and incited him to all forms of disorder.

His first whim was to drive a chariot in the circus. Seneca remonstrated, urging the dignity of his position, but Nero knew his Homer, and cited the ancient heroes, and Apollo, the divine charioteer, and mythology, and the history of Greece. For the Greeks, public games were a noble recreation, like the tournaments of the Middle Ages. At Rome, where these games had been abandoned to slaves, they became what slaves could make them, a school of infamy, branding all those who took part in them. Nero, the least Roman of all the emperors, saw no disgrace in following these foreign customs. He believed himself to be copying when he parodied Greek life. His ministers gave way; in the valley of the Vatican an inclosure was prepared wherein he might display his skill, under the eyes of the court. But the plaudits of the



Apollo, the Sun God,
in a chariot
with four horses.¹

¹ Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,479.

courtiers had, he thought, a suspicious air of flattery; he would have the applause of the people as well, and the crowd, being admitted, were so lavish of their acclamations that the gratified emperor believed that he had surpassed the most famous victors.

His relish for public applause being excited by this easy success, he also desired to gratify his vanity as a poet and singer. A court theatre was prepared, and upon its stage, to prepare the way for the imperial mountebank, ex-consuls and women of the highest rank represented the most shameless plays, after which Nero sang his verses, accompanying himself upon the lyre; a



Nero driving a Chariot.²

cohort of prætorians, with their centurions and tribunes, were present, and Burrus, in deep distress and shame, but loud in his applause (59 A.D.).¹

In his passion for Greek shows, he conceived the idea, the following year, of establishing a competition between orators and poets, and after that, the Neronian games, celebrated every five years at the expense of the State, where were offered prizes for music,³ for riding, and for gymnastic exercises. At the first contest the judges naturally decreed to the emperor the palm of eloquence and poetry; and the senate, not to be left behind, decreed thanks to the gods for this victory which decorated Rome with a new glory, and the verses of the poetic Cæsar, engraved in golden letters, were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. But servile decrees were no novelty: Nero obtained more than that from the obsequious senate. During his reign, short as it was, 400 senators and 600 knights went down into the arena as gladiators.⁴ They had not even the honour which was allowed the slaves, that of death, valiantly

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 15.

² Cameo of the fifth century. Nero standing in a quadriga, the rayed crown upon his head, holds in the right hand the *mappa circensis*, a white cloth, with which the presiding officer at the games gave the signal. In his left hand he holds the consular sceptre. The legend reads thus: NERON AVGVSTVS. (Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, No. 233.)

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 21; Suet., *Nero*, 12.

⁴ These are the figures given by Suetonius (*Nero*, 12). I am disposed to cut off a cipher from each of these numbers.

given or received: Nero, for once at least, forbade that the blows should be mortal. However, he made some of them fight with wild beasts, and the latter were certainly quite capable of failing to observe this discretion. Suetonius says: "Many positions in the circus were filled by knights and senators."¹

"Every day, during these games, provisions and presents of all kinds were distributed to the people; thousands of birds, meats in profusion, tickets for corn, garments, gold, silver, and gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, tamed animals, even vessels, islands and estates." For the populace of Rome the Empire was a well-spread table.



Nero, Victor in the Greek Games.²

Nero was at this time twenty-two years of age. Notwithstanding his connection with Poppæa, his murder of Britannicus and Agrippina, his shameful orgies, and the public scandals of his reign, Seneca and Burrus commended themselves for their toleration. They believed they had gained, in return for the crimes they had not prevented and the pleasures they had allowed, liberty to work for the good of the State.

Rome, indeed, Italy and the provinces, were leading a peaceful life. The city, whatever Tacitus may say, certainly was not given up to pillage every night. The promises which the emperor had made at his accession were still observed. The senate³ and the

¹ *Ex iisdem ordinibus varia arenæ ministeria* (Suet., *Nero*, 12).

² Bust of Parian Marble (Museum of the Louvre). Nero wears the rayed crown with eight rays.

³ To increase the respect felt for senators, the emperor decreed that for appeals to the

consuls had charge of important affairs, and public office was now sought for as it had not been for many years. In the year 60, for the prætorship, which was in the gift of the senate, there was such violent canvassing that the intervention of the emperor became necessary. Nero settled the dispute, compensating each of the three unsuccessful candidates with the command of a legion.¹ The laws were executed and crimes punished, even in the case of powerful offenders. A tribune of the people having committed a murder, fell under the penalty of the Cornelian law *de Sicariis*; a senator, several knights, and a quæstor were exiled for forging wills (61 A.D.).² A person belonging to the imperial household, accused of selling the emperor's favour, having uttered written insults against the senate and the pontiffs, was banished from Italy.³ The law concerning treason was sinking into oblivion; since the time of Claudius no use had been made of it. Nero had, it is true, exiled to Marseilles Cornelius Sylla, accused of a design to surprise and kill the emperor during one of his orgies. The charge was false, for if there were frequently conspiracies in the Curia, the freedmen, to promote their own consequence, more frequently pretended to discover them in the palace.⁴ This exile of Sylla was the prelude to the war Nero was about to begin upon all whom he regarded as claimants for the throne. In this ill-constituted State, the reigning emperor expiated his tyranny by the terror which the future emperor occasioned him. However, as yet there had been no murder by forms of law, and even the ruler had been heard, during an illness, to mention the names of possible successors and indicate one of them, Memmius Regulus, as, in his judgment, most suitable. But another Roman of the old school, Rubellius Plautus, belonging on the mother's side to the Julian family, having, notwithstanding his reserve and the obscurity in which he kept himself, attracted public attention, Nero

senate the same amount of money should be deposited as in the case of appeals to the emperor.

¹ *Ann.*, xiv. 28. In 62 A.D. it became necessary to prohibit fictitious adoptions, because many, in order to have the benefit of the preference accorded by the Papian-Poppæan law to fathers of families, made adoptions and annulled them after the election. Cf. *Ibid.*, xv. 19.

² *Tac., Ann.*, xiv. 40: *lege Cornelia damnatur*. This law pronounced deportation and confiscation, and, for slaves, death. (*Digest*, xlviii. 10, fr. i. § 13.)

³ *Tac., Ann.*, xiv. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii. 47.

ordered him to go and live upon his estates in Asia, for the sake of the general tranquillity;¹ and two years later the emperor had him assassinated there. It was not until the year 62 that charges of treason began to be made. A prætor, Antistius Sosianus, in the presence of a numerous company, recited a satirical poem upon Nero. Being brought before the senate he was condemned, at the instance of Thræsea, to exile upon an island, with confiscation of property.² Thræsea had applied to the case only the law concerning libel—an ingenious evasion whereby the more formidable weapon remained in its sheath. The same sentence was passed in the case of Fabricius Veiento, accused of libelling the emperor and the pontiffs; he was expelled from Italy, and his writings ordered to be burned, "which," says Tacitus, "were sought for and read with avidity so long as there was danger in doing it, and fell into oblivion when it was permitted to possess them."³ Cornutus was guilty of but one retort. Nero proposed to write the poetical history of Rome, in 400 books: "That is too much," he said; "no one would read it." And this remark sent him into exile.

Italy did not recover its population, because the foreign importation of corn,⁴ the great domains, accumulated by confiscations, in possession of the ruler and his favourites, and, lastly, the constant emigration of the free inhabitants, rendered agriculture onerous and the fields desert. Nero wished to send veterans to colonize Antium and Tarentum, where there were no inhabitants; but not one was willing to go;⁵ they preferred to settle in the provinces where they had served. Campania alone, in the peninsula, was flourishing, thanks to its fine climate and extensive commerce. Puteoli was so rich that the city had combats of gladiators, to which all Campania flocked, and disturbances between nobles and

¹ *Consuleret quieti Urbis* (*Tac., Ann.*, xiv. 22).

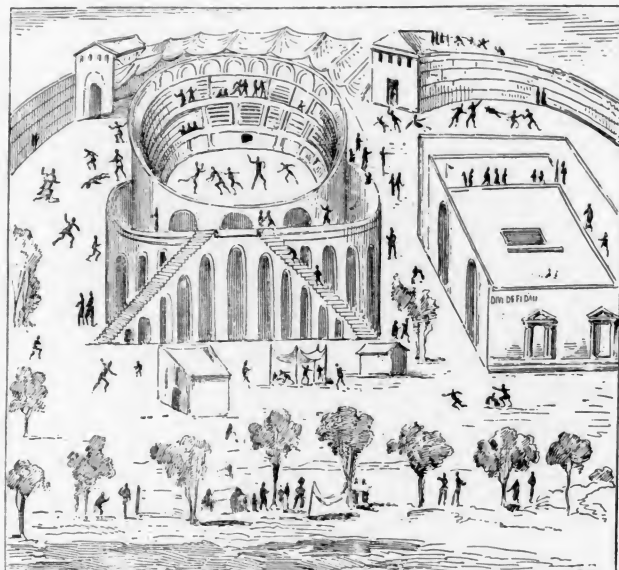
² *Ibid.*, 48, 49.

³ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴ The importation of grain went on at Rome upon so large a scale that the price was not raised in the year 63, although Nero caused all that had been spoiled to be recovered from the people and thrown into the Tiber, and a tempest had destroyed, in the river and at Ostia, three hundred vessels. (*Tac., Ann.*, xv. 18.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiv. 27. Upper Italy did not share in this decline, and the population of the Maritime Alps was so Romanized that in 63 A.D. Nero gave them the *jus Latii*. (*Tac., Ann.*, xv. 32.)

plebeians, as formerly in Rome. On one occasion there were brought to Rome a great number of people of Nuceria who had been wounded and mutilated in a severe affray with some Pompeians,¹ and the senate was obliged to interfere: Pompeii lost for ten years the right of giving combats of gladiators; all



Contest between the Nucерians and the Pompeians (Painting in Pompeii).²

unauthorized associations were broken up and many citizens condemned to exile.

A chastisement more terrible came upon Pompeii from a neighbour she did not fear. In 63, Vesuvius, which had been quiet for thousands of years, became active, without, however, opening its crater, and an earthquake took place which almost destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. The inhabitants of the two cities, up to this time so prosperous, had accumulated great wealth,

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 17. In the year 61 Nero was obliged to write to the Lacedæmonians, reproaching them for their abuse of the liberty that had been allowed them (Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyan. vita*, iv. 11).

² This fresco, now in the Museum of Naples, was discovered in May, 1869, near the amphitheatre. It was published in the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, nuova serie*, etc. (1868-1869), vol. i. tav. vii.

and they quickly rebuilt their ruined edifices. A citizen of Herculaneum, Nonius Balbus, at his own expense, restored the city walls and the basilica; and we have statues still existing which his grateful fellow-citizens erected both to him and to his son and other members of his family.

Syracuse, one of the stations of the Alexandrian commerce, solicited the permission to celebrate more games during the year, and



The Younger Balbus.¹

to employ in the contests of the circus a larger number of combatants than the law allowed. Thræsea did this proposition the honour to oppose it. Perhaps the rigid Stoic saw further than Tacitus understood, and had other reasons than those which the historian alleges for refusing to waive the law. He could judge what her amphitheatre, her distributions of corn, her idle populace, had made of Rome, and he dreaded for the cities of the provinces, so eager to imitate the capital, the same corruption and the same

¹ Marble statue found at Herculaneum.

misery. But no one listened to Thræsea; and this mania of taking Rome for a model was destined to extend to the most remote cities: the Treviri were all in the circus on the day when the barbarians surprised their city.

Prosperity has no history; a gentle and peaceful life passed in calm happiness flows on in quiet obscurity. The absence of events in the provinces would therefore be a reason for believing them prosperous, even had we no knowledge of the change which within a few years the most important of them underwent. Let any one compare the Spain of Strabo with that of Pliny, the Gaul of the one and that of the other. And yet, between the two writers, there is not half a century's interval. In the time with which we are now concerned are to be found two significant facts: the one belonging to the year 60 the other to 59. An earthquake had destroyed Laodicea, one of the great cities of Asia. Its inhabitants rebuilt it from their own resources without deigning to solicit aid, which would not have been refused them;¹ they were too rich to come before the emperor as mendicants. But let a fire desolate the capital, and the provincials will offer what in like case they no longer ask for themselves, Lyons alone sending 4,000,000 sesterces. Immense domains in the Cyrenaica, the property of Apion, a former king, belonged to the State, but they had been encroached upon, and Claudius had caused an exact investigation to be made by Acilius Strabo, the governor. The Cyrenians maintained that prescription was in their favour, which was not, however, correct, since the Roman laws did not admit that the rights of the State could ever be lost in that way. The affair was referred by the senate to the emperor, who approved the proprætor's decisions, because they were legal, but yielded to the allies what they had usurped, because equity and policy alike required it.² Such was the situation of the provincial cities, and such the spirit of the imperial government, even under Nero.

The social centre of gravity was passing over to the vanquished:

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 27: *Nullo a nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit*. The liberal aid bestowed by Augustus and Tiberius in similar cases will be remembered, also the public works executed in the provinces. An inscription shows a procurator in Nero's reign reconstructing a road from Apamea to Nicæa, *vetustate collapsam* (*C. I. L.*, iii. 346).

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 18.

the first place in the senate, as well as the first rank among Roman authors, belonged to a foreigner, the Spaniard Seneca, and he was the only person, on a day of needful modesty, to be astonished at this good fortune.¹ At his side were living a whole colony of his fellow-countrymen: his two brothers, Gallio and Mela, of whom the former had been governor of Achaia and consul, while the latter had grown wealthy in financial posts; his nephew Lucan, the poet; Martial, composer of epigrams which contain great wit, but greater obscenity, together with the meanest mendicancy; Pomponius Mela, the geographer; Quintilian, the rhetorician, who has been made the arbiter of eloquence—of that, namely, which escapes all law, but whose book is really a treatise upon education; finally, Columella of Gades, who had the courage to undertake at one and the same time to reconstruct the *Res rustica* of Cato and Varro's work of the same title, and to complete the *Georgics* of Virgil.² This Spanish colony, which lacked no kind of literary ambition, eclipsed that of Gaul, which, in earlier days, had held the place of honour and given Rome Cornelius Gallus, the rival of Tibullus, Trogus Pompeius the historian, Votienus Montanus, one of the victims of Tiberius, and Domitius Afer, that emperor's favourite historian. The Massilian Petronius, however, *elegantiarum arbiter*, still ruled the fashion and the court. Africa was represented by Cornutus the Stoic, and Asia by Apollonius of Tyana, who, however, never lingered long at Rome. Italy seemed to be exhausted, and, by the bitterness of her poets' words, showed the forsaken queen.

This literature of decay, where method takes the place of inspiration and the rules of the school are substituted for genius—where a crowd of grammarians and rhetoricians teach, at the most moderate price, the art of inventing, after the spirit of invention is dead—may be of interest to those curious in such matters, but history finds nothing in it, save some details of manners and the proof of the degeneracy of art. The philosophic writings of Seneca must be excepted, as they furnish useful information for the study of ideas. This provincial invasion was not profitable therefore to

¹ *Ann.*, xiv. 58.

² Some persons, but without good reason, have believed Silius Italicus, author of the very prosaic poem on the second Punic war, to be a Spaniard. Spain also gave to Rome the consul Balbus and his brother, who was the first of the provincials to obtain a triumph.

Latin literature, for the reason that the provincials of the West, the South, and the North had no native literature which could occasion a new and fruitful current in the national literature, such as were inspired in France, at different epochs, by Lopez de Vega, Shakespeare, and Goethe. Bringing nothing from their own provinces, they became the pupils of their masters, seeking to draw from a dried-up spring. The best writers of the time, until as late as the middle of the second century, Tacitus, Juvenal, and the elder and younger Pliny, were all Romans.¹

Public offices were also invaded: Gallio the Spaniard had command in Achaia, Vindex the Aquitanian in Lugdunensis, the Greek Florus in Judæa, the Jew Alexander in Egypt. The people of the provinces took very much in earnest their right of keeping watch upon the administration of the imperial magistrates, and the prosperity or disgrace of noble families at Rome depended upon the thanks or the complaints which, in behalf of his province, some islander or some Bithynian brought to the city. A governor of the Cyrenaica, accused by the inhabitants, was expelled from the senate. Timarchus the Cretan boasted that he could cause the proconsuls who ruled his island to be recompensed or punished as he chose.

The old Roman party, who always regarded the provincials as conquered and subjects, were offended at their taking part in public affairs. Thrasea, in the senate, and Tacitus, in his history, made themselves the organs of its resentment. "Formerly," the historian represents the orator as saying, "the nations trembled before us, awaiting the decisions of one man, prætor, proconsul, or mere deputy, from the senate. Now it is we who carry our homage and our adulation to them. The meanest of them decrees thanks, or more frequently accusations, concerning us. Accordingly, each administration begins with firmness and ends feebly, our proconsuls now no longer being severe judges, but rather candidates who solicit the popular suffrage." Not daring to take away from the

¹ I am well aware of the deficiencies of the two Plinys, and, on the other hand, I grant that Lucan, in the matter of style, is often a great writer, that Martial has wit, Persius strength, and Quintilian uncommon accuracy; but at the risk of being accused of a historian's partiality for his own science, I would willingly relinquish them all to the professed student of literature, and retain four authors who at least teach me something of man, of Roman society, and of ancient science.

provincials the right of claiming justice, he desired to prohibit them from asking for rewards. A senatus-consultum proposed by the emperor, and doubtless drafted by Seneca—that provincial so unpopular in the provinces—forbad the local assemblies to concern themselves in future with questions of that kind. Thus was mutilated an ancient right, which, on the contrary, should have been extended under a new form. Happily, however, this decree quickly fell into desuetude, being abolished upon Nero's death.

The provincials were busy, then, laying out roads, building bridges, cultivating the soil, and disputing with native-born Romans the honours of literature and even the functions of the State. No doubt many of their great cities aped Rome, and life in them was no better than in the capital. But Tacitus speaks of the old Italian manners still preserved in the depths of the Apennines, and shows us the embarrassment of the provincial deputies who were present, with shame, at Nero's theatrical representations.¹ In the camps especially, among the legions who, since the days of Augustus, had been kept in the presence of danger and of the barbarians, discipline, courage, and the habit of severe labour, had been preserved. Thus is explained this contrast of insane rulers but of an Empire at peace. The supremacy of Rome was so needful that it maintained itself. Up to that time the ancient world had lived under the rule of force. Notwithstanding much of tyranny and much of cruelty, it was now coming under the control of law, and its gratitude was not transient.

The first military events of Nero's reign had their theatre in the East. Since the year 54 A.D. the Parthians under Vologeses had been occupying Armenia; prompt and energetic measures, namely, the filling up of the legions of Syria; the concession to the chiefs of Lesser Armenia and Sophene of the title of king, in order to secure their fidelity; the building of bridges over the Euphrates; the sending of Corbulo into the East, and the putting forward of a rival to Vologeses, decided this king to give hostages;² but his brother Tiridates still remained in possession of Armenia. Corbulo, hampered by the rivalry of Ummidius Quadratus, the

¹ *Ann.*, xvi. 5. See in vol. v. chap. lxxxiii.

² *Tac., Ann.*, xiii. 8, 9. In respect to the Armenian wars, see the careful work of Egli, in the *Untersuchungen* of Max Büdinger, Zurich, 1868.

governor of Syria, who had been associated with him, and still more by the disorganization of the army of the East, had not been able to do more. Being left alone in the command by his colleague's death, he employed three years in restoring discipline, which a lengthened residence in the effeminate Syrian cities had impaired among the troops. He sent home the veterans, obtained a legion from Germany, with Galatian and Cappadocian auxiliaries,



Corbulo (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Philosophers, No. 48).

and retained them all in tents, even during the winter, preaching by example as well as by word, labouring himself, bare-headed, in the entrenchments. When he was sure of his legions, and, moreover, saw Vologeses occupied by an insurrection in his eastern provinces, he invaded Armenia, baffled the intrigues and defeated the attacks of Tiridates, and made himself master of the capital, Artaxata, which he set on fire. With extreme fatigues, he made his way from the valley of the Araxes into that of the Tigris, and captured Tigranocerta. He had thus twice traversed almost the whole of Armenia, and this kingdom appeared to be conquered; Tigranes, the grandson of a former king of Cappadocia, was sent from Rome to take command of it, and Corbulo left to the new prince some of his own troops. "To render the administration less difficult," says Tacitus, "Corbulo gave to his allies, the kings of Iberia, Pontus, Lesser Armenia, and Commagene, the Armenian districts bordering on their respective states (60 A.D.)."

But Tigranes, just escaping from the luxurious life of Rome, to play the conqueror, had the audacity to provoke the Parthians by invading Adiabene. At the news of this outrage, Vologeses, urged by his chief men, abandoned the war in Hyrcania, and

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 23-26.

made formidable preparations against Tigranes. Even Corbulo took alarm at this national outburst, and asked for a second general to defend Armenia while he himself upon the Euphrates would meet the main attack of the barbarians. But this division of forces brought disaster.

Corbulo did indeed prevent the Parthians from invading Syria, but Cæsennius Pætus, who was in command in Armenia, allowed himself to be defeated and shut up in his camp with what remained of two legions. His courage and patience being quickly exhausted, he negotiated with Vologeses, promised to withdraw from Armenia, and brought back into Cappadocia his disgraced standards (62 A.D.). This defeat enhanced the fame of Corbulo, and after holding counsel with the chief senators, Nero invested Corbulo with powers almost as extensive as had been those of Pompey against Mithridates.

Augustus and Tiberius intrusted these great powers only to princes of the imperial family; but the palace was empty around Nero; not a person of the Julian family remained alive: hence he was compelled to resort to a parvenu soldier, who soon also became an object of suspicion. Corbulo was not obliged to fight: Vologeses sued for peace and upon the very scene of his recent triumphs; and the Roman, forgetting Tigranes, his late *protégé*, promised to recognize



Tiridates, King of Armenia (Museum of the Louvre, No. 446).

Tiridates, if the brother of the Parthian king would, in the presence of the legions, lay aside his diadem, and then go to Rome to accept from the hands of Nero the crown of Armenia (63 A.D.).¹

The Empire thus retained its advantages, Armenia remaining a subject state, as Augustus and Tiberius had desired, and as the security of the Asiatic provinces demanded.

Armenias.²

A Parthian war was always unpopular at Rome; since the time of Crassus and Antony it had always caused uneasiness. The success of Corbulo, therefore, caused general rejoicing, and coins of the year bear a representation of the altar of peace.³

It had been possible without risk to withdraw, for this war,



Kneeling Parthian, presenting a Standard.⁴

troops from Pannonia and the banks of the Rhine, for all along that frontier prevailed a profound peace never once impaired during this reign. Plautius Ælianus, the first conqueror of Britain under Claudius, commanded in Mœsia. This skilful general, deprived of part of his forces, which had been called away by Corbulo, nevertheless caused the Roman name to be held in respect upon the Danube. He treated with the Bastarnæ and the Roxolani, and required many kings, till then unknown to the Romans, to come into his camp to pay homage to the standards of the legions and the portraits of the emperor. He even carried his authority far beyond the limits of Mœsia, forcing the Seythians to raise the siege of a town situated beyond the Borysthenes, and he instructed the Roman officers how to obtain great quantities of corn from those countries where nature so liberally provides the sources of an inexhaustible fertility. The right bank of the Danube having been depopulated, he transported thither 100,000 barbarians, taking care to disperse them in separate villages and mingle them with Roman colonists, in order to habituate them to the arts of peace. The prosperity of these lately desolate regions was rapid; a century and a half



The Altar of Peace (Bronze Coin).

of these lately desolate regions was rapid; a century and a half

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 24-32. This coronation did not, however, occur until the year 66.

² Victory holding a palm and a wreath. Silver coin commemorating the victories in Armenia.

³ Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 268; Cohen, i. *Nero*, n. 86-90, and Supplement N., n. 9-13.

⁴ Reverse of a silver coin of the Petronian family, one of whom was consul under Nero.

later all the strength of the Empire seemed to have taken refuge there.¹

In the valley of the middle Danube, the Suevi of Moravia remained peaceful, and the Marcomanni had not rallied from their disasters. Further up the river the work of colonizing went on in the *agri decumates*, which lay about the head waters of the great river, and in Helvetia. Thus the legions of Upper Germany saw no enemies, and those of the lower Rhine had only now and then some skirmish on the outposts. On one occasion some Frisians undertook to make a settlement upon lands lying unoccupied and unclaimed; and a few of the auxiliary cavalry were enough to drive them out. Upon this they sent to Rome to ask permission to establish themselves upon the lands in question. While in Rome, being taken to the theatre, they saw, seated upon the senatorial benches, individuals in foreign costume. "These are deputies," they were told, "of brave and faithful nations, to whom the emperor grants this honour." "There are none more brave and more faithful than the Germans," they rejoined, and, amid the applause of all present, they went to sit beside them.

Notwithstanding their protestations of devotion, their request was denied. Shortly after, a more powerful tribe, the Ansibarii, driven out by the Chauca, solicited an establishment on the banks of the Rhine. Their chief was an old warrior who had served under Tiberius and under Germanicus. He came, he said, to crown an attachment which had lasted fifty years, by putting his nation under the authority of Rome. As in the case of the Frisians, they were harshly bidden to retire, and upon information that they were forming an alliance with the neighbouring tribes, the legions were set in motion. At the mere rumour of their advance the whole region at once became quiet. The Ansibarii, thus left alone, fell back, begging an asylum everywhere, which was on all sides refused them, as if the wrath of Rome pursued them into the very heart of Germany. They wandered in poverty and distress among the Usipii and the Tubantes, and then among the Catti and Cherusci, marking their road with the bones of their

¹ Upon the tomb of the Plautii, at the Ponte Lucano, near Tivoli, can still be read the very interesting epitaph of Plautius Ælianus, relating his services and the honours that he received. Cf. Orelli, No. 750.

chiefs, so that soon there appeared to be nothing left of the once powerful tribe, and Tacitus believed it destroyed.¹ It was destined, however, to re-appear later; and under the formidable name of Franks, the Ansibarii presently entered as conquerors the Roman world, in which they had once presented themselves as suppliants.

To drive back the Germans from the left bank of the Rhine was good policy, if it did not have the effect of creating a desert between Gaul and the barbarians. In denying themselves peaceful conquests, they prevented that radiating influence of Roman civilization which would have awakened industry, trade, and social life on the right bank of the river, a more secure barrier than the belt of depopulated country into which the bravest of the barbarians were sure to hasten so soon as they became conscious that the sword of Cæsar, of Drusus, Germanicus and Tiberius was beginning to tremble in the hand of the Empire. But Augustus had said there must be no more war with the Germans. To encourage their quarrels was esteemed the better policy: and, from the Roman entrenchments upon the Rhine and the Danube, to watch their internecine conflicts as, in the amphitheatre, the combats of gladiators. "This summer," says Tacitus (58 A.D.), "the Herman-duri and the Catti had a great battle, the latter being defeated. Both parties had agreed to devote to Mars and Mercury the conquered army. Conformably to this vow, men and horses and all that belonged to the Catti were exterminated. Thus the barbarians turned their fury upon each other." Elsewhere he says: "The Bructeri were driven out and annihilated by a league of neighbouring nations, whom a hatred of their pride, the desire of plunder, and perhaps the special favour of the gods towards us, had raised up against them. We were not even refused by heaven the sight of the combat. Sixty thousand barbarians fell, not beneath the sword of the Romans, but—a thing more to be admired—before their eyes and for their gratification. May it be that the nations, if they have no love for Rome, shall at least persevere in this hatred of one another, since fortune has henceforth nothing more to offer us than the disasters of our enemies."²

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 54-56.

² *Ibid.*, 57, and *Germ.*, 33.

With this policy of peace, there remained to the generals no other means of attracting the emperor's attention than to employ their troops in useful labours. Corbulo set the example of this

under Claudius; two of Nero's lieutenants undertook, one, to finish the dike commenced sixty-three years before by Drusus, to keep back the Rhine; the other, to cut the plateau of Langres, to connect the Moselle with the Saône. This latter undertaking failed through the jealousy of the governor of Belgica, and for eighteen hundred years no one dared carry into execution the grand conception of the Roman general.¹

In Britain the limits of the Roman possessions were somewhat ill-defined; neither the northern nor the western parts of the island were subdued. Under Didius Gallus and under Veranius, his successor, there were constant difficulties. To make an end of these troubles, Suetonius Paulinus, the rival in military renown of Corbulo, decided to cross the western mountains and lay hands upon the very sanctuary of the Druidic faith, the island of Mona (Anglesey), where sat the high college of priests, and whence issued exhortations, and counsels,



Mercury (Museum of Lyons).²

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 53. The canal making a junction between the Saône and the Moselle is now completed.

² Statuette of dark green bronze. (Comarmond, *Descript.*, etc., pl. 8. No. 61.)

and plans of revolt.¹ The island is separated from Britain by a narrow channel, and the soldiers hesitated for a moment when they saw on the opposite shore a crowd of Druids, among whom women ran about, like Furies, in funeral dress, with streaming hair, and waving lighted torches. Meanwhile the Druids, with hands raised to heaven, pronounced horrible imprecations. The conflict was, however, speedily terminated; the venerable forests of the Druids were cut down, and their rude altars, whereon they sought, from the entrails of human victims, to learn the will of Hesus and Taranis, were broken to pieces by the legionaries. This was the last stand made by the Druids against the power of Rome.

At the same moment a revolt broke out in the rear of the army. The king of the Iceni had bequeathed to Nero half his possessions. Burdensome taxes, notwithstanding, were laid upon his people, who were also urged to great extravagances, for which Roman bankers furnished the funds at ruinous rates, Seneca being, by the testimony of Dion, one of these pitiless usurers. The king of the Iceni had believed his family at least secured by his gift to the emperor; but his wife Boadicea and his two daughters were notwithstanding subjected to the most brutal violence. In the absence of Suetonius, the centurions and veterans of Camulodunum (Colchester) committed excesses of every kind, driving the Britons from their houses and fields, and treating them as captives rather than as subjects. These disorders did not extend beyond the territory of the new colony; but Decianus, the procurator, oppressed the whole province; and a swarm of Italians and provincials came down upon it, who seized upon all that the country produced, more especially the lead and tin of the mines, sending these metals over into Gaul in great quantities. More than 100,000 foreigners were already established in Britain, so quickly did Roman civilization extend over the territory opened to it. Londinium, on the Tamesis, was already the central mart of an extensive commerce; Verulamium² was hardly inferior to it in wealth; many other cities were growing up with the institutions and manners of Italy: Camulodunum was distinguished by a temple and priesthood of

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 29; *Agric.*, 14. [The details which follow savour of romance.—*Ed.*]

² Near St. Albans.

"the divine Claudius." It was but eighteen years before that the legions had landed in the island. This invasion in time of peace, these foreign customs, this taking possession of Britain by a strange people, roused the eastern tribes even more than did the exactions of procurators and the rapacity of usurers.¹ Boadicea put herself at their head; Camulodunum was taken and burned; a legion partly destroyed; London and Verulam seized, and their inhabitants, men, women, and children, put to the sword or crucified. Eighty thousand allies or citizens perished.²

Suetonius, hastening from the island of Mona, had been able to gather only 10,000 men. He offered battle, however, to the immense army of barbarians, through whose ranks Boadicea rode in her chariot, her two daughters by her side, calling upon them to avenge her honour and their own liberty. "To-day," she cried, "we conquer, or we die; and I will set you the example." The battle was such as it must have been, with a general and soldiers like those who, that day, defended the cause of Rome. There remained dead upon the battle-field, it is said, about 80,000 barbarians, men and women, for the Britons had brought their wives with them to behold their victory. Boadicea kept her word, dying by poison upon the battle-field. The province at once fell back under the yoke (61 A.D.).³ But Suetonius lost his command. Denounced at Rome by the imperial procurator on account of his severity, he beheld one of Nero's freedmen sent out to examine into his conduct; and the illustrious general was recalled on the report of a man who had been a slave (61 A.D.).

The Roman legions thus maintained their ancient fame in the West as well as in the East; and, thanks to their courage, the Empire might have been believed still under the direction of its early chiefs. But this skill and moderation in the imperial government was due entirely to two men, Burrus and Seneca. Of these the former died in 62, not without suspicion of poison; and Nero appointed as his successor the corrupt Sophonius Tigellinus. Rendered anxious by his isolated position, Seneca desired to quit

¹ According to Dion, lxii. 2, the cause of the revolt was a claim, made by Seneca, of 10,000,000 denarii, and the repayment of a loan sanctioned by Claudius.

² Dion, lxii. 1; Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiv. 33) says "more than 70,000."

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 29-40; *Agric.*, 16. Suetonius says (*Nero*, 18) that the emperor thought for a time of abandoning the province, which is hardly credible.

the court and give up his immense wealth to his master; but the latter considered this a slur upon his friendship and refused to part with the philosopher. Seneca, however, while still keeping his possessions, dismissed his followers, closed his house, and, under pretext of studious pursuits, separated himself from public affairs.¹ But it was too soon and too late; especially, too late. With



Laurelled Nero.²

Burrus dead and Seneca no longer in power, tyranny broke loose. If it had already shown itself by terrible signs, it had at least struck at long intervals; now that Tigellinus and Poppæa were supreme at court, we come back to the frenzies and cruelties of Caligula. It is not that Nero had changed. He was kept in check before; he was stimulated now, and his first excesses brought on others still greater. Tigellinus had been appointed prætorian prefect with Fænius Rufus; this division of authority gave him but half the place of Burrus, and to secure the whole he flattered the caprices and dislikes of the emperor. He asserted that Sylla, who had been banished to Marseilles, and Plautus, to Asia, were endeavouring to incite to insurrection the armies of the Rhine and the Euphrates. Nero sent for their heads; the one was killed at table, and the other while employed in his customary exercises of the gymnasium.³

To seal his alliance with Poppæa, Tigellinus urged Nero to divorce Octavia, and a pretext of adultery with an Egyptian slave was manufactured. The freedmen of the empress were put to the torture; some gave way before the severity of their sufferings, but most of them remained firm, one of them retorting upon Tigellinus with a terrible answer.⁴ The divorce was nevertheless pronounced, and Octavia, removed from the palace and then from Rome, was sent away under a guard of soldiers into Campania. The populace who, for the fate of the Empire, and for the life or death of the nobles usually felt the most complete

¹ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 51-56.

² Great bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 57-59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 60-64.

indifference, and especially the women, who regarded conjugal infidelity as far more shocking than any civil crime, were much attached to this daughter of Claudius, whose mother and father and brother had been murdered, and who, at the age of twenty, was now driven from her throne by a woman of the vilest character. When news of this spread through the streets of Rome murmurs began to be heard, not secretly, as among the ex-consuls, but quite loudly—the people could venture further than the nobles, having less to fear than they. Nero was far from brave; he took the alarm, and Octavia was recalled. At once the crowd flocked rejoicing to the Capitol, thanking the gods; they overthrew Poppæa's statues and covered those of Octavia with flowers, and, for the first time in very many years making a riot in the name of outraged morality, they



Poppæa (Museum of the Louvre).

made their way into the palace with cries of hatred and contempt for the new empress. But soldiers armed with whips appeared upon the scene, and the servile crowd made a cowardly retreat.

The vengeance of Poppæa was terrible. The information obtained from Octavia's women had been of a character to convict no one. It became necessary to devise an infamous scheme. Anicetus, that prefect of the fleet who had assassinated Agrippina, was a man capable of anything; he was summoned, and was told that he must rid the emperor of his wife, as lately he had freed his imperial master of a mother. This time, however, it was not

to be done by a bold stroke or crafty thrust of dagger. The prefect was to avow himself Octavia's lover and then submit to a mild exile. Great wealth was promised him as a reward, and it was certain that death would be the penalty of refusal. Anicetus did not hesitate; he loudly boasted of Octavia's favours, then disappeared from Rome, sent to enjoy opulent infamy in Sardinia. Nero at once publicly accused Octavia, not only of infidelity, but of an intrigue with Anicetus to excite mutiny in the fleet at Misenum; she was banished to the island of Pandataria, whither a sentence of death shortly followed her. The unhappy young woman had not the stoical courage which the times required; she was reluctant to die; her tears and entreaties, however, did not change the centurion's firmness; her veins were opened, but terror had so chilled her blood that it did not flow, and the assassins ended by smothering her in a hot bath. Her head was carried to Rome and given to Poppæa, as was the custom, that it might be made certain that the sentence had been fulfilled.

There were others almost equally guilty with the three chief conspirators in this infamous tragedy: the senate, to thank the gods for saving Nero from the machinations of Octavia, decreed that public offerings should be made in all the temples. In those days senators were baser than proletarii.

A number of freedmen were shortly after this put to death, Poppæa being desirous to renew the imperial household. Doryphorus was poisoned because he had opposed the marriage; Pallas, on account of his enormous wealth;¹ Seneca, even, was made uneasy by an accusation. The birth of a daughter about this time greatly increased Poppæa's favour with the emperor. To celebrate the event the senate voted temples and gladiatorial combats. But scarcely were the rejoicings ended when the infant died, and Nero's grief was as extreme as his joy. The Conscrip Fathers consoled him by making his daughter a goddess.

In this fickle and violent nature no impression lasted long. Unworthy pleasures and shameful debauchery came next, and his passion for the theatre again asserting itself, he hastened to Naples

¹ Dion (lxiv. 14) and Suetonius (*Nero*, 35) have no doubt of this. Tacitus, for once more reserved, says only: *creditus est* (*Ann.*, xiv. 65).

to give the populace the pleasure of hearing that divine voice which hitherto had charmed the courtiers only. This experiment seems not to have been very successful, for he began to talk of going over into Achaia—the Greeks being the only people who knew how to listen, he said. He took great pains, however, to drill his audience. Certain young knights, with a troop of 500 plebeians, divided into cohorts and trained in the proper methods of applauding, followed him wherever he went. They were called the *Augustiani*, and their leaders had a salary of 40,000 sesterces.¹ The Roman populace, fearing for their subsistence if the ruler were away, detained him in the city: the head of the Empire was for them, principally, the person in charge of supplies. Nero, who was besides prevented from going by an evil omen, remained in the city, and manifested his gratitude for a popularity whose motives he misjudged.

He went upon the stage in Rome itself and sang to the assembled populace. The senate, in the hope of preventing this disgrace, decreed him the prizes in advance; but he would not have it. "I have no need," he said, "either to canvass or to accept the senate's vote; I desire to contend on an equal footing with my rivals, and to receive nothing but what is justly my due." And he did, in fact, submit himself to all the



Nero Citharedus.²

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 15; Suet., *Nero*, 25; Dion, lxi. 20.

² Statue found upon the Esquiline (Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, iii. pl. 4).

rules imposed upon the public singer of that time: not to sit down, not to cough or spit, not to wipe his brow except with a corner of his robe, and after he had done singing, to bend the knee and stretch out his hand towards the audience, and, with a timid air, ask for the decision of the judges. But no man was safe to trust to this attitude of humility, for the law of treason, and informers, and soldiers posted among the benches, watched over the vain artist, and it was a crime to applaud badly or seem indifferent. Vespasian narrowly escaped with his life for having fallen asleep a moment during these performances which lasted for days.



Nero singing.¹

At other times Nero made the public places of Rome scenes of infamous orgies. The story of the banquet of Tigellinus on the banks of Agrippa's pond is told by Tacitus,² but we may not relate it, even from that grave and serious author. To the same effect is the testimony of Petronius, an author who may be read but not quoted. We must desist from the attempt to depict this frantic world, these heirs of Cato and of Brutus, intoxicated with prosperity and wealth and empire; forgetful of a past which they could not comprehend; careless of a future which they had no desire to penetrate, believing as they did in the power of a fate which marched irresistibly onward; and all the more eager to enjoy and to use in the most exciting debauchery the present moment, of which alone they felt sure. Fashioned in slime and blood, as was said of Tiberius, these men trifled alike with life and death, with honour and shame; garlanded with flowers, they poured out poison; between two pleasures there was a murder; the fatal blow was given without remorse and received almost without regret, as when a drunken revel is over the wearied guests break the glasses and fall exhausted upon the floor.

¹ PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. IMP. PP. SC. Nero, laurel-crowned, in a long robe, standing, singing and accompanying himself on the lyre. Medium bronze.

² *Ann.*, xv. 37; cf. *Dion*, lxii. 23; lxiii. 13.

III.—THE BURNING OF ROME; THE CHRISTIANS.

Fortunately for the world, in the shadow of this palace where dwelt shameless pleasure, in the midst of this very Rome which the Apostle calls "the great harlot which did corrupt the earth with her fornication," there was growing up a new people whose faith and morals were directly opposed to those of Rome, replacing sensual pleasures by the mortification of the flesh, the cares of earth by a love of heaven, the pursuit of life by that of death. Never had doctrines and manners more contrasted been brought together; a mortal strife was inevitable, in which one or the other must perish, and it was fitting that the most depraved representative of pagan sensuality should begin the warfare.

In the middle of the year 64 A.D. a fire which lasted nine days destroyed ten out of the fourteen *regiones* of Rome. This was the severest disaster that had happened to the city since the Gallic invasion;¹ and what the barbarians then destroyed was but a crowd of miserable dwelling-houses and a few poor temples. Now, what masterpieces of Greek art, what monuments of Roman history were consumed! Poets and rhetoricians, whose art it is to substitute living agents for unknown or hidden causes, have without hesitation accused Nero. Fascination for the diabolical grandeur of the whim might have seized upon the imperial actor—to burn his capital and rebuild it again according to his own taste, to destroy all the records of ancient Rome, in order to fill new Rome with himself alone. They show him to us, while the fire was doing its work, standing upon the tower of Mæcenas on the summit of the Palatine, the better to observe the vast destruction, and there, in theatrical costume, lyre in hand, singing his verses on the burning of Troy, while soldiers of the prætorian guard and slaves of the imperial household aided the progress of the fire, and machines and catapults were kept ready to throw down walls which seemed to offer obstacles. It would be a gratification to let the poets retain their Babylonian festival and leave Nero his crime. But Tacitus,

¹ The fire broke out in the night of the 18th–19th of July, the anniversary of the taking of Rome by the Gauls: it lasted six days and seven nights, and broke out again at intervals for three days more.

who was probably in the city at that time, relates the accusing rumours, but does not confirm them; and his whole account makes it probable that this fire, which in a hot and windy night of July began among some oil stores in the trading part¹ of the city, was the result of one of these accidents so frequent in Rome, where fires, like malaria, were the habitual scourge. Nero was living at this time in his villa at Antium, fifteen or sixteen leagues distant, and when he reached Rome his own palace had already been consumed. He went about the city all night without his guards,² directing the efforts of the people to stop the fire, and on the following days opened to the houseless crowd the buildings



Port of Ostia.³

of Agrippa and his own gardens. Sheds were hastily erected to shelter the most needy, furniture was brought from Ostia and adjacent towns, and the price of corn was reduced to three sestercies the modius.

However, as the poor had really suffered much, and as the crowd always require a culprit, the emperor was held responsible for the fire, as he had been for the previous famine. Besides this, there were persons interested in propagating damaging rumours to destroy Nero's popularity with the lower classes: the conspiracy of Piso was in full career, and those ex-consuls who were seen,⁴ it was said, in the midst of the crowd, exciting the public fury, were no doubt acting in the interests of that conspiracy. By an ingenious turn, the government directed public suspicion into another channel, and supplied victims for the popular anger by accusing the Christians of having set fire to the city.

This new sect was by the crowd confused with that of the Jews. Whether Christian or Jew they were seen to pray in the

¹ *Initium in ea parte Circi . . . ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul ceptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus* (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 38). Tacitus was eight or nine years old at this time (Borghesi, vii. 322).

² *Huc illuc per noctem cursaret incustoditus* (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 50).

³ AVGVST. SC. POR. OST. Large bronze of Nero, representing the circuit of the walls of Ostia and seven vessels within. Nero repaired or perhaps finished this port.

⁴ After the discovery of the plot, one of the conspirators, questioned by Nero himself, answered: "I hate you, as a parricide and an incendiary." (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 67. Cf. Statius, *Silv.*, ii. 7.)

synagogues and to worship the same God, from whom they had received the same sign of their election, that baptism of blood whose scar was yet borne by many among the Christians as well as by the Jews.¹ At Rome, where they were not numerous,² they lived in the same quarter with the Jews, a kind of Ghetto, a region of small shops and hovels, where the fire very likely began. They were, however, separated from them by the faith in Christ and in the resurrection,³ and by the more liberal spirit of their teaching,

¹ The Council of Jerusalem had not forbidden the observance of the old law (50 A.D.). S. Paul, who had taught the doctrine of evangelical liberty, subjected Timothy to circumcision for the reason that "the Jews of the country would not have listened to the instructions of an uncircumcised person." (Fleury, *Hist. ecclès.*, i. 34.) S. Paul makes mention of the fact (*Philipp.*, iii. 5) that he had been circumcised.

² It would be very erroneous to believe that at this time there were in Rome any considerable number of Jews or Christians. Of the former, there had been at Rome in the reign of Tiberius about 8,000 men, not counting women and children (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 3, 1, and xviii. 3, 5); of these half were banished to Sardinia, and the rest expelled from the city, whither, naturally, they only returned but slowly, being always liable to the decree of expulsion. In the reign of Caligula they had everything to fear (see p. 385), notwithstanding the favour enjoyed by Agrippa, a Jewish prince. They, however, came back to Rome, attracted by the profits to be made in the great city, and under Claudius were again expelled (see p. 407, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, xviii. 2). Under Nero, therefore, they could not have become very numerous. To make converts was not easy for them; they had some "proselytes of the gate," who, from a distance, listened to the prayers in the synagogue; but their "proselytes of the law" were very few, inasmuch as it was very seldom that any pagan was willing to submit to the ceremonial law of circumcision. As regards the Christians, chiefly recruited at this time from among the poor, hardly any of them had been in a position to make the long and expensive journey to Rome in the thirty-one years that had passed since the crucifixion of Christ, and their missionary efforts, however active, had not had time to produce any extensive results. It appears from the *Acts of the Apostles* (xxviii. 15 *et seq.*) that, on the arrival of S. Paul in Rome in the year 62, the chief men of the Roman synagogue were extremely ignorant in respect to the new faith (*Acts*, xxviii. 17 *et seq.*), and that "the brethren" who came out to meet Paul upon the Appian Way must have been few in number, since the small escort, with its large company of foreign prisoners on the way to the praetorian prefect, considered it safe to allow communication. Seneca appears not to have heard of them (S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, VI. ii.), and Persius, enumerating the foreign religions established at Rome in Nero's time (*Sat.*, v. 179), mentions only Jews, priests of Cybele, and those of Isis. Wherever the Jews had established themselves, and every great merchant city had its colony of them, there might Christians be found also. S. Paul met them in Puteoli (*Acts*, xxviii. 14), and it has been asserted that a half-illegible word scrawled in charcoal on a wall in Pompeii was no other than *Christianus*—a conjecture possible, but not probable. The punishments of the year 64 A.D., ordered in a very public manner on a fête day, left in men's minds such a terror as to justify the language of Tacitus, of Clement, and of the *Apocalypse*, in respect to the number of victims, although it was not really very great. Even at Jerusalem the Christian community was so feeble and obscure that Josephus does not mention it in his enumeration of the religious parties existing in the city; and Justus of Tiberias, who also wrote a history of the siege, does not appear to have mentioned them (Photius, *Biblioth.*, 33).

³ The doctrine of the resurrection, which is singularly veiled in the books of the Old Testament, was, however, accepted by the Pharisees; but the other great Jewish party, the Sadducees, rejected it (*Acts*, xxiii. 8).

of which S. Paul, in his teaching at Rome and in his epistles, especially in that general epistle entitled *πρὸς Ῥωμαίους*, had made himself the representative. But as they had neither canonical books,¹ episcopal organization, or councils to state the dogma precisely or to maintain it, that belief, still in the condition of a legend orally transmitted, had something undecided and vague about it, which, on account of that very quality, was more easily spread than a narrow and rigid formula. The new ideas, under Christian or Jewish form, made a few converts from time to time, because they responded to the secret aspirations of lofty souls, which failed to be satisfied by the barrenness of the State religion or the haughty philosophy of Zeno. They even penetrated into the palace of the prince. Josephus relates that he was introduced to the presence of Poppæa by an actor who was held by Nero in great esteem. Of high birth among his own people, very accomplished, above all, subtle and insinuating, Josephus won the good graces of Poppæa, who, like many women, not only of her day, but of all time, mingled her religion with pleasure. "She had," he said, "a very religious nature,"² by which we may understand that, in spite of her heartlessness, this woman was troubled in the depths of her soul by the great problem which was then stirring. The old gods were dying; she sought a new god, and many were like her, among them Acte, the first love of Nero, many of whose freedmen, by the witness of the inscriptions upon their tombs, had become Christians. Pomponia Græcina, a severe matron, who wore only the garb of mourning and was never seen to smile, was accused of foreign superstitions, and probably was either a Christian or Jewess.³ Consequently, in the midst of Roman society, in the highest rank, their existed a leaven of beliefs hostile to the

¹ S. Paul, for instance, quotes no Gospel, and the Apostolical Epistles do not suggest their existence.

² Θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν (*Vit. Jos.*, 3). It must be acknowledged that she was extremely superstitious. Tacitus (*Hist.*, i. 22) describes her as given over to astrologers and charlatans: *Multos secreta Poppææ mathematicos habuerant.*

³ Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32. See chap. lxxxvi. § vi. The Jews, as after them the Christians, strove to convert the women to their doctrines. The inhabitants of Damascus formed a plan to slaughter all Jews dwelling among them; but absolute secrecy was necessary to their success, because, as Josephus says (*Bell. Jud.*, ii. 20), almost all the women in the town belonged to the Jewish sect. Cf. S. Paul, *ad Rom.*, chap. xvi.; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 97. M. Derenbourg (*History of Palestine*, p. 223) is of the opinion that this was true also in Batanaea, Adiabene, etc.

old religion. They were silent forces and hidden in darkness. There was, however, a consciousness abroad that they were secretly at work, and not a few dreaded the wrath of the gods, sure to be irritated by such blasphemous preaching. For both Jews and Christians in their canticles showered their curses upon pagan idolatry, and enough was understood to make it clear that Rome, her gods and her Empire, were the object of their religious execration. How could those who were familiar with Greek interpret these words of Isaiah: "He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak; he planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it. He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied; yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, 'Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire;'" and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image; he falleth down unto it and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, 'Deliver me; for thou art my God.'"

In spite of the foreign idiom [and in their Greek dress in the *Septuagint*], the threats of these prophecies spread abroad: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree. Yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, but he could not be found.—Jehovah has smitten the wicked and the sceptre of rulers. He smote the people in his wrath with a continual stroke.—How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cast down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend unto heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation; they that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms?—I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off their name, their land shall become desolate; the owls shall dwell therein." The Scriptures are full of threatenings against the tyrants of that Babylon which can be so easily interpreted as Rome, and the one only God speaks in every page of his omnipotence, which is to overthrow that of the divinities of Olympus.

For political reasons, and also through scorn of so insignificant

a race, Rome had tolerated a religion directly contradictory to her own. But this sect, which had recently come out of Judæa—with its secret meetings, suggestive of criminal practices, whose adoration of a man that had died on the cross, heretofore the punishment of slaves, seemed a revolutionary menace—gave rise to violent hatred. Even Tacitus and Suetonius, in the age of the Antonines, when the Christians were better understood, did not fail to speak of them still in words of scorn.¹ "These wretches," said Tacitus, "abhorred for their infamy, derived their name from Christ, who suffered death in the reign of Tiberius. His death checked for awhile this dangerous superstition. But it revived soon after in Judæa, the place of its origin, and even in Rome, the asylum which receives and protects the vices and crimes of the entire world."² After the fire, a few voices declared the Christians to be guilty of the calamity. That was sufficient for a crowd, maddened by a great catastrophe,³ to rush at once upon those whom they already knew to be the enemies of their gods, and who always absented themselves from their festivals and amusements. But whence came these hostile voices? From the people, who for a long time had been retorting upon them the scorn in which they held other nations;⁴ perhaps some of their own number, within the palace, were responsible for this turn of opinion. The hatred with which the sectaries of the old dispensation persecuted those of the new is well known.⁵ The preaching of S. Paul had aroused this feeling within the Jewish communion at Rome, and those slaves or freedmen who had been converted by him horrified those Jews, who, in favour with Poppæa, had been received by the emperor on terms of familiarity.⁶ Nor is it

¹ . . . *per flagitia invisos* (*Ann.*, xv. 44). *Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nove ac maleficæ* (Suet., *Nero*, 16).

² *Ann.*, xv. 44.

³ At the first appearance of the cholera in Paris, in 1832, the frenzied populace fancied it to be the result of poison, and several persons were beaten or thrown into the Seine as poisoners.

⁴ *Adversus omnes alios hostile odium* (Tac., *Hist.*, v. 5). The phrase of Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv. 44) in regard to the Christians, commonly translated, "enemies of the human race," ought rather to read: "condemned by the hatred of the human race."

⁵ The stoning of S. Stephen at Jerusalem, S. Paul threatened with death, etc. Add to these the internal divisions of the new Church, and the opposition of the Jewish Christians and the followers of Paul, to which so many passages in the *Epistles* and in the *Apocalypse* testify.

⁶ *Ep. Philip. ad finem*. S. Clement (*Epist. ad Cor.*, I. iii. 5 and 6) attributes this persecution to jealousy.

impossible that they imagined they were rendering a service both to Nero and themselves, by pointing out as authors of the crime those Christians who were said to take delight in the idea of celestial vengeance, universal conflagration, and the final destruction of the world. Nor is it wholly unreasonable to believe that although the *Apocalypse*, which bears witness to an intense hatred against the Roman commonwealth, was as yet unwritten, nevertheless, the apocalyptic spirit, with its zeal for destruction and for an entire renovation of the world, existed already in the Church.¹

If this were a pre-concerted plan, it was well carried out and of a character to deceive every one. At first those persons were seized from whom torture wrung those confessions which it always has succeeded in obtaining, afterwards, on their evidence, "a set of men, who were convicted as much of having set fire to Rome as of being hated by the entire human race." To satisfy the people, the incendiaries must be discovered, or rather they must be sought, that they might be accused of a definite crime, among the victims of popular detestation and also of the interested jealousy of the Jews at court.

When Nero had secured the necessary victims, whose defence he was sure no one would undertake, he devised, to seal his reconciliation with the populace, an immense festival, in which the condemned should also have their part. It was not easy to vary the attractions of the amphitheatre.² The cross, the axe, and the burning tongs were everyday sights; to bind these wretches to the stake would have been trespassing upon the rights of the circus; to bury them alive would deprive the people of the sight of the agonies of suffering and of death. They were sewn up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to the fury of dogs, who tore them in pieces. That, however, savoured of the arena. Nero found something even better. The rest were smeared with pitch

¹ Cf. *Carmina Sibyllina*, ii. 176. The date of these verses is probably the year 75. It is now nearly demonstrated that the *Apocalypse* was written during the reign of Galba. Cf. E. Reuss, *Hist. de la Théol. chr.*, t. I. l. iii., chap. 5, and Renan, *l'Apocalypse*.

² The Romans had, however, a rich list of tortures. Cf. Sen., *de Ira*, iii. 3; *Consol. ad M.*, 20; *Ep. ad Luc.*, xiii.; Marquardt, V. i. 195; Friedländer, ii. 232, and Le Blant, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1866, p. 358. Even the burning of human beings was no novelty. Seneca (*loc. cit.*) and Juvenal (*Sat.*, i. 156) make mention of it. The condemned were wrapped in a shirt covered with wax and sulphur, which Juvenal describes (viii. 235) by a name evidently popular: the uncomfortable tunic (*tunica molesta*).

and fastened alive to posts, where they might witness the games granted to the populace in the palace gardens. At night they were set on fire and served as torches to illuminate the scene. Even Tacitus, in spite of himself, is moved to some slight degree of pity as he recounts these brutal pastimes.

Notwithstanding the accounts of two Christian writers of the fourth and fifth century, Sulpicius Severus and Orosius, these executions do not seem to have extended beyond Rome. We know of no decree of senate or decree of prince ordering a general search after Christians, and the real character of this persecution is described by Tacitus, when he says that the Christians were sacrificed rather to the cruelty of Nero than to the public good.¹ There were surely cases of isolated murder, like that of Antipas at Pergamus.² Any magistrate, in his zeal for the ancient altars, might find many ways in the existing legislation to punish a Christian, by accusing him of *magic*, the very word which Suetonius employs against them;³ of *foreign superstition*, whose meaning is not very evident; of *sacrilege*, for he denied the gods; of *high treason*, for did he not insult the sovereign pontiff of the Empire? Last of all, he could be accused of participation in a *secret society* and *nocturnal assemblies*, a crime imposed upon all Christians by the necessity of their faith, since it obliged them to attend gatherings which must be from the condition of things secret. No other motives than these afterwards guided the conduct of Trajan, and his conscience remains undisturbed.

The righteous indignation which follows the narrative of these cruelties should not make us unjust towards those who committed them. We ask no indulgence for Nero, but he may be classed with those worthy rulers, who, in pronouncing the death-sentence

¹ It was said that they were persecuted as "enemies of the human race;" these words of Tacitus are a rhetorical phrase, and not a penal code. Even in the Roman Empire no one could be condemned upon any such pretext. The profound learning of M. de Rossi and the exactness of his researches are most admirable; he has created a new department of science, that of *Christian archaeology*, for which he deserves the gratitude of scholars; but, while following him, I cannot go quite as far as he on certain points. The victims of Nero's festival were indeed taken from among the Christians, but they were punished as incendiaries, which forbids the theory of a general religious persecution as yet. Suetonius (*Nero*, 16) attributes their suffering to the police measures of the emperor in the interest of the capital. See Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. crist.*, 1865, p. 93.

² *Apocal.*, ii. 13.

³ Magicians are burned alive, says Paulus (*Sent.*, v. 13, 17).

in the cause of religion, imagine themselves conforming to the laws of Rome, to religious ideas, and also to public interest. Persecution proves nothing against men like Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius, but it would prove much against the adulterous union of religion and politics if this union had not been the very life of the society of ancient times. Then worship was a part of patriotism and the most important of all institutions of the city; its prosperity seemed to be a part of the prosperity of the State, in such a way that everything which threatened the State religion was a threat against the State itself. One of the oldest maxims of the Roman government was the forbidding to introduce new religions without the authority of the senate.¹ Under the Republic, strange gods and their worshippers had often been expelled from the city; more than once had the former, or, at least, their images, been thrown into the Tiber, and the latter given over to the executioners.

But if in Rome the Romans defended their gods against strange gods, outside her walls they respected the religions of other nations, as long as they were not, like Druidism, a cause of political disturbance, or, as had at times happened on account of Christian preaching, an occasion of disorder in the cities. This policy can be easily traced in the life of S. Paul. When the Jews of Corinth dragged him as a blasphemer before the tribunal of the proconsul at Achaia, he refused to listen to them: "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of your law, look ye to it: for I will be no judge of such matters." And when, later, the Jews of Jerusalem desired to kill their apostle, the tribune in command in the city delivered him and sent him to Cesarea with this message to the governor: "I perceived him to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds." As the priests continually endeavoured to excite the people against "this mover of sedition,"² Felix, to prevent fresh disturbance, began to investigate

¹ Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 8. See the senatus-consultum against the Bacchanals, vol. ii. p. 246, and for the conduct of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, in regard to the Druids, vol. iv. pp. 27 and 324. Tertullian was familiar with this severe legislation, but which, nevertheless, had its foundation in the most approved ideas of patriotism and religion: *Vetus erat decretum*, he says (*Apolog.*, 5), *ne quis deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus*.

² "Exciting sedition" (*Acts*, xxiv. 5).

the matter. But Paul was a Roman citizen; on that ground he appealed to the emperor and was carried to Rome, where the affair fell through. He regained his liberty shortly before the great fire, by which it may be plainly seen that within the space of a year the profession of the Christian faith could not have become a crime against the State.¹

As Rome had thus left to the Jews their national law, Judaism and its different sects, among which Christianity was counted, enjoyed entire liberty in Judæa and in the provinces also, a tolerance from which the government only deviated at intervals to check a proselytism becoming too active or abuse concealed beneath the veil of religion.² This continued to be the legal condition of Jewish sects, Jews or Christians of Jewish origin, until the time of Trajan. The war of Judæa, which began in 66, might have had its victims in Rome. The Church fixes the date of the execution of S. Peter and S. Paul in that city at about this time,³ a tradition which has no proof in history; for outside of the Christian legend there is no evidence that S. Peter was ever in Rome, and nothing after the year 64 is known of S. Paul.⁴ But the absence of historic proof need not necessarily weaken this theory, for even pagan writers might have been present at the death of the two apostles, men unknown to them and of obscure condition (*humiliores*), without attaching any greater importance to the event than to many other tortures of which they were witnesses every day.

It is said that Nero, beginning the cruel war of the Empire against the Christians, soon embraced philosophers in the persecution. The Stoic Musonius, who had been implicated in the conspiracy of Piso, was exiled to Gyaros, and afterwards was forced

¹ It could not have become so without a decree of the senate or an edict of the sovereign, either of which Tacitus would surely have mentioned. Concerning such legislation, see the memoir of M. Le Blant, *Les Bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les martyrs*.

² Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii. 3, 5.

³ Tillemont says in 66; Fleury in 67; Pearson in 68, which is the date of the martyrdom of S. Jerome: *XIV. Neronis anno*. S. Clement (*ad Cor.*, i. 5 and 6) affirms this double martyrdom, which gave such great authority to its episcopal see. But it is well known how easily legends spring up in a new-born church: his evidence might have been only an echo of what was already established on that subject. To the imagination of the faithful, two such great apostles could not have disappeared in obscurity.

⁴ The *Acts* and the *Epistles* end with the captivity of Paul [if we except the Pastoral Epistles, which, if genuine, as they seem to be, must be placed later.—*Ed.*]

to labour in chains at the isthmus of Corinth, notwithstanding his rank as a knight. The celebrated Apollonius of Tyana, who came to Rome, as he said, "that he might see what sort of a brute a tyrant might be," was brought to trial, accused of sorcery; he escaped, however, this time, but at his departure for Greece Nero decreed that all who made philosophy their profession should be expelled from Rome. The authenticity of this edict rests only upon the testimony of Philostratus, whose accuracy is doubted. However, it may be acknowledged that the accusations of Tigellinus against the Stoics, "an arrogant sect, which made conspirators and stirrers up of sedition," might have made some impression upon the mind of the prince.¹ He had nothing to fear from their ideas, for they were not calculated to descend to the people; but they annoyed Nero, and not unreasonably, for they influenced minds to such a degree, that what otherwise might be called outrages, appeared only devotion to the cause of public good and a moral protest against tyranny. When the Forum and political eloquence were silenced, philosophy had become a fashion, which attracted a few honourable men and many malecontents. All the great minds philosophized, all the more because they fancied they had nothing to fear from the law of the sovereign when they treated of scholastic themes, under which convenient shelter they could easily censure their ruler,² who, although failing to recognize his own vices in those of the wicked, or in the virtues of the just those which he did not possess, felt a secret anger against their tiresome sermons, as did Louis XIV. when the former Fronde party and the upper *bourgeoisie* contrasted the austerity of the Jansenists with the gilded vice of Versailles. For some time there were to be continual skirmishes between the government and the philosophers, not without victims, but which a little exercise of good sense on either side might quickly have brought to a termination. The real battle was to be that of creeds, which was to endure for two centuries.

Rome could easily settle the question of Druidism, a worn-out religion, which was exclusively national and wholly without power

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 57. The informer Capito made the same insinuations against Thræsea. (*Ibid.*, xvi. 22.)

² The words of Seneca are: *censuram agere regnantium* (*Ep. ad Luc.*, cviii. 13).

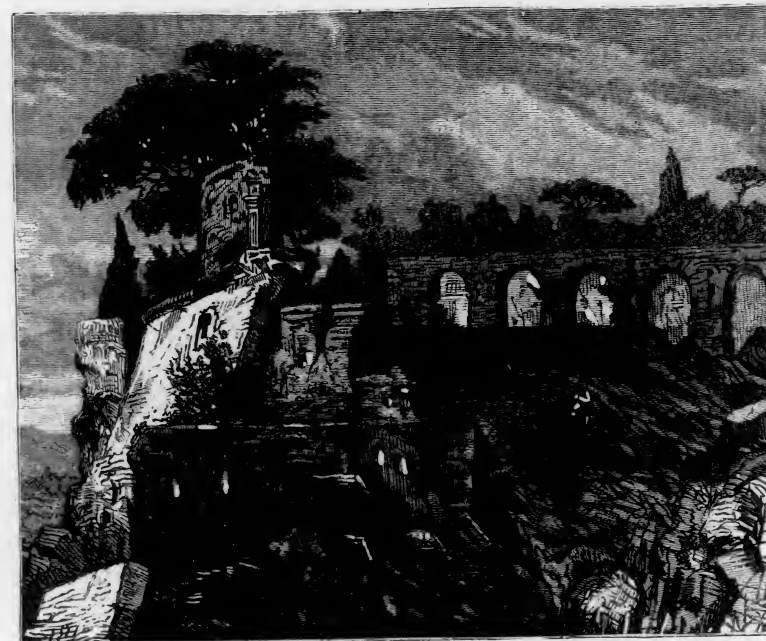
of expansion. For entirely opposite reasons, Christianity, which spreads among those whom philosophy can never reach, became the most formidable enemy of the State, whose head is at the same time master of things divine and human, emperor and sovereign pontiff.

Rome was rebuilt with greater regularity, according to a plan agreed upon by the architects and the emperor; the streets were wide and straight; the houses not so high, detached, and rebuilt with stone from the quarries of Alba and Gabii, with arcades to shade the pathways, and reservoirs of water in case of other fires; the *débris* caused by the excavations, carried down the Tiber, served to fill up the marshes of Ostia. Nero undertook to clear the ground of all rubbish for the proprietors, to build the arcades at his own expense, and to offer a reward to those individuals who should have finished their houses in a limited time. He appropriated for his own use an immense space extending from the Palatine to the Esquiline, and there constructed out of the "ruins of his country," a palace, gardens in which were fields of corn, plains, lakes, forests, and vistas arranged after what are now considered to be modern ideas, but which are only revivals of ancient art; it was like a country residence in the very heart of Rome. This villa was decorated with such a profusion of precious stones, objects of art, and precious metals, that it was called the Golden House. At the entrance of the vestibule stood a statue of Nero 120 feet high;¹ it was surrounded by porticoes or arcades with three rows of columns, 1,000 feet long. The interior was gilded throughout; through narrow openings in the ceilings, composed of movable tablets of ivory, fell showers of perfumes and flowers. One of the rooms revolved by day and by night to imitate the movement of the earth. "At last," he exclaimed, when all was completed, "I am decently lodged."² He should rather have said, like a satrap of the East, for there was not so much evidence of good taste as of Asiatic luxury. Nero, who called himself an artist and a poet, was only so in the lowest

¹ Suet., *Nero*, 31; Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 7) says 110 feet. After his death it was dedicated to the sun. Cf. Spartianus, *Hadr.*, 19; Lampridius, *Comm.*, 17. The maker of this statue was the same Zenodorus who had made the colossal statue of Mercury for the Auvergnese, which was placed on the summit of the Puy de Dôme. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 18.)

² Suet., *Nero*, 31.

sense. This graceless luxury seemed to him a proof of his own omnipotence. "No other emperor," he said, "has realized his power;" and he aimed at marvellous effects, as if to prove that even nature must yield him obedience.¹ For this reason he wished to build a canal from Lake Avernus to the Tiber, through mountains and across the Pontine Marshes, of sufficient width to



Ruins of the Palatine over the Circus Maximus.

allow two great ships to sail abreast,² so that it might appear as if the sea had come to Rome, while Rome with its great increase would extend to Ostia.

These ruinous constructions did not diminish the extravagant prodigality of his games and feasts, at which a single dish cost at

¹ Suetonius said of Caligula, 27: *Nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur.*

² This canal, which was to have been 230 kilomètres in length, had for its object the avoiding of Cape Misenum and the promontory of Circeii, where many vessels were lost every year, and to make the Roman Campagna healthy by drying up the Pontine Marshes; a most useful enterprise, but probably impracticable on account of the level of the soil.

times 4,000,000 sesterces; of his furniture of pearl and ivory, his garments of silk and purple, which he never wore a second time; of his mules shod with silver, or Poppæa's horses shod with gold; of that army of attendants which required no less than 1,000 carriages for the shortest journeys; of his presents to courtesans, to actors, to those musicians or gladiators who had received patrimonies and houses, upon whose walls the people had suspended, during the age of liberty, the consular fasces and the triumphal toga.¹ Add to all these extravagances his distributions to the people, who in this way became accustomed to a vice which has remained ever since a Roman inheritance,² by throwing at a venture into the crowd purses, under the form of promises to be paid in silver, gold, or precious stones, or even in estates; and the country of Cato seemed to be transformed into one of the palaces reared in imagination for the Caliphs of Scheherazade.³

But how were these extravagances to be met? The budget, at last, was exhausted, and the public treasury was poor; he had recourse to the most extraordinary means. The Romans presented the spectacle, which fortunately the world has never seen but once, of a people enriching itself at the expense of the whole world. With the Empire all enterprise came to an end; but as labour is the only producer of riches, and there was very little work done, especially among the conquerors; as the taxes upon the subjects were moderate, and as the multiplication of the number of the citizens exhausted certain sources of income, while expenditure increased every day in behalf of two new forces, the army and the court, the emperors were in the same situation as the house of Capet, when it left its narrow domain to govern France, and the Tudors after the wars of the Roses. Forced by necessity, Philip the Fair arbitrarily lowered or degraded the value of coin and burned the Templars; Henry VIII. stripped the Church

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 11; Suet., *Nero*, 30.

² The passion for lotteries. Nero threw little balls among the crowd, upon which were inscribed the amounts of the purses to be distributed.

³ The *fiscus* had vast resources. In 62 Nero ordered that an immense quantity of corn which had been spoiled in the public granaries should be thrown into the Tiber; shortly afterwards 200 vessels laden with corn were destroyed during a storm, 100 others by fire, and yet so abundant were the resources in reserve that the price of corn did not advance in Rome. During the same year he gave 60,000 sesterces to the *ærarium*, with the promise that the same generosity to the public treasury should be repeated every year. (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 18.)

and sent his lords to the scaffold. The emperors employed similar financial methods; they took gold from the rich wherever they could lay hands upon it, and to make sure their possession, they beheaded the rightful owners. For centuries the Ottoman empire secured its revenue in the same way. Kings, sultans, and emperors were led by an immoral State organization to murder that they might rob.

Nero employed other methods before having recourse to this law of majesty by which he squared his accounts. Reviving

Sylla's idea that money is merely a symbol, of only the value which the State chooses to assign, he diminished the weight of the *aureus*,¹ cut down a pound to ninety-six denarii of silver



Aureus of Nero.

alloy, making it ten per cent. instead of five.² These gains were slow and small; he sought for swifter measures. He had asked

or rather extorted the gifts of private individuals and of the provinces for the rebuilding of Rome.³ These proving insufficient, he pillaged throughout the Empire all public properties, which are usually feebly protected. In Greece and



Denier of Nero.

Asia, he seized the precious offerings and the images of the gods from the temples.⁴ At Rome, he took all the gold which the Roman nation had consecrated to its tutelary gods in its prosperity and its reverses; he even ordered the statues of the Penates to be melted down. After robbery comes taxation;⁵ the genius of finance, which was hereafter to develop such fertility of invention, revealed to him a new source of profit: he made

¹ See vol. ii. p. 730, n. 3. According to Letronne, the *aureus* of Cæsar weighed 125,66 grains; that of Nero 115,39. Pliny says (xxxiii. 3, 4) "that Nero reduced the *aureus* to one forty-fifth of a pound," but that would be the weight of 7 gr. 280, and no gold coin of the emperor fell so low. (Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, vol. i. p. 563, see word *Aureus*.)

² Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 30.

³ Suet., 38, and Dion, lxii. 18.

⁴ This sacrilege caused a revolution in Pergamus, where the citizens prevented the agent of Nero from bearing away their statues and pictures. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 23.) Rhodes also refused to allow herself to be robbed. (Dion Chrys., *Orat.*, 31.)

⁵ Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 45.

sumptuary laws; he forbade the use of purple and violet, and then stealthily encouraged merchants to sell them that he might confiscate the estates of those who bought them. He found still another means of raising money, the pursuit of wills; he decreed that the property of all those who showed themselves ungrateful towards their prince in their wills should belong to the public treasury; but where should this ingratitude begin, where end? A prætor, for whom he had acted in company with other comedians, paid him 1,000,000 sesterces for his part. In such proportions did he expect legacies to be made in his favour. This royal law was in force, however, after the conspiracy of Piso in the year 65.

IV.—CONSPIRACIES AND EXECUTIONS; SENECA, LUCAN, THRASEA;
STOICISM.

We have shown how many pretenders during the reign of Tiberius contested the Empire with him.¹ Each reign had its crop of them, and thus it will be from the reign of Tiberius to that of Diocletian, and as long as a military monarchy endures. We have already seen them during the reign of Nero; at least, Tigellinus caused Sylla and Plautus to be killed upon that pretext; others will also appear, and probably all are not known to us. As for the republicans, it has been before stated that they were more numerous under Tiberius than in the time of Augustus, and still more so at the court of Nero. But we must understand the true meaning which the name republic then held. It did not signify that free commonwealth where every citizen made the laws, which were afterwards to be religiously obeyed. No one could have been reminded of the sons of the conquerors of Hannibal in beholding that tattered crowd which of its royalty retained only the right of being impatient at the circus, when Nero delayed commencing the games, and became silent at the moment when the sovereign threw his napkin to them from a window as a signal that his dinner was over.² The

¹ See p. 284 *sq.*

² The presiding officer of the races threw a white handkerchief into the lists from his balcony. This was the signal for the start. (Friedländer, vol. ii. p. 212.)

knights, who no longer controlled the farming of the taxes, nor the criminal judicature, had no further influence in politics. The same was true of the senate. Great ruins need to be seen from a distance. For a short period after the battle of Actium there was but a slight degree of reverence for the senate, into which every victory pushed its successful soldiers. But when, in the lapse of time, things could be viewed in their proper relations, when, during the leisure of five reigns, there was time to look back to happier days, when imbecile or frivolous tyrants were unknown, both sight and memory reverted to those Conscript Fathers who had conquered Italy and subdued the world. Then the Curia appeared like the temple of wisdom, and the senate became an idol to be worshipped, and Lucan called it "the venerable Order." The emperors, parvenus of yesterday, had slight regard for this idol, forcing it to commit a thousand indignities, but with every sign of external respect. Nevertheless, it was a great name, and it was believed that it might again become great, by giving it the appearance of reality, by obliging the prince to become once more, as his title indicated, the first of the senators. This was demanded at the death of Caius, and now again under Nero; revolutionary ideas went no further than this. The Antonines also will appear to have accomplished this by the regard which they showed towards the assembly, and their popularity was due quite as much to this policy as to their virtues.

Nero, on the contrary, publicly proclaimed disdain and scorn of the senate, as did Caligula, with great insolence. The intention of abolishing it was attributed to him, and he permitted one of his flatterers to say to him, "I hate you because you are a senator." It is not surprising that many of the Conscript Fathers joined the conspiracy of Piso, which "became powerful as soon as it was formed." Tacitus is not explicit as regards the final intent of the conspirators. Some of them spoke of liberty and the senate, others of a new emperor. The disgust with which Nero inspired the highest Roman society evidently created the desire to get rid of him; but the revolution was to be attempted by those whose interest was to forward it, that is, by the senate, and it was to be carried out to its profit. Consequently, without suppressing its head, representative of that unity of power of

which all recognized the necessity, they might nevertheless take precautions to subordinate that head to the assembly.

These conspirators were neither men of the golden age nor of antique virtue. There was as much debauchery in their homes as in the palace of the emperor, nor had they any clearer knowledge of the true needs of the State. The chief of them, Piso, belonged to the illustrious family of the Calpurnii. He possessed those advantages which at that period fascinated the people without as yet exciting their envy: he had an immense fortune, high rank, and fine manners. He was helpful to the poor, whom he defended before the tribunals after the manner of the patrons of ancient times; he was also accessible to the humble, the most obscure of whom never left his presence without bearing away aid, or at least encouraging words; besides, he delighted in pleasure and luxury, as did all who belonged to his rank, with few scruples in the methods by which he sought the means of indulgence.¹ Like them also he wished to reach the highest place, solely for the petty ambition of not remaining second. He consented to any honour which was put upon him, without any intention of troubling himself as to the execution of the enterprise.

The conspiracy was principally military. Nero had divided the command of the guard between two prefects: Tigellinus, his favourite, and Fænius Rufus, who had been kept in the background and wished to emerge therefrom. The latter had won over to his side the tribunes, centurions, and even the soldiers, who were indifferent to political questions, although some of their number were ashamed of the emperor's degradation; the greater number were anxious for a change, simply for the sake of change or promotion. In their train followed a multitude of bankrupts and malcontents, the usual recruits of conspiracies and riots.

Among the number of senators enrolled among the conspirators was one designated for the consulship, Plautius Lateranus,² the only one, perhaps, who cherished the idea of constitutional reform. Seneca knew of it.³ There was no safety for him except in the

¹ He abducted the wife of one of his friends (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 59).

² The magnificent palace of this Roman served as a residence for emperors, and was given to the Popes by Constantine. (Bunsen, *Beschr. der Stadt Rom.*, III., i. 469.)

³ Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv. 61, 65) does not confirm his complicity. Dion (lxii. 24) does not doubt

death of Nero, who had wished to poison him. Without assuming any active part in the execution, he promised to profit by the good opinion which several of the conspirators had manifested towards him. A wounded poetical vanity influenced his nephew Lucan to join them. As the author of *Pharsalia* in his poem easily puts aside the truth of history, so in his life, as favourite of Nero and companion of his pleasures, does the eulogist of Cato leave his lofty maxims behind him at the door of the palace. Lucan, good courtier as he was, could not quite consent to flatter Nero's unfortunate mania, or acknowledge him to be emperor of poetry as well as emperor of the world. Nero forbade him to read his verses in public. This spite recalled Brutus and Cassius to the mind of the poet; he undertook to play their part.¹ We shall see how he carried it out. Epicharis, a woman who had joined the conspiracy, strove to win over a chiliarch of the fleet of Misenum, who betrayed her, but she denied everything and the secret was safe. This was a proof to the conspirators that suspicion had been aroused and that they must make haste. They proposed to Piso that he should kill the prince, when he next came to visit him without his guard, as was his custom, at his villa at Baia. Piso refused. He was afraid that if the blow were struck at Baia, as soon as the news came to Rome some other man of like ambition, or perhaps the consul Vestinus, might attempt to restore the Republic. The assassination was postponed to the public games, and Flavius Scævius, a senator, begged for the honour of striking the first blow.

The evening before the day appointed Scævius wrote his will and ordered his freedman Milichus to sharpen his dagger, which he had taken from a temple in Etruria, and considered destined to serve as instrument in a noble enterprise. He then gave a great banquet to his friends, freed those slaves whom he loved best and gave money to others. He also ordered Milichus to make the necessary preparations for bandaging wounds and stanching blood. These circumstances roused the suspicion of the freedman, who ran to the palace and told his story. Scævius, when summoned, denied everything at first. But he had previously held

it. Juvenal evidently alludes to it in this verse: *Quis tam perditus ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?* (*Sat.*, viii. 211).

¹ See the flattery which he lavishes upon Nero at the opening of *Pharsalia*.

a long consultation with another conspirator, Antonius Natalis. They were both questioned separately, their stories did not agree, and Natalis, put to torture, made a full confession; he gave the names of Piso and Seneca. Scaevinus, when he had heard what had been revealed, disclosed his companions, among whom were Tullius Senecio, Lucan and Afranius Quintianus. Lucan incriminated his own mother Acilia; the two others denounced Glitius Gallus and Asinius Pollio, their best friends. Such was the noble courage of these haughty republicans! In the presence of torture, without further trial, they lost all dignity and delivered up their friends and kindred to save their own lives. Why was not Lucan as much a parricide as Nero, when he accused his innocent mother?¹ To what depth of cowardice had despotism and corruption dragged even those souls which seemed of the highest strain! Never had the moral standard of the world fallen so low.

A woman and a courtesan put these noble Romans to shame. Epicharis had been held in prison. "Nero ordered her body to be racked by torture. But neither stripes, fire, nor the untiring rage of her executioners irritated at the bravery of a woman could conquer her." As they were carrying her in a litter to the rack the next day, because her limbs were broken, she slipped a cord around her neck and strangled herself on the way. A few soldiers also showed some trace of antique heroism. Nero asked a centurion why he became a conspirator. He answered: "Because after the crimes of which you are accused I could do you no greater service." The tribune Subrius Flavus made this reply to the same inquiry: "You had no more faithful soldier as long as you deserved to be loved. But I have hated you since I saw you murder both your mother and your wife, and became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary." As he was led into a neighbouring field where they were digging a grave too narrow for him: "They cannot even do that properly," said he. The tribune whose office it was to put him to death, commanded him to hold his throat right: "See that you strike right," was his reply. The other centurions died without weakness. The same cannot be said of many of the senators.

¹ Nothing was proved against her. Nero forgot her.

Piso was urged to attempt bold measures, to speak to the people, to the soldiers, or at least to venture more in a desperate struggle, since he had nothing but death before him. But these endeavours terrified the indolent patrician, who was an actor like Nero,¹ and who perhaps would have governed no better than he. He eulogized the emperor highly in a codicil to his will, and while awaiting the arrival of the soldiers to arrest him, opened his veins. The prefect of the prætorium, Fænius Rufus, also disgraced his testament with base regrets.

The consul Vestinus was more courageous. While he was giving a great banquet soldiers arrived and demanded him; he rose, followed the tribune into a chamber, where the surgeon was in waiting. His veins were opened, and he was carried, still full of life, into a warm bath, without uttering a word.

Lateranus, who had been appointed consul, refused to reveal anything; Epaphroditus, the messenger of Nero, only gained from him this reply:

"When I have anything to tell I will tell it to your master." The tribune who had the execution in charge also belonged to the conspiracy. Lateranus held out his neck without a word, and as the first blow only wounded him he shook his head and placed it again in a proper position to be struck off.²

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 65.

² Marble statue found at Tusculum (Campana Museum. H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 73).

³ Epictetus, *Dissert.*, I. i. 20.



Seneca.²

Seneca could not die so simply. He prudently refused to be put forward, but some of the conspirators, it was said, desired after Nero should have been made away with by Piso, to get rid of him also and make Seneca emperor. He was returning from Campania to Rome, on the day of the execution, and had stopped at a villa four miles beyond the walls, when the emperor, urged on by Poppæa, informed him of the accusations of Natalis. Nero asked the messenger upon his return if the guilty man had passed judgment on himself. "He has no idea of doing so," answered the tribune, who was sent back with a death warrant.



Tomb of Seneca on the Appian Way.¹

Seneca received it unmoved and called for his will. The centurion refused him this favour, whereupon he called his friends to witness that it was impossible for him to requite their services. "I bequeath to you," he said, "the example of my life." And as they burst into tears: "Where," he said, "is that philosophy and reason which should have prepared you, during all these years, for any stroke of destiny?" His wife Paulina did not wish to survive him. He at first opposed her determination, but at last his tenderness feared to expose her to further outrage. "I have showed to you," he said, "what might induce you to live: you prefer the honour of death. I am not envious of such courage." The same instrument opened the veins in the arms of both. As

¹ Restoration from Canina (see *Prima parte della Via Appia*, pl. xviii.).

his blood flowed slowly, he ordered that the veins in his legs and joints should be cut. His eloquence did not forsake him even in his last moments; he called for his secretaries and dictated to them a long discourse. Still death did not come; he drank hemlock without effect. Then, as the soldiers were in haste to finish the matter, he stepped into a warm bath, and, as the master of Plato in the Athenian prison scattered a few drops of poison in honour of the divinity, sprinkled his slaves with water as a libation to Jupiter the Deliverer. Seneca wished to be the Roman Socrates. If not in his life, he almost became so by his works.

Paulina, whose wounds had been bandaged by the emissaries of Nero, lived a few years longer, but was always of ghastly pallor as if in remembrance of her sacrifice. Lucan, whose detestable betrayal did not avail to save him, also received sentence of death: Nero allowed him to choose the manner of it. He wrote a note to his father recommending some corrections in his poem, dined plentifully and held out his arms; a surgeon cut the veins. As he felt his extremities grow cold, he recited lines from his *Pharsalia* in which he had described the somewhat similar death of a soldier. These men, who, even the best of them, had no firm belief at heart, died theatrically, attitudinizing in the presence of death, like gladiators in the arena.

The name of Lucan in Latin letters has a popularity which does not extend to his work.¹ The subject of *Pharsalia* was one of the most magnificent and tragical which a patriotic poet could have chosen, since it treated of the most important event of ancient times: the death of the Republic and the birth of the Empire. With the aid of history, which offered to him great men, great subjects, contrasted manners, ideas, and ambitions, the author had no need of the dangerous assistance of mythological commonplaces, nor the ordinary conventionalities of composition. To treat such a subject suitably, however, demanded that maturity of talent which in the nature of the case could not belong to a poet of twenty-five years. He also lacked grace, sentiment, and genuineness, for genuineness, which might seem to be a quality belonging to those

¹ It was popular during some time in Rome. Suetonius (*Lucani vita*) remembered public readings of the poem, and mentions the folly of publishers who undertook to *illustrate* copies which were for sale.

who were yet undazzled by the false glory of the world, is nevertheless one of the last gifts of the Muse. As it often happens that the youth who wishes to appear vigorous and strong speaks with a rough voice, that he may seem a man, so the *Pharsalia* has verses which seem to come from a brazen trumpet, and throughout the poem runs too strong a sap, which sends forth rugged and vigorous shoots, but which does not produce those pleasing and delicate flowers which a sweeter and truer nature causes to spring up in the art of Virgil. Voltaire, who favours Lucan for several reasons, said of his poem: "I seem to see a bold and immense portal, which leads only to ruins." Perhaps the grandeur of his story was fatal to him. The primitive epic, which speaks in the silence of all other witnesses, magnifies history in creating it. But in the ages when all the secrets are known, history mars the poets who strive to play with those colossal events which are not of their own creation. We prefer to see Cæsar, to see Cato face to face, than reflected in the imperfect mirror of Lucan.

Seneca had nearly reached the end of his writing, Lucan was just beginning his; this double murder must be added to the crimes whose memory weighs so heavily upon the fame of Nero. We may meet the philosopher once more, but here we must take leave of the poet, who perhaps might have accomplished greater things if he had been allowed to live.¹ His clear and energetic style, his lofty images and fine verses may recommend him to the lovers of literature, but he has no contribution to make to our book, for his history is untrue, his eloquence is that of the schools,² and his philosophy belongs to the Porch, where we prefer to seek it for ourselves.

At the close of the executions, the exiles, and the confiscations, Nero proclaimed an edict with an address, recounting at length the full particulars of the plot and the confessions of the conspirators. Then recompenses were awarded: 2,000 sesterces to each prætorian, who were hereafter to be exempt from paying for

¹ M. Nisard thinks not, however (*Poètes latins de la Décadence*, vol. ii. p. 31), and perhaps he may be right, for the faults of Lucan were not of a kind to be easily cured.

² Some of his speeches, however, are very fine, for instance, that of Cato near the temple of Ammon, whose oracle he refuses to consult because his own conscience is sufficient for him. (*Phars.*, ix. 574 *sq.*) Quintilian considered Lucan greater as an orator than as a poet.

rations of corn; triumphal ornaments and statues in the Forum to Tigellinus, to Petronius Turpilianus and to Nerva,¹ those of the consulate to Nymphidius; then came the base adulations of the Fathers, who consecrated the horse-races to his honour with religious offerings; Anicius Cerialis, who had been appointed consul, demanded a temple for the god Nero.² The dagger of Scævinius was consecrated to Jupiter the Avenger, and the month



Torso of Jupiter (Museum of the Louvre).

of April was henceforth called the month of Nero. In spite of all these degradations, we must acknowledge that, although some of the victims were innocent, the conspirators were guilty and deserved their condemnation.

The death of Poppæa, whom Nero wounded mortally in a frenzy of brutal anger, seemed to excite him to fresh cruelty.³ He forbade Cassius to attend her obsequies, and shortly after banished him. Silanus was accused of some unknown complicity with him;

¹ Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 29.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 74.

³ He would not allow her body to be burned according to the Roman custom, but ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Julius. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 6.)

a victim to his own popularity and his descent from Augustus, he was sent to Barium, where he soon witnessed the arrival of the customary executioners, a centurion and soldiers. The centurion advised him to open his veins. Silanus, young and strong, replied angrily, and although unarmed, defended himself and fell as if in battle, pierced with many blows, all of which were received with his face towards the enemy. Another tragedy soon followed. The consul Antistius Vetus, father-in-law of Rubellius Plautus, one of Nero's earliest victims, was feared on account of this relationship. Accused by a person whom he had punished during his proconsulate in Asia, he withdrew to the town of Formiæ and sent his daughter Pollitta to plead his cause with the prince. Pollitta had seen her husband slain before her eyes, and before the murderers bore away his bleeding head she wished to kiss it for the last time, in token of undying love. She kept the blood which she had piously gathered up and the garments stained therewith; always inconsolable and shrouded in mourning, she only took food enough to support life. Yielding to her father's entreaty, she set out for Naples, and as she was not admitted to the presence of Nero she placed herself in his way, and cried to him to listen to the innocent and not to deliver a consul, his old friend, into the hands of a slave. It was all in vain; she then returned to her father, to tell him courageously that he was destined to die. Antistius Vetus scorned to stain his will with the name of his murderer. He called his slaves to him, distributed his money among them, and ordered them to take possession of everything which they could, except three couches, which he reserved for the funeral obsequies. This being done, he, with his mother-in-law and his daughter, opened their veins in the same room, with the same instrument, and three generations perished at once under the same roof.¹

But there is no appeasing fear, and Nero had been afraid. Since the conspiracy of Piso one condemnation had followed another with fearful rapidity. Just now it fell upon Antistius Vetus, again it becomes the turn of Publius Anteius; the brave Marcus Ostorius Scapula, of whose strength even his murderers were afraid, but



Funeral Ceremony (Bas-relief in the Louvre).

¹ Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 10-12.

who held up his throat to them without resistance; Annaeus Mela, the father of Lucan; Anicius Cerialis, Rufrius Crispinus, former prefect of the praetorium; Petronius, voluptuous and effeminate, who, playing with death, opened his veins, closed them again to open them anew, while songs and gay poetry were recited to him. Some of his slaves he rewarded, others he ordered to be punished, he walked and slept, and to end all, described in his will the most monstrous of Nero's debaucheries and sent it to him sealed (66). Like many of his day he spent his life badly, but ended it bravely. This Stoic style of dying seemed to have become a sort of custom which every man who had any self-respect was bound to observe.

The most illustrious victim was Thrasea Pætus. "In killing him," said Tacitus, "Nero hoped to destroy virtue itself." The reproach against him was that he had not been to the senate for three years, that he had not made any sacrifice for the safety of the prince, for his divine voice,¹ and that he had denied the divinity of Poppæa; his silence, his withdrawal from public affairs, were, they said, an accusation against the emperor, against himself: Cato was coming to life again.² Well may it be said that these suspicions were somewhat tardy, after the Empire had raised him to the summit of honour, though a provincial of the municipality of Padua. And when the consular was commanded by Eprius Marcellus³ to appear at the Curia, the pontifex to attend the public rites, the citizens to take the yearly oath of fidelity; when he was reproached for saying everywhere: "There is no longer a senate, magistrates, laws, or even Rome;" we must admit that the behaviour of so conspicuous a man, whose house was the rendezvous of the most distinguished citizens,⁴ was an encouragement to dangerous enterprises. But to live in retirement and rail against the government in the presence of the household gods must always appear a curious crime. Only a Nero could have commanded Thrasea to cease an opposition so discreetly maintained.



Eprius Marcellus,
proconsul.³

¹ Sacrifices were offered up if he had taken a cold.

² Thrasea wrote a life of Cato (Plutarch, *Cato*, 25, 37).

³ Man standing, bearing a trident. Bronze coin struck at Cymæ (*Cabinet de France*).

⁴ See Borghesi, concerning Eprius Marcellus (*Œuvres*, iii. 285-293).

⁵ *Illustrium virorum feminarumque cætus frequentes* (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 34).

The first step was to forbid his presence at the *fêtes* to be given upon the arrival of Tiridates in Rome. In a cool and dignified letter, he simply demanded of the prince that judges at least be granted to him; this was allowed: the senate was convened. At daybreak, under pretence of protecting the Fathers against imaginary conspirators, the Curia was surrounded by two prætorian cohorts, fully armed, and by a multitude whose swords were seen beneath their togas, men who were doubtless paid to act the part of the populace in this tragedy, pretending to be ready to rush forward in the defence of Nero. The quæstor of the sovereign gave notice of an imperial message; in which, without naming individuals, Nero reproached the senators for abandoning their public duties, and by their indifference to the interest of the State affording a precedent to that of the equestrian order. The senate understood the intimation conveyed, and the accusers were in readiness. There seems to have been no debate, and no one dared to appear in defence of Thrasea. The accused awaited the verdict of the Fathers in his own house. When informed of it, he prepared for death with firmness, but without ostentation; he made no studied harangues to his friends, but dismissed them, lest they also might be compromised, and persuaded his wife Arria to live for the sake of their daughter. When the veins of his arm were opened, he called to his side the quæstor who had brought the sentence and said to him: "Look, young man. May the gods avert this omen! But you live in an age in which it is good to strengthen the soul by examples of courage."

Tacitus places the virtuous Barea Soranus beside Thrasea. As proconsul of Asia, he had won the affection of that province by carrying on great operations in the port of Ephesus, and by refraining to punish the inhabitants of Pergamus for their resistance to one of the emperor's freedmen who had undertaken to carry off their statues and pictures. This solicitude for his subjects appeared like a menace of revolt to the insensate master of the Empire. Still another grievance was found: Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, had consulted the soothsayers concerning the issue of the suit against her father; she was implicated in the accusation and appeared before the senate. "Father and daughter stood before the consuls; the father was advanced in years, the

daughter, barely twenty, already condemned to widowhood by the recent banishment of her husband Annius Pollio, did not dare even to raise her eyes to Soranus, for fear of increasing his danger. Upon being interrogated by the accuser if she had not sold her necklace and wedding presents, that she might use the money for purposes of magic, she threw herself upon the ground and wept long in silence; at last, embracing the altars: 'No,' she said, 'I invoked no false gods; I uttered no imprecations; my wretched petitions had no other object but to obtain from you, Cæsar, and from you, senators, the safety of the best of fathers. I did give to those men my jewels, my garments, and the ornaments befitting my rank; I would willingly have given them my blood and my life had they required them. I cannot answer for them; they were unknown to me, nor do I know who they are, nor the arts they practise; for my own part, I have never spoken of the prince but as I speak of the gods. If I am guilty, I alone am guilty, and my unhappy father was ignorant of my misdeeds.'

"Soranus would not allow her to finish; he exclaimed that his daughter had not accompanied him to Asia; that she was not implicated in the accusation against her husband, that her only crime was too great tenderness; that she did not deserve to suffer his fate, and that whatever that might be, it would be sweet to him." At this point they rushed into one another's arms; the lictors interposed and held them back. Both were allowed to choose the mode of dying.

Each of the accusers of Thrasea received a recompense of 5,000,000 sesterces (£50,000); those of Soranus only 1,200,000, but in addition they received the ornaments of the quæstorship. The profession of informer had thus become the most lucrative of trades.¹

Tacitus even grew weary of recounting deaths like these; and in spite of all he writes in honour of the memory of these victims, he cannot now and then refrain from letting the words "servile patience" and "cowardly resignation"² escape his lips. And truly,

¹ Paconius, Agrippinus, and Helvidius Priscus were banished, and Montanus was declared unworthy to hold public office, etc.

² *Patientia servilis . . . tam segniter pereuntes . . . ignavia per silentium pereuntium* (*Ann.*, xvi. 16, 25). He had before spoken in the *Life of Agricola* (42) of those dramatic death-scenes as ambitious besides being useless: *in nullum reipublice usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt*.

although these men possessed the courage to die without weakness, they had not the courage to struggle to save themselves and the Empire by desperate and lofty devotion. While civil war was going on in the senate, in spite of tradition, they could have joined that party whose principle it was to defend the cause of order and the future at the Palatine. But here was for a second time the imperial power drifting into the maddest cruelty, and a crowned mountebank who cannot live without adding murder to debauchery. Like a wild beast, he kills for the pleasure of killing, and will surely be brought low, for in history, even more than in private life, punishment never fails to overtake criminals in high places.

The vengeance which is drawing near will be in the form of civil war, to be followed by military usurpation; the existing scourge will be destroyed by another, which will bring the Empire into bloody disorder, only to give rise in its turn to yet another form of tyranny. Was there nothing to save the world from this two-fold evil? Even if those institutions were lacking, whose absence we have deplored, there is still something in the character of strong men which could have averted many dangers, and we have seen that great men were not wanting in Rome, whose very names we pronounce with the deepest reverence. Many were disciples of the same doctrine, that of the Porch, one of the noblest efforts of human intellect. Without examining here its philosophic value, we certainly have a right to ask, in face of all these disgraces, what it might have prevented if it had learned how to make citizens as well as men.

The grandeur which remained to some few men has been attributed to Stoicism. Nor was it useless to them, for it sustained them by their firm consciousness of the dignity of man, a strong foundation on which they could build solidly, but which alone is not enough to bear the burden of life. The Rome of old was not so entirely blotted out that the ancient courage could not re-appear from time to time, like an inheritance of manners and of past generations; and as now every one was more or less of a philosopher, those who held to the old ideas turned to the teachings of Zeno, which were for the few, and whose stern form suited well their aristocratic virtue.

"In the Roman world," said Hegel, "Stoicism was at home." Even in the herd of Epicurus were those who knew how to die as well as Thræsea. We saw how lightly a voluptuary could play with death. Another was told that the senate was about to decide his fate: "Well, let them do it; I am on my way to the bath, for it is my hour." Upon his return he learned that he was condemned: "To what, exile or death?" "To exile." "Will my property be confiscated?" "No." "Come on, then! We can sup at Aricia as well as at Rome."¹ I allow that all those Romans may be enrolled under the standard of the Porch who were unstained by the universal corruption of the time; but however honourable that philosophy might have been to those who put it into practice, it had no power with the masses. What influence might not have been exerted in the State by these men, who aspired after unattainable heights of virtue, as did Nero after unattainable depths of vice; who, studying how they might destroy the very nature of man by suppressing his passions, in order that the wise might be unmoved by all things, even by glory itself; and thus maintaining that neither things nor persons were necessary to them, they pitied the anxieties of others, who strove to improve their condition, and exclaimed with Apollonius: "I care not for public affairs, since I only live in the divine;"² and their virtuous naïvetés recall the sentimental denunciations of Rousseau and his school? "Great God!" exclaims Persius, "if thou desirest the punishment of a tyrant, show him virtue when the dread delirium seizes him, that at that vision he may languish and suffer the agony of his regret at having forsaken her."³ I can imagine how greatly Nero must have been amused at the innocence of the Stoic poet as he read these lines in company with his friends Tigellinus and Sporus, although it nevertheless irritated him to meet, in the height of his gaiety, these men with their pale sober faces, who conversed of death only, as if it were impossible to live with honour during his reign. The haughty egotism of the sect was also strengthened by their belief in fate,⁴ which compelled

¹ Arrian, *Epict.*, i. 1.

² Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, v. 35. See Martha (*Lucretius*, p. 200), upon the indifference of the Stoics to politics.

³ *Sat.*, iii. 35-38.

⁴ *Fata nos ducunt et quantum enique restat, prima nascentium hora disposuit . . . privata*
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each mind, according to its individual characteristics, to stupid resignation or to acts of violence; of these teachings, the Stoics of Rome chose the silent protest and the dignity of the dying hour. They made a solitude for themselves in the midst of the world and lived for themselves alone, absorbed in their own personal affairs, without rising to consideration of the general good: they are the hermits of paganism. "Abstain and endure," was their axiom.¹ The master of Epictetus struck him violently on the leg. "Take care, you will break it." The blow was repeated and the bone broke. "I told you so." Such was their stubborn and inactive wisdom. In political affairs, wisdom of this sort made malcontents who frowned at the prince; it neither made men of action nor good counsellors.² Thus the Stoics allowed the tyrants to strike as they chose, and fancied that their duty was fulfilled when they suffered torture unmoved, flinging the saying of Seneca to the lictors: "Against the outrages of life I have the recourse to death." But true courage consists in taking part in the struggle, rather than in sitting alone, even for the sake of a glorious death. If they had been less satisfied with their negative virtue they might have aroused the feeling of the public, and prevented the senate from giving to the world the sickening spectacle of the lowest point of degradation into which a political assembly ever fell. The disturbance made against Poppæa by the people in favour of Octavia proved that, even in the Roman populace, all feeling of justice was not extinct, and that there was still some support remaining for the resolute and courageous.

By its doctrine of non-interference, Stoicism, so thoroughly Roman in many respects, was nevertheless in direct contradiction to the spirit of ancient Rome, where during six centuries the word virtue signified devotion to the State. It will be remembered that before this, at the decline of the Republic, the sages of the sect

ac publica longus ordo rerum trahit . . . olim constitutum est quid gaudeas, quid fleas (Sen. *de Prov.*, 5).

¹ *Id.*, *ad Marc.*, 10. [It should be noted that this was far from being the theory of the founders of the sect, who thought the wise man should contribute actively to the public good. Cf. Diog. Laert., VII. i. 123-4.—*Ed.*]

² Seneca attempts (*de Clem.*, ii. 5) to exculpate Stoicism from being *minime principibus regibusque bonum datura consilium*. Tigellinus represented to Nero *Stoicorum arrogantia quæ turbidos et negotiorum appetentes faciat* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 57).

of Epicurus withdrew from public affairs;¹ hence the two schools which held the greatest influence over Roman thought were rather an encouragement than a restraint to tyranny: one by its indifference, the other by its resignation, so that the despotism of the Empire was not more controlled by ideas than by institutions.

It must also be borne in mind that despotism had not until now become insupportable to the members of the senatorial aristocracy. Outside Rome, in Italy or the provinces, there had been no rumour of conspiracy or of opposition, nor was there perceived the shadow of desire for change. The towns and the people had been granted, in the interest even of the sovereign, guarantees which had always proved sufficiently strong to counteract the excesses of their governors, and in their municipal liberties they found all the independence necessary for their pride and the management of their affairs.

V.—VINDE.

The time had now come when Nero was to add his blunders to his crimes, and to arouse those who had before been undisturbed. Intoxicated by power and his own abuse thereof, he imagined it infallible, and shrank from no imprudence. He insulted his generals by subjecting the most distinguished of them to the control of his freedmen,² and by removing from the armies the leaders who were most beloved, because victories had been won under their command. Suetonius Paulinus, the conqueror of the Moors and the Britons, suffered disgrace, and Plautius Silvanus, the able commander of Mœsia, was left forgotten without honours at his post. Two brothers of the ancient family Seribonia, Rufus and Proculus, commanding the armies of the two Germanies, were recalled, under pretext of a consultation with the emperor concerning the interest of their provinces, but met the order of death on their way. The fate of Domitius Corbulo,



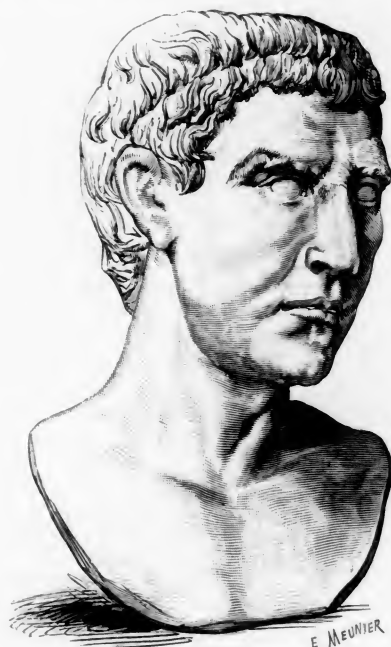
Coin of Corbulo.³

¹ See vol. ii. p. 216.

² Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 39.

³ Cybele standing between two lions. Bronze coin of Corbulo, proconsul, struck at Docimeia: ANΘΗΠΑΤΟΣ.

the greatest general of his time, was as follows: summoned to Greece, he had hardly set foot in the port of Cenchreæ, when he was surrounded by the secret agents of the imperial executions; he fell upon his own sword, saying: "I deserved it." Was this regret

Corbulo.²

at having served such a man, or at not having overthrown him (67)?¹ When the generals perceived the fate of the most illustrious of their number, each one felt himself threatened, and some of them, like Galba, made preparations for the inevitable crisis which was near at hand.

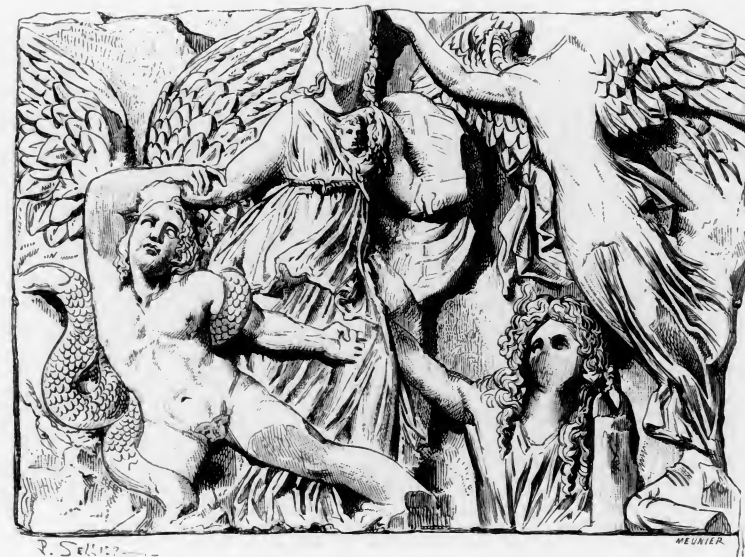
Nero alienated both the soldiers and the inhabitants of the provinces. The expenses of the army were immense, and the means of liquidating them came from the provinces; to keep up the balance in the finances which was so disturbed by his prodigality, he did not pay the former, while, at the same time, he overtaxed the latter. The payment of troops

¹ He was accused by one of his officers, Arrius Varus (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 6). Dion (lxii. 19) says that many were ready to declare him emperor, and Suetonius (*Nero*, 36) that Annus Vinicianus, son-in-law of Corbulo, headed a conspiracy, prepared and revealed at Beneventum. Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 5) speaks also of many plots, and Henzen (*Scavi*, p. 21-22) quotes these words from the Arval tables for the year 66: . . . *ob detecta nefariorum consilia, providentie reddito sacrificio*. It must be borne in mind, however, that nothing is positively known concerning the conspiracy of Vinicianus, nor of its relation to the death of Corbulo.

² Bust in the Museum of the Louvre, found at Gabii in an ædiculum dedicated to the ancestors of the empress Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian and daughter of Corbulo.

³ Suet., *Nero*, 32; Dion, lxii. 18.

demands after the conflagration of Rome have been already described. He found new resources when the time came. He went halves with those who took bribes, and permitted pillage on condition of sharing the spoils, and gave no orders without adding: "You know what I must have." Or else: "See that you leave nothing for any one."¹ And as he persecuted those generals whom the soldiers loved, he condemned those governors who were

Bas-relief of Pergamus.²

loved in the provinces, for example, Barea Soranus, the proconsul of Asia, who perished in 65, a victim to his own integrity, his talent, and to the affection which the people of Pergamus and of Ephesus bore towards him. It is a favourite theory to attribute revolutions to the fickleness of the populace, but how many governments have dug with their own hands the abysses into which they have disappeared!

Another cause of the ruin of the provinces was the journeys of the emperor, for he never travelled with less than 1,000 carriages. Fortunately, he never went out of Italy but once: that was shortly

¹ *Hoc agamus ne quis quicquam habeat* (Suet., *Nero*, 32).

² Fragment of the "Battle of the Giants," found in the recent excavations and now at Berlin.

after the arrival of Tiridates at Rome. This prince brought with him his children, those of his brothers, Pacorus and Vologeses, and his wife, who, to conceal her face, wore a helmet of gold instead of a veil. Three thousand Parthian knights and a numerous



Mounted Archer, from the Antonine Column.

Roman escort formed an army to attend him. Thus accompanied he traversed Asia, Thrace, Greece, and Illyria, prolonging the journey from a superstitious dread of the sea,¹ ruining, as he passed, those cities to whom the honour of seeing an Armenian king within their walls cost in one day many years of their revenue.² He entered Italy by

coasting the Adriatic, and reached Naples, where Nero was waiting, and, in his presence, Tiridates bowed the knee before him. A suspicious precaution recalls a custom of the Middle Ages: the descendant of Arsaces was not ordered to deliver up his sword before the interview, but it had been nailed in the scabbard. Great festivities were held at Naples, and also games in which Tiridates proved his skill in archery.³

Nero longed to show to the Romans, as his vassals, the son and brother of those who were called the kings of kings; he returned to Rome with his guest. The prætorian guard surrounded the Forum; he himself sat upon the Rostra in a curule chair, in

¹ According to the doctrine of the magicians, salt water is unclean (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 17). He returned, however, by way of Brundisium and Dyrrachium.

² Suetonius (*Nero*, 30) says that the expenses were over 800,000 sesterces a day, which makes for all this journey, coming and going, during nine months, a total expenditure of about 200,000,000 sesterces. At his departure Nero presented him with 100,000,000 sesterces, according to Suetonius; 50,000,000 drachmas, according to Dion (lxiii. 6).

³ Dion, lxiii. 7; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 6.

triumphal costume, and surrounded by military standards. Tiridates mounted the steps of the Rostra and knelt before Nero, who took off his tiara and placed the diadem upon his head, while a former prætor explained the ceremony to the people and interpreted to them the prayers of the foreigner. They conducted him thence to the theatre, where the assembly saluted Nero with the title of *Imperator*. As was the custom after a great and decisive victory, he bore a laurel crown to the Capitol and closed the temple of Janus (66 A.D.).¹



Temple of Janus closed.²

This festival, peaceful in character, but warlike in its aspect, awakened dreams of military glory and conquest. He hesitated between an expedition into Ethiopia, where he might have found the then undiscovered sources of the Nile, a war against the Parthians, to rival the glory of Alexander, or against the Albanians, to force the passes of the Caucasus, which no Roman general had as yet penetrated.³ Thus his surfeited imagination tormented itself, his spirit hungered for the marvellous, because he could hope for no new sensation, except in the search for the unknown and the impossible.⁴ A short time before he believed that the treasures of Dido were hidden in Africa, and he had ransacked the entire province to find them. He studied magic with enthusiasm, and when Tiridates arrived with his Chaldeans he asked them to reveal their secrets to him. Finding them only empty nothingness, he devoted himself afresh to those works which could be accomplished by human industry and which the eye could grasp; he asks himself which extreme of the world, that where the fires of Sirius burn or the icy regions of the Great Bear, shall behold his victorious eagles. He had already sent spies to the Caucasus, and two of his centurions had penetrated to the foot of those inaccessible rocks where the Nile plunges downwards into boundless

¹ Suet., *Nero*, 13. Tacitus does not seem to have been aware of this closing of the temple of Janus; but the information given by Suetonius is confirmed by coins. (Cf. Eckhel and Cohen.)

² Reverse of a large bronze coin of Nero, with the inscription: "Having re-established peace on sea and land, he closed the temple of Janus."

³ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 6.

⁴ Tacitus calls him: *incredibilem cupitor* (*Ann.*, xv. 42).

marshes.¹ If he still remains in Rome it is for the purpose of organizing his armies; the legions of Illyria, of Germany, and of Britain furnish its choicest men. Even Italy awakes at the sound of this martial zeal, and gives to its emperor a legion, every

one of whose soldiers is six feet high; he calls it the phalanx of Alexander the Great.

He set out, but the army which now followed him bore neither spear nor buckler; harps take the place of swords, and the masks of actors are worn instead of helmets. It is an army of comedians following its leader; Greece was to be the theatre of its exploits. He was to appear there in all the games, and also to sing and drive the chariots (A.D. 67). He fell in the midst of the Olympic



Bust of Nero, crowned (Naples Museum).

stadium; what matter? The Greeks spared him neither triumphs nor applause. They awarded him 1,800 crowns, and felled to the ground before him the statues of former victors. Sometimes he also felled his competitors to the ground: an actor at Corinth dared to dispute with him the attention of the public and the prize for singing; he ordered him to be strangled in the crowded theatre.

¹ Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 13; Dion, lxxiii. 8; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 6; Sen., *Quæst. Nat.*, vi. 8. His description of these marshes, which he gathered from the accounts of one of the centurions in answer to his inquiries, remains correct at the present time. Nero had also sent a Roman knight, for a commercial purpose, to the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, to buy up all the amber which could be found there. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 11.)

Victories like these among a people so renowned for art and taste delighted him greatly, and he wished to reward them royally; like Flaminius he declared the freedom of Greece, and read himself, during the Isthmian games at Corinth, that decree which Flaminius had proclaimed by the voice of a herald. He promised them a still greater service: he undertook to pierce the isthmus of Corinth. His prætorian soldiers, at the signal of a trumpet, struck the soil; with a golden pick-axe the emperor loosened a few shovelsful of earth, which he bore away in triumph. From all the isles the banished were summoned, and all the convicts were gathered from every province; Vespasian sent 6,000 Jewish prisoners to him. All death penalties were abrogated until the completion of the work.² But he soon grew weary of such activity; he consented that the canal be proclaimed an impossibility, and returned to his games and his festivities, intermingled with executions; then occurred the death of Corbulo. The parricide did not dare to be present at the Eleusinian mysteries, whence all blasphemers and criminals were excluded by the herald.⁴ The Pythian oracles must have given him an unfavourable response, for he ordered a number of men to be massacred at Delphi, and their



Dancer on a Bronze Lamp.¹

he ordered a number of men to be massacred at Delphi, and their



Medal commemorating the voyage of Nero in Greece.³

¹ Found at Pompeii (Naples Museum).

² This was the law in force concerning his canal from Misenum to Rome, which would have killed all the workmen in a different way, since it crossed the Pontine Marshes. [The work done by Nero at the isthmus was still traceable when it was resumed in 1884 by the Greek Government.—Ed.]

³ Galley, with the inscription: "Arrival of Augustus." Small bronze.

⁴ Suet., *Nero*, 34.

bodies to be thrown into the cave whence issued the prophetic vapour.¹ Apollo made haste to be reconciled to one who so maltreated his divinity, and an oracle, which conformed to the wishes of the prince, obtained for Pythia a gift of 100,000 drachmas.² In



Eros (Museum of the Louvre).³

prians to give up to him the Eros of Praxiteles:⁴ in order to make good the loss of works of art destroyed by the fire in Rome in 67 he renewed the robberies of the first conquerors of Greece.

One of his freedmen, however, wrote him continually from

¹ Dion, lxi. 14, and *Nero, or the Piercing of the Isthmus*, a dialogue attributed to Lucian.

² Pausanias, x. 7, and v. 26.

³ There are several replicas of the Eros of the Louvre, one at Dresden, at Rome, at the British Museum, etc., and it is probably a copy of the celebrated statue of Praxiteles. Many engraved gems represent Love in the same attitude. (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 282, No. 1,488.)

⁴ Pausanias, ix. 27.

Rome that business demanded his presence imperatively. "Be convinced first of all," was the reply, "and repeat to me that I must only return worthy of Nero." "Upon his return, he entered Naples, the theatre of his *débuts*, in a chariot drawn by white horses, and after the privilege of the victors in the sacred games, through a breach made in the walls. It was the same at Antium, at Albanum, and at Rome. The Romans beheld him enter in the same car which was used in the triumph of Augustus, wearing a purple robe with a chlamys strewn with golden stars, the Olympic crown upon his head and bearing in his right hand that of the Pythian games. Before him also were borne in pomp others which he had gained, bearing inscriptions, signifying where they had been won, from whom, in what plays, and in what parts." Behind the chariot pressed the crowd of hired applauders, shouting, as if in an ovation, "that they were companions in his glory and soldiers of his triumph." An arcade of the Circus Maximus was torn down, and he directed his course through the Velabrum and the Forum towards the Palatine hill and the temple of Apollo. Victims were sacrificed everywhere along his course, the streets were strewn with saffron powder, and birds, ribbons, and cakes were scattered along the way. He hung the sacred crowns in his bed-chamber around his bed, filled his rooms with statues of himself representing him as a musician, and caused a medal to be struck on which he wore the same costume. In order to preserve his voice he addressed the soldiers by proxy, and whatever he did he kept his singing master continually with him, to advise him to take care of his lungs and to hold a piece of linen over his mouth.¹

The freedman who had implored his master to return to Rome was right. The Empire had grown weary of obeying a "bad singer," as Vindex called Nero. A threatening agitation was brewing in the minds of men in the army and in the provinces. The Jews were in open revolt, and a large force had to be sent out against them. The Greek-speaking nations, long accustomed to despotism and to admire in silence the extravagance of their kings, gave no sign of discontent. The gift of liberty recently bestowed upon Achaia appeared to them of good omen; even Plutarch, half

¹ Suet., *Nero*, 25.

a century later, could only mention it with gratitude. Nero pleased them far better as a singer and musician, the friend of actors and athletes, as poet and charioteer in the stadium, than if he had been a serious, economical, and strict emperor. But through the West, where mythological recollections and Greek manners had no influence, there was nothing but scorn for the imperial mountebank, to whom anything might have been forgiven, except the abandonment of national customs. If Roman society could adapt itself to crime and vice, it demanded at least the guise of respect. Otho, the former husband of Poppæa, had been awaiting his hour of vengeance for ten years in Lusitania. The governor of Bætica listened to the warnings of Apollonius against the enemy of philosophers,¹ and the aged Galba, a kinsman of Livia, had become popular in Tarraconensis by annoying the collectors of the revenue in their exactions. In his prætorian camp were loud rumours concerning the senate and the Republic, and he who had refused the Empire upon the death of Caius, twenty-six years before, had grown bolder with age, as he had then less to risk; he collected all the oracles concerning an emperor who was to come from Spain; he gathered carefully together the portraits of the senators whom Nero had put to death, and he maintained secret relations with those who had been banished to the Balearic Islands. Great anger had been roused among the Gauls by a new census, and afterwards by the tribute exacted for the reconstruction of Rome. These provinces were so near to Italy that the inhabitants could almost see and hear those strange saturnalia of which Rome was the theatre. They had too recently become sharers of the Roman civilization, and had as yet too much of the Gallic nature left not to blush at the shameless vices which Nero paraded with such impunity upon the banks of the Tiber. Always eager for news, there were plenty of people to come and relate to them the infamous scenes of the House of Gold or the Neronian Games,² saying to them: "I saw your emperor acting on the stage, in company with other actors, with the cithera and the cothurnus, in buskin and mask. I saw him bound with cords and laden with

¹ Unless Philostratus (*Apoll.*, v. 10), in confounding men and places, meant to speak of Galba.

² Suet., *Galba*.

chains, raving in the madness of Orestes, or shrieking as Canace in the pangs of childbirth."¹ At tales like these their untamed souls would rise, and they grew ashamed to obey such a master, half woman and half jester.

Among those who brought back from Rome the deepest scorn and anger was the Aquitanian Julius Vindex, of royal blood, and at that time governor of Lugdunensis. He opened his heart to the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni, and decided them to revolt against Nero. If in their discussions there was much said concerning the vices of the emperor, without doubt, there were some present who spoke concerning the inconvenience of the Empire,² and were becoming accustomed to that idea of separation which a year afterwards had entered into many minds. Vindex, in spite of his Gallic origin, was too much of a Roman to conceive anything beyond a change of administration or



Actor, wearing a Mask (Albani Villa, Rome).

sovereign; his whole conduct shows this: he made his followers swear to be faithful to the senate and to the Roman people. But he would not have found so many Gauls ready to fight, if, to their scorn of Nero, had not been added secret hopes. The battle of Vesontium, where the armies of Gaul and of Rome rushed furiously

¹ Suet., *Nero*, 27-29, and Dion, lxxiii. 22.

² See Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv. 14), the speech of Civilis, in which these significant words appear: *Gallias idem cupientes*, and also that of Vocula (*ibid.*, 57), giving the same name to the revolt of Sacrovir and that of Vindex. Plutarch (*Galba*) describes the whole of Gaul as involved in the movement and inclined to revolt, even after the death of Nero.

against each other, proves that Vindex, whether he wished it or not, was at the head of a national movement, and that the legions of Verginius Rufus, composed entirely of Romans, believed that by the slaughter of 20,000 Gauls they were putting an end to those who had rebelled against the Empire.

Before beginning his undertaking, Vindex wrote to several of the governors of the western provinces to obtain their support; among the rest, to Galba, who made no reply, but became a sharer in the rebellion by omitting to forward, like the rest, his despatches to Nero. Consequently, after Vindex had mustered a numerous army of volunteers, he addressed himself a second time to Galba: "Come, now is the time," said he; "come, make yourself leader of this powerful body of Gauls. We have now 100,000 men on foot, we will arm still more." Galba received this letter in Carthage, and at the same time a message from the governor of Aquitania, who appealed for aid against the Gauls. He hesitated no longer, for he had just intercepted the order sent by Nero to the procurators to kill him¹ (April 2nd, 68): he raised a legion in his own province, which gave him two, created a sort of senate, a guard of horsemen, and spread proclamations throughout the country against the common enemy. Otho, the governor of Lusitania, gave to him vessels of gold and silver to be made into money.

"Nero was in Naples when he heard of the rising of the Gauls: it was on the anniversary of the murder of his mother (March 19th, 68). He received the news so indifferently that he was suspected to rejoice at an opportunity, through the right of war, of pillaging the richest provinces of the Empire. He went to the gymnasium, witnessed the combats of the athletes, and took great interest in their exercises. During supper the most alarming despatches were brought to him; then only did he break forth against the rebels in threats and curses. However, he waited eight days before replying to a single letter or giving any order; he did not allude to the event, and it seemed passed out of his memory.

"Disturbed at last by the frequent and dangerous proclamations of Vindex, he wrote to the senate, exhorting them to avenge their

¹ Suet., *Galba*, 9, and Aurelius Victor, *de Cæs.*, 5. Unless he had presupposed this order in justification of his revolt.

emperor and the Republic, excusing himself on account of a sore throat from coming to the Curia in person. Nothing offended him more in these manifestoes of the rebels than to be considered a bad singer. As for the other accusations, said he, their falsehood was well proved by the taunt which they flung at him, in ignorance of that art which he had cultivated with so much zeal and success; and he went about asking everybody 'if a greater artist than himself had ever been known.' Still the bearers of evil tidings came thick and fast; at last, seized with affright, he started for Rome. On the way an insignificant omen raised his courage: it was the bas-relief of a monument upon which was sculptured a Roman horseman dragging a conquered Gaul by the hair. At this sight he leaped for joy and gave thanks to heaven. At Rome he neither assembled the senate nor the people, but hastily held counsel with a few of the principal citizens, whom he had called together at his house, and spent the rest of the day in trying new musical instruments in their presence. He called their attention to the mechanism and workmanship of each, promising them that he should use them upon the stage, 'provided Vindex will give me leave.'

"When he learned that Galba and the Spaniards had also revolted he lost courage entirely, and falling to the ground remained there a long time like one half-dead. It has been said that at the first sound of the rebellion he wished to kill the governors of the provinces and the commanders of the armies, and leave the pillage of Gaul to the soldiery; to slay all the exiles and Gauls in the capital; to poison the senate at a banquet; to set fire to Rome, and in the midst of it to let the wild beasts loose upon the people, that they might not be able to protect themselves from the flames. As the impossibility of their execution diverted him from these plans, at last he decided to fight, but without any preparation for so important an expedition, for the most contrary feelings rapidly succeeded each other in this variable nature, at the same time ferocious and effeminate. His first wish was to kill, afterwards to expel the consuls, bear the fasces himself, and cross the Alps; he put a price upon the head of Vindex: offered a reward of 2,500,000 drachmas for his murder, to which Vindex made answer: 'If the head of Nero be brought to me I will

give him mine in exchange.' At other times he spoke of the power of his name, his face, and his tears. 'I will go forth,' he said, 'and show myself unarmed to the rebellious legions. My sorrow will bring them to repentance, and we shall thunder forth together a pæan of victory. I will compose it now.'"¹

An unforeseen event seemed at first to restore his good fortune. Lyons, recently aided by Nero, took his part. That alone would have been sufficient reason for the neighbouring Viennese to join the opposite party, since they had long been jealous of the colony of Plancus, upon which all the imperial favour had been showered. They already held it in a state of siege. Lyons, still menaced by the Ædui and Sequani, allies of Vindex, called the legions of Upper Germany to its aid.

A soldier of fortune was at their head, Verginius Rufus, brave, capable, and without ambition. Intensely disgusted with the contemptible life of Nero, he still believed in the senate, the Roman people, and the law. He was terrified to think what evils would fall upon the Empire if the provinces and the armies should at any time discover that an emperor could be created outside of Rome. Belgica, which was not strongly attached to Nero, perceived with regret that central Gaul assumed the right to give a ruler to the world, and remained quiet. Verginius, untrammelled by that country, invaded the country of the Sequani and threatened Besançon. Vindex, having rushed forward to defend that city, demanded a conference. The two generals consulted long together, and since both were disinterested and both despised Nero, they soon came to an agreement in favour of a restoration of the Republic. But the legionaries who counted upon the spoils of the revolted cities, and to whom the names formerly so revered of senate and people signified nothing, in spite of their leaders, fell upon the Gauls, whom they held in great scorn, and 20,000 perished. Vindex, in despair, put an end to himself. Nero gained nothing by this victory; the victorious legions tore down his statues and wished to proclaim Verginius. Disregarding their menaces, he refused to return to Rome, and he had the strength

¹ I cannot say whether there be not more of caricature than history in this narrative of Suetonius. As anything might be expected of Nero, so anything could be said concerning him.

and the skill to control them until the arrival of certain news from Rome.

Great was the confusion there, and the Empire seemed to be on the verge of dissolution; the principle which had been up to this time the safeguard of its unity and life was about to fail: the legitimacy of the natural or adopted family of Augustus. Of the 108 who composed this family, thirty-nine, that is to say, more than one-third, had perished by violent deaths: a characteristic of an age when, as at the court of sultans, those who stand nearest the throne are also in the greatest danger. Nero was the last of the race; it would end with him; and as nothing had been foreseen for the succession to the sovereignty, there was no provincial governor too petty, no general too insignificant, to dream that he might become the founder of a new dynasty. In Lower Germany, Fonteius Capito incited his legions equally against Nero and against Galba. He commanded a man who had been accused and who

had appealed to the emperor against his sentence to bring a higher seat, and sitting upon it himself said: "You are in the presence of the emperor now, speak," and condemned him to death. Claudius Macer, in Africa, resigning the imperial title of *legatus Augusti*, assumed the republican name of *proprætor*, and stopped all merchandise on the way to Rome, not so much to re-establish the Republic, as in the hope that the people might bestow the Empire upon whosoever would bring the famine to an end. Otho, in Lusitania, sustained Galba, who might in the future open the way to power. The legions of Illyria sent a deputation to Verginius, to offer to him their allegiance, and if the army of the East did not declare itself, it was because it had on

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Legionary bearing the Image (*imaginarius*), from Trajan's Column.



Galley, upon a Silver Coin of Claudius Macer, Proprætor of Africa.

hand a most perplexing war. But it will not fail to observe these examples upon all sides, and will remember ere long that it is not alone in Rome that emperors may be made.¹

Famine threatened the capital itself.² A ship arrived from Egypt; it was believed to be loaded with corn and the forerunner of a corn-bearing fleet; instead of which its cargo was of fine sand gathered on the shores of the Nile for the circus of the imperial palace! Anger and disgust took possession of the populace. Only the soldiers were left. One of the prefects of the prætorium, Tigellinus, entered into arrangement privately with a friend of Galba; the other, Nymphidius Sabinus, thought it possible for him, in the midst of this strange disorder, to make his way into the palace of the Cæsars. He dared not ask power for himself quite yet; but using to his own advantage the dissatisfaction of the prætorians against Nero, on account of his partiality towards his German guard, he persuaded them that the prince had fled; and to make the government of Galba an impossibility beforehand, he promised them in his name 30,000 sesterces each, a gratuity which the economical old man neither could nor would pay. He fancied that would enable him to bring himself forward and buy the Empire without difficulty. Thus fifty-four years after the death of Augustus his kingdom was being put up for auction.

So the provinces and the armies began to rise; the Roman people in their hunger and the prætorian guard were led away by a go-between who was only waiting his opportunity to act in his own interest. In this anarchy of opposing ambitions, one ancient name, one ancient right, violated a thousand times, but still in force, made the senate, if not the actual, at least the apparent, master of the situation. It was that power which Verginius invoked and whose lieutenant Galba called himself. Little accustomed as were the senators to act with resolution, the serious condition of things was soon to force them to awake from their torpor.

But what was Nero doing all the while? He beheld his succession disputed during his lifetime, "a disgrace to which no emperor had ever been subjected," he said himself, but which his

¹ *Evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romæ fieri* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 4).

² When the first corn-vessels which Vespasian sent from Alexandria arrived there was only corn enough left in Rome to last ten days.

baseness deserved. He wished to flee into Egypt, among the Parthians, or even to throw himself at Galba's feet. He endeavoured to persuade adventurers and tribunes to follow him, and appeared not to understand when one of them repeated to him these lines from one of his own parts: "Is it then so great a misfortune to cease living?" Every one refused and withdrew from him. The imperial palace became a solitude. Nero, abandoned by his courtiers, by his guard, called in vain to a gladiator to put him to death. No one answered. He was alone, alone with his crimes, his fears, and his cowardice: an agony more terrible than the violent death of others, because the soul soars higher and gains new strength for the last scene in the sight of the people. One of his freedmen, Phaon, took pity upon him and offered him his villa, four miles from Rome. When night came he left the palace. Emboldened by these tidings, the consuls convoked the senate, announced to it the flight of the prince, and requested it to proclaim him the public enemy. One of them was the poet Silius Italicus, the singer of the second Punic war. The Fathers, pleased that they were able to dare everything and yet risk nothing, used the prerogative which was gladly recognized to dispose of the Empire, and gave its support to that candidate whose chance of success seemed greatest—"the choice of Vindex." And still Nero fled. He left the palace on horseback, clothed in a tunic with his feet bare, covered with an old mantle, his head covered and face hidden by a handkerchief, with only four attendants. As he was passing by the prætorian camp he heard the shouts of the soldiers, who were uttering curses against him and good wishes for Galba. A passer-by said as he saw the little band: "Those men are in pursuit of Nero;" and another asked: "What is there new about Nero in Rome?" The stench of a corpse left in the road made his horse rear, and the handkerchief fell which covered his face; an old prætorian recognized him and saluted him by name. Reaching a cross-road he sent back the horses, and became entangled in a by-path so choked with thorns and brambles that he could not make his way through it, except by spreading his garments beneath his



Coin of Silius Italicus.¹

¹ Bronze coin cast at Doryleum: ITAAIKΩ ANΘHPATΩ ΔOPYAAEΩN.

feet; thus, with difficulty, he reached the walls in the rear of the villa. There Phaon advised him to hide for a short time in a sand-pit; but he replied "that he did not wish to be buried alive." While waiting for a secret entrance to be effected into the villa he took up some water with his hands from a ditch, saying before he drank, "Thus does Nero refresh himself," and then fell to picking the thorns which had stuck to his coat. When the hole in the wall was completed he crept on his hands into the nearest chamber, where he lay down on a miserable mattress with a ragged coverlet. Hunger and thirst tormented him; coarse bread was offered him, which he refused, and tepid water, of which he drank a little.

"All who were present urged him to withdraw himself as quickly as possible from the outrages with which he was threatened. He ordered an excavation to be made in the ground large enough to receive his body, and pieces of marble to be used to line it, if any could be found, and water and wood to be made ready that the last honour should be paid to his corpse, weeping at every order which he gave, and constantly repeating: 'What an artist the world is about to lose!' During these preparations a courier arrived bringing a note to Phaon; Nero seized it and read therein that the senate had declared him an enemy to the State, and was causing him to be sought for that he might be punished according to the ancient laws. He inquired what was this punishment, and was told that the criminal was stripped and his neck held by a forked stick, and that he was beaten to death with rods. Alarmed, he seized two daggers that he had brought with him, tried their points, and replaced them in their sheath, saying: 'The fatal hour has not yet come.' Now he called upon Sporus to lament and weep for himself; again, he conjured some one, by dying, to give him the courage to die. At times he reproached himself for his own cowardice, saying: 'I drag out a miserable and shameful life;' and added in Greek: 'This is not becoming for Nero; no, this becomes him not. He must decide in such a moment; awake, Nero!' The horsemen who were to arrest him were now heard approaching. When the sound reached his ears he repeated, trembling, the line of Greek poetry: 'Of panting steeds I hear the rapid feet.'

And upon this, aided by his secretary, Epaphroditus, he plunged the dagger into his breast. He was still breathing when the centurion entered, and, feigning to have come to save him, sought to bind up the wound. 'It is too late,' Nero said to him; and added: 'Is this the promised faith?' Thus speaking he expired, his eyes remaining opened and fixed."¹ Icelus, Galba's freedman, permitted the body to be burned, the last rites being paid to the master of the world by his old nurse and by Acte, faithful to the memory of him whose first love she had been (June 9th, 68 A.D.).

This wretched end, this prolonged death-struggle, in which this self-indulgent man suffered all mortal pangs, in which the tyrant found no one to obey his last command, craving death at his servants' hands, was the legitimate expiation of a reign which had been the very saturnalia of power. In latter times an attempt had been made to rehabilitate Nero, and in England, the country of cold reason, but also the country of eccentricities, the question had been asked: "Was Nero really the monster that he is represented?" A contemporary, without hatred and without extravagance, has answered the question in advance: "Nero," says the elder Pliny, "was the enemy of the human race."³

Coin of Cythnos.²

But what was Nero's enemy? What was it that perverted this character to which nature had given some amiable qualities? It was the accession to absolute power at the age of sixteen. In private life, he would have been a man of elegant tastes, and might have lived long and happily; as absolute ruler, he died detested in his thirtieth year.

As it was, the memory of this grotesque buffoon, who had redeemed his crimes and vices by no great act in peace or war, did not perish with him. As he had not been publicly executed, many believed he was not dead, and his name was assumed by impostors.⁴ In the year 69, a slave who resembled him passed

¹ Suet., 47-49. Cf. Dion, lxxiii. 29; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 9; Eutropius, vii. 9; Aurelius Victor, *Epit.*, v. 7. Cf. S. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, v. 19; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 6.

² *Cabinet de France*.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 6: *hostis generis humani!* Cf. *ibid.*, xxii. 46. Pliny, born in 23, was thirty-one years of age at the time of Nero's accession.

⁴ Tacitus asserts that there were many (*Hist.*, ii. 8).

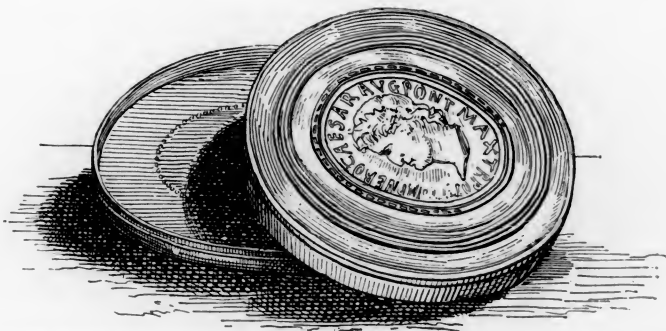
himself off for the late emperor at Cythnos, and produced great excitement in Greece and Asia. In the reign of Titus appeared another. "Twenty years later," says Suetonius, "in my youth, there was another false Nero, whom the Parthians received with delight, and who was given up to us only with much difficulty." Even at Rome, each year in the spring and on the 7th of June, his tomb was covered with flowers and wreaths; his image was furtively placed on the Rostra, and edicts were posted, announcing his speedy return and the vengeance which he should inflict. But this was an unhealthy popularity, as in the case of Catiline, and one by which history should not be deceived.¹

A still more strange idea was that which the *Apocalypse*, composed shortly after his death, spread abroad in the Church: Nero was to appear again at the end of the world as Antichrist.² In the eleventh century the imagination of dwellers in Rome was still haunted by the phantom of the first persecuting emperor. His ghost, it was thought, lingered about Monte Pincio, and to put an end to these terrors the church of Santa Maria del Popolo was erected.

¹ Some deception has existed on this question of Nero's popularity, which was exhibited only by certain interested persons, and has been employed in literature. Cf. Suet., *Nero*, 57: *Obiit . . . tantumque gaudium publice præbuit ut plebs pileata tota urbe discurreret.* Cf. Plutarch, *Galba*.

² Cythnos, where the first of the false Neros appeared, was not far from Patmos, where S. John at this time was writing his *Apocalypse*. See the curious study of M. Renan, *L'Apocalypse*, in which that learned author manifests, in my judgment, too much indulgence for Nero.

³ *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,139.



Bronze Mirror-Box, adorned with a Coin of Nero, the reverse bearing the head of the Goddess Roma.³

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THREE EMPERORS IN EIGHTEEN MONTHS (JUNE 68—DECEMBER 69 A.D.).

I.—GALBA.

TIBERIUS had placed the government under the protection of the prætorians. With an imperial family dying out, an aristocracy whose blood, whose courage even, was exhausted, with a populace composed of the dregs of the world, the soldiers quickly realized their power. Sejanus had given them the means of knowing their numerical power and acting in concert, by establishing them at the gates of the city, in a camp like a fortress, whence they could safely defy the anger of an unarmed populace, and rule the senate by the fear of the sword. Already they had sold the Empire to Claudius, and hoped to sell it again to Galba. The idle soldiers of the prætorium could not, however, expect to keep for themselves alone so lucrative a privilege. So long as their candidate was a Cæsar the legions accepted him; but when this family was extinct, each army not unnaturally wished to make its own leader emperor, and the era of military revolutions recommenced. The eighteen months following the death of Nero were like the worst days of the Republic—*annum reipublice prope supremum*.



Galba
(Gold Coin).

Servius Sulpicius Galba, born near Terracina, three years before the Christian era, belonged to one of the noblest families of Rome, whose origin could be traced back to Jupiter, at least so he asserted in the genealogical table which he set up in the hall of the palace. Still further, it was there recorded that his mother descended from Pasiphaë, daughter of the sun. His grandfather had shown literary tastes. It was perhaps he who possessed the

beautiful statue of Sophocles which was discovered in our own times at Terracina.

Galba had been governor of Aquitania and Upper Germany, afterwards proconsul of Africa. The pacification of this latter province gained for him the triumphal ornaments and several



Sophocles, discovered at Terracina (Lateran Museum).

priesthoods, after which he lived in retirement until the middle of Nero's reign. About the year 60 A.D. the emperor sent him to Tarraconensis, which he governed eight years. He was at first, there as elsewhere, vigilant and severe. Thus, he ordered the hands of a dishonest money-changer to be cut off and nailed to his counter; he condemned to crucifixion a guardian for poisoning a ward whose legatee he was, and when the criminal pleaded his rights as a Roman citizen he had erected for him a cross painted white and very much higher than the rest. But fear of giving offence to Nero soon lessened his zeal: "Inaction is better," said he; "one cannot be called to account for what one has not done."

However, when he saw that Nero was losing ground, he himself strove to become popular, and the letters of Vindex found him ready. On the 2nd of April, 68 A.D., from his tribunal, where he had placed pictures of the tyrant's victims and a child, son of an exile whom he had recalled from the Balearic Isles, he recounted to the assembled troops the crimes of Nero, the horrors of his

reign, and was interrupted by their acclamations saluting him emperor.

He was seventy-three years old and disabled with gout; it was, indeed, late to begin so rough a journey. But these Romans, thorough sceptics though they were, were also superstitious in the extreme, for it was not conviction but contempt which had slain their gods. The former inhabitants of Olympus had deserted it to give place to an inexorable deity, Fate, whose will was revealed through omens; a thousand omens had foretold for Galba a brilliant fortune: for fifty years he had looked for it, and would have looked for it longer still. Nevertheless, on learning the death of Vindex he thought himself lost and meditated suicide. His friends restrained him; very soon his freedman Icelus, who had travelled from Rome in seven days, informed him of Nero's death and that



Libertati (Citizen wearing the liberty cap). Silver Coin.



Libertas publica (reverse of a Coin of Galba).

the senate recognized the election of the legions of Spain. All were agreed in selecting this old man, who had not long to live, and whose heir each one hoped to be. During the disorders of the previous reign the idea of a restoration of the Republic had been secretly agitated. The senators quickly rallied to a scheme which gave the power to them. With the death of Nero their confidence increased. A medal of Brutus, engraved with the famous legend, *Libertas P. R. restituta*, was exhibited. That was but an alarming threat; much more serious was the resumption of the sovereign right, which Augustus had taken from them, of issuing gold and silver coinage. Their pieces bore neither the name nor effigy of Galba, whom they wished to reduce to the simple position of a mere military commander. At first Galba encouraged these hopes. He declared himself to be only the lieutenant of the senate and people; on the coins which he struck along his route through Spain and Gaul he neither put his picture nor took the title of Augustus; the old republican title of *imperator* alone is to be read there. His uncertainty as to the intentions of the different armies dictated this reserve. But the senators, intimidated by the prætorians, rested satisfied with their innocent monetary manifestation, and without exacting further pledges sent

their oaths of allegiance as far as Narbo. At the same time he learned that Verginius firmly refused the Empire; that it was not offered to Fonteius Capito, and that the army of Germany, after some hesitation, had promised obedience to the choice of the legions of Spain. He then assumed the title of Cæsar and the state of an emperor. The restoration of the Republic had been a dream and nothing more.



Galba *imperator*
(Silver Coin).

Before leaving his province he had all the procurators of Nero, with their wives and children, killed, and had punished several tribes whose submission was tardy. In the two Gauls he bestowed citizenship upon all the allies of Vindex and remitted a quarter of the tribute; but cities which, like those of Belgica, had showed themselves hostile or lukewarm, were deprived of part of their territory, charged with new taxes, or condemned to raze their walls. Rheims, Trèves, and Langres received the worst treatment; he confiscated the revenues of Lyons, while heaping favours upon Vienne:¹ rewards and punishments equally ill-judged, since they created in Gaul two factions, the conquerors and the conquered. From being the choice of the Empire, brought into power by the universal reprobation of Nero, Galba became merely the leader of a party.

At Rome, Nymphidius, prefect of the prætorium, governed in the name of the new prince. This functionary had taken the most prominent part in the fall of Nero, and expected that the grateful Galba would continue him in office and power; he aimed even higher, called himself the son of Caligula, though his father was probably a gladiator, and dreamed of the Empire in spite of his friends, who said to him: "Who in Rome would consent to call you Cæsar?" He was killed by the guards, whom he tried to stir into revolt when he found his command given by Galba to Cornelius Laco. Galba searched carefully for his accomplices, real or supposed, and had them executed without trial; among them were a consul-elect, an ex-consul, and Mithridates, former king of Pontus. As he drew near the city, towards the end of December, the naval force, hastening to meet him, demanded the confirmation

¹ Steininger (*Gesch. des Trev.*, p. 83) thinks even that Galba sent to Trèves a colony, for whose establishment the former inhabitants of the city and some neighbouring tribes were obliged to give up their land.

of their title of legion, given them by Nero; he rejected their entreaties, and when they resolutely demanded their eagle and their flags, he ordered them to be ridden down by his cavalry and decimated; a great many perished.¹

The reaction quickly took the form of a persecution of the friends of Nero. Galba sent to punishment his freedmen, also the famous Locusta; recalled the exiles from banishment, and authorized the prosecution of informers. This was justice and men applauded; he revoked, however, the gifts of the late prince, amounting to not less than £21,740,000,² and he commissioned thirty knights to prosecute for its recovery in Rome



Coin of Galba, commemorative of the Remission of the Tax of the Fortieth (Bronze).

and throughout the Empire. The Hellanodica of Olympia were condemned to restore 250,000 drachmas, the Pythia of Delphi, 100,000; the popularity of Nero among the Greeks became all the greater for this. A tenth only of what had been received was left; if actors or wrestlers had sold their presents, they were recovered from the purchasers: these executions brought in little money and much hate. He granted for a time the remission of the tax of the fortieth on imported articles; but this passing reduction was no equivalent to the court and the populace for the magnificent prodigality of Nero. Galba's economy, though necessary, seemed sordid, and caused him to be satirized at the theatre.³ The principal citizens, from whose number the judges

¹ Nevertheless, later on, he gave to the naval force the title *First Adjutrix*. There exists a commission granted by him on the 22nd of December, 68 A.D., to the veterans of this legion. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv. 204 sq. See also the learned book of M. Ferrero, *l'Ordinamento della armate romane*, 1878.

² Tac., *Hist.*, 20. Two thousand two hundred million of sesterces.

³ Suetonius relates (*Galba*, 12) that Tarragona having presented him with a golden crown, weighing 15 pounds, he immediately had it melted and demanded 3 ounces more, the bullion having fallen short to this amount. A renowned musician came to play for him during supper. Galba gave him 5 denarii, calling his attention to the fact that he gave from his own purse, not from that of the public. Plutarch says, however, that the pieces were gold (125 francs).

were appointed, asked for the addition of a sixth decury as aid to the five already existing; he refused it, and abolished their winter recess as well as that of the beginning of the year. The army was treated no better. The German guard, renowned for its fidelity to the emperors, was disbanded without pay, and the prætorians claiming the largess promised by Nymphidius, he replied, "I enlist soldiers; I do not buy them."¹ Many tribunes were dismissed; there were also removals from the city cohorts and night watch; all felt themselves menaced.

A rigorous government following upon a lax administration might have been accepted. The policy was dangerous; yet, if carried out with firmness and ability, it would have been useful; but this very strict prince had his weaknesses. He was entirely under the influence of three men: Titus Vinius, his lieutenant in Spain; Laco, his prefect of the prætorium; and the freeman Icclus. They were to be seen—

*Tous trois à l'envi s'empresser ardemment
A qui dévoreraient ce règne d'un moment.*²

Galba allowed them to sell offices and favours. Everything was to be bought, the levying of taxes or their exemptions, pardons or punishments. The entire city demanded the death of the infamous Tigellinus, Nero's principal counsellor; but Tigellinus had bought the protection of Vinius, and Galba administered a severe reprimand to the people base enough to desire the life of a man who was soon to be deprived of it by sickness. While the people were reading this magnanimous edict Tigellinus was celebrating by a brilliant *fête* the marriage of his daughter to Vinius.

Apparently the old emperor prospered in everything. Two competitors, Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany and Claudius Macer in Africa, had been killed; Vespasian sent his oath of allegiance and that of Mucianus, governor of Syria; his son Titus, who brought them, having already reached Corinth, this submission rendered useless the assassins whom Galba had sent into the province.³ Verginius Rufus, whose crime it was to have deserved and to have

¹ The sum promised by Nymphidius, 7,500 drachmas to each soldier of the prætorian and city cohorts, and 1,250 to each legionary of the twenty-eight legions (Plutarch, *Galba*, 2), would have amounted to 12,000,000 or 16,000,000 pounds sterling.

² Corneille, *Otho*, act i. scene 1.

³ Suet., *Galba*, 23.

refused the Empire,¹ had been persuaded to come to Rome. Gaul and Spain were devoted; the legions of Illyria, ordered into Italy by Nero, had returned to their camps; those of Upper Germany alone, who had received no recompense for their campaign against Vindex, showed active discontent. Deputies from the Belgian cities, ill-treated by Galba, crowded into the camps in mourning garments, and recalling to the soldiers their unrequited services, incited them to avenge at one and the same time the wrongs of half of Gaul and the humiliation of their eagles.² When they learned that at Rome the prætorians also had reason to complain, that the people regretted Nero, and that the senate was disaffected towards the new prince, they refused to obey him. On the Calends of January, 69 A.D. (January 1st), they took oath to the senate alone, their secret messengers having just said to the prætorians: "We do not wish the emperor elected in Spain; make a choice yourselves which all the armies can approve." This defection hastened the resolution, already taken by Galba, to announce his heir. He hesitated between Otho, who had early been associated with his fortunes, and Piso, whom he had long ago made the legal heir of his wealth and his name. The former had been guilty of a youth of dissipation, but he had made himself beloved in his province, and age and misfortune might have changed him for the better. In addition he had just ruined himself for Galba, and nothing less than an Empire could free him from his creditors;³ at that moment he owed 5,000,000 of drachmas. Piso affected austerity; Galba was pleased by this and chose him (12th January, 69 A.D.).

To choose this young man of austere character⁴ was a challenge to this society, too fond of its vices to wish a Cato on

¹ He lived thirty years longer in the enjoyment of public esteem, and only died under Nerva. Tacitus, then consul, delivered his funeral oration, and Pliny the younger has preserved for us his epitaph:

*Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam
Imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriæ.*

² *Ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 54).

³ *Nisi principem, se stare non posse* (Suet., *Otho*, 5).

⁴ *Ingenio trucem et longo exilio efferatum* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 21). The adoption was made without any legal formalities. Severus still further defied them afterwards, when he had himself adopted by a dead man. (See chapter xc.)

from him. When rumour of what was happening reached the palace, Piso harangued the prætorian guard, which seemed to listen to him; but the rest of the troops repulsed with javelins the



Military Address.¹

messengers sent to them, and the naval legion repaired to the camp of the prætorians; one German cohort alone remained faithful. At one time the rumour ran that Otho had been killed; senators and knights, a moment before trembling and silent, came flocking to offer their services, and complaining that a great criminal had escaped their justice. This decided Galba to leave his palace, where he was preparing to defend himself. Mounted in a litter he advanced through the surging throng which, uneasy and in "the silence of great rage or terror," witnessed this tragedy, whose end was not yet foreseen.



Galba crowned with Laurel.²

A soldier came forward with a bloody sword, boasting that he had slain Otho. "Who ordered you to do so?" asked the severe old emperor. Otho was not, however, dead. The prætorians, having placed him in the midst of the eagles, upon the tribunal from whence they had thrown down the gilded statue of Galba, surrounded him, and allowed neither tribunes nor centurions to approach. They seized each soldier as he came, embraced him, led him to the standards, and dictated to him a form of oath, which in turn commended the emperor to the soldiers and the soldiers to the emperor. He, on his side, with hands stretched toward the crowd, sent kisses, bowed obsequiously, and, adds Tacitus, "in order to become master, aped the meekness of a slave." As soon as he considered the audience

¹ Reverse of a large bronze of Galba.

² Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,086 (sardonyx of three layers, 29 mill. by 22).

sufficiently numerous, Otho spoke. The substance of his discourse was this, that he would retain only so much power as they might wish him to keep.¹ He then ordered the arsenals to be opened, and this troop riotously left the camp. As soon as the cohort which preceded Galba saw them, the standard-bearer tore down the image of the emperor and threw it upon the ground. This was the signal for defection. Some javelins thrown at random dispersed the crowd; the Forum was instantly deserted, and Galba's bearers, charged by a few horsemen, let fall his litter, and the old man tumbled to the ground. "Different stories are told of what he said when dying. According to some, he asked in a pleading voice what evil he had done, and demanded a few days in order to pay the *donativum*. The majority say that he bared his head to the murderers, exhorting them to strike if it was for the good of the State. One soldier plunged his sword into his throat; the others fell upon the corpse and tore it in pieces. Tacitus paints him in an epigram: 'Superior to a private station, while he remained in it; and, in the judgment of all, worthy of the Empire, if he had not been emperor.'"

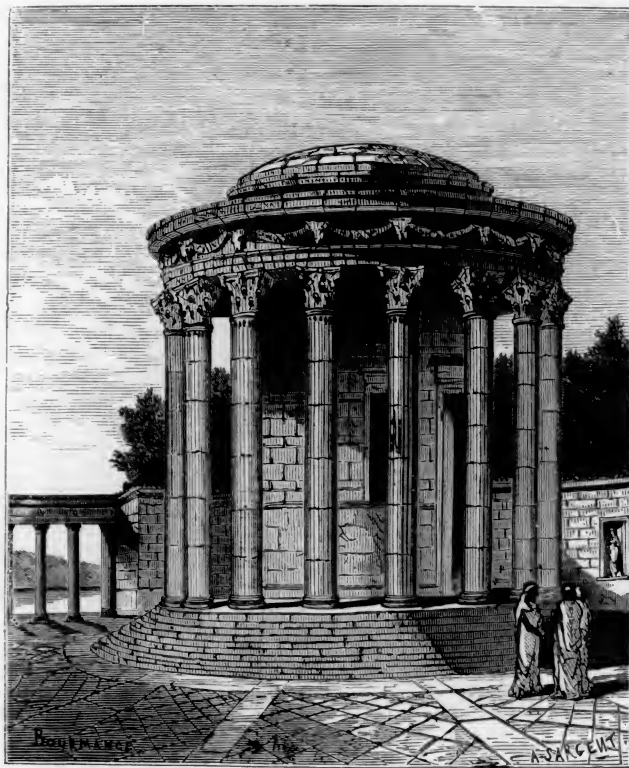


Galba (Bust of the Museum of the Louvre, No. 275).

Piso was saved from the first fury of the assailants by the

¹ Suetonius, *Otho*, 6. This speech was much more in keeping with the situation than the discourse put by Tacitus into his mouth.

devotion of a centurion, and concealed himself in the temple of Vesta, where he was soon discovered and massacred. Vinius had been killed before, and the three heads upon pikes were borne among the standards of the cohorts, near the legion's eagle (16th



Temple of Vesta (Restoration by Coussin).

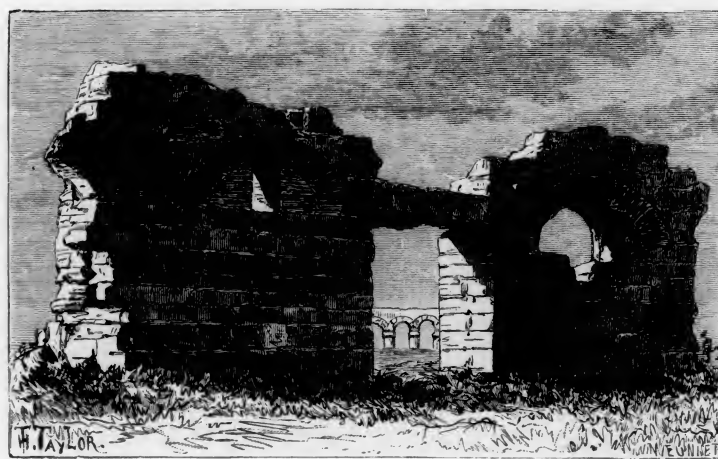
January, 69 A.D.). Later Vitellius found petitions demanding the price of blood from 120 persons; he had them all executed.¹

Piso had been emperor four days, Cæsar and Galba seven months; Otho was to reign eighty-eight days.

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 41. Cf. Suetonius and Plutarch, *Life of Galba*. Dion (lxiv. 6) says that many people perished with Galba, ἀλλοι σὺν αὐτῷ. It is not probable.

II.—OTHO.

Marcus Salvius Otho, born in Rome, April 28th, 32 A.D., the descendant of an old Etruscan family of Ferentinum, came to power with a very bad reputation. The lower classes thought they had another Nero, and saluted him by that prince's name, whose statues he allowed to be set up again, and whose intendants he restored to office, at the same time appropriating 50,000,000 sesterces to finish the Golden House. As he had killed Galba,



Ruins of the Theatre of Ferentinum.

he found it necessary to honour the memory of him whom he seemed to have avenged. He had behaved with moderation in Lusitania for ten years, and at Rome his first acts were praiseworthy. He did, indeed, allow the prætorians to choose their prefects, and to give Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, the prefecture of Rome, in other words, to lay hands on the civil power. But he checked their zeal for massacre and pillage, and gave up to them only the three ministers of his predecessor. They wished to murder Marius Celsus, consul-elect and one of Galba's most zealous partisans. Otho, in order to save him, feigned great wrath and had him loaded with chains; a few days after he gave him

an important command, and numbered him among his dearest friends. The soldiers demanded the suppression of the tax paid by them to the centurions for furloughs; these dues he retained, but had them paid from the treasury. "An expedient middle course," says Tacitus, "always taken by wise princes."¹ Very many had spoken against him in the senate, but he seemed to have forgotten it all, surrendering to the public hatred Tigellinus only, who died like a coward.

There was no time for him to do more, for already he had a rival. After the murder of Fonteius Capito, Galba had sent a new general of no distinction, Vitellius, to the legions of Lower Germany.² He was of very mean birth, a fact which did not prevent the genealogists from tracing his descent to Faunus, king of the early inhabitants of Latium, and a Sabine divinity, Vitellia. His grandfather, a Roman knight of Nuceria, and procurator under Augustus, was the first of the family known to fame; but his father had been censor, and under Claudius second in rank in the Empire. For his own part, brought up at Capri with Tiberius, and favourite of Caligula, he had no experience of war; and of the two great offices he had administered, the proconsulate of Africa and the stewardship of public works, he had left the first with a good reputation, the second with the name of a shameless robber, having even, it was said, appropriated the votive offerings in many of the Roman temples, and put copper and tin in the place of gold and silver. These thefts had not repaired his fortune, which was wrecked by debauchery, and Suetonius accuses him of having poisoned his own son in order to inherit his property. On every side he was beset by creditors, and, like Otho, his only refuge was the Empire. Vinius, whose good graces he had obtained by favouring the faction of the blues at the circus, proposed him to the prince as commander of the turbulent legions of Lower Germany. His common manners and prodigality, with the neglect of every military regulation, would have won the soldiers to him in a few days. We have seen, however, that the outbreak began with the former legions of Verginius, but that they proclaimed no

¹ *Hist.*, i. 46.

² Aulus Vitellius, born in Rome, on the 7th or 24th September, of the year 15. (Suet., *Vitell.*, 3.)

emperor. Not that they were republicans; for they had shown at the battle of Vesontio that they wished to keep at the head of the State a military chief, who for many reasons suited the army



Otho (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 19).

better than an assembly of old politicians. But there was no one in the camp upon whose shoulders they could cast the purple. Their commander, Hordeonius, was an old man crippled with gout,

and while waiting for a candidate to appear they refused obedience to the other old man of the Palatine, who seemed to them merely the emperor of the senate.

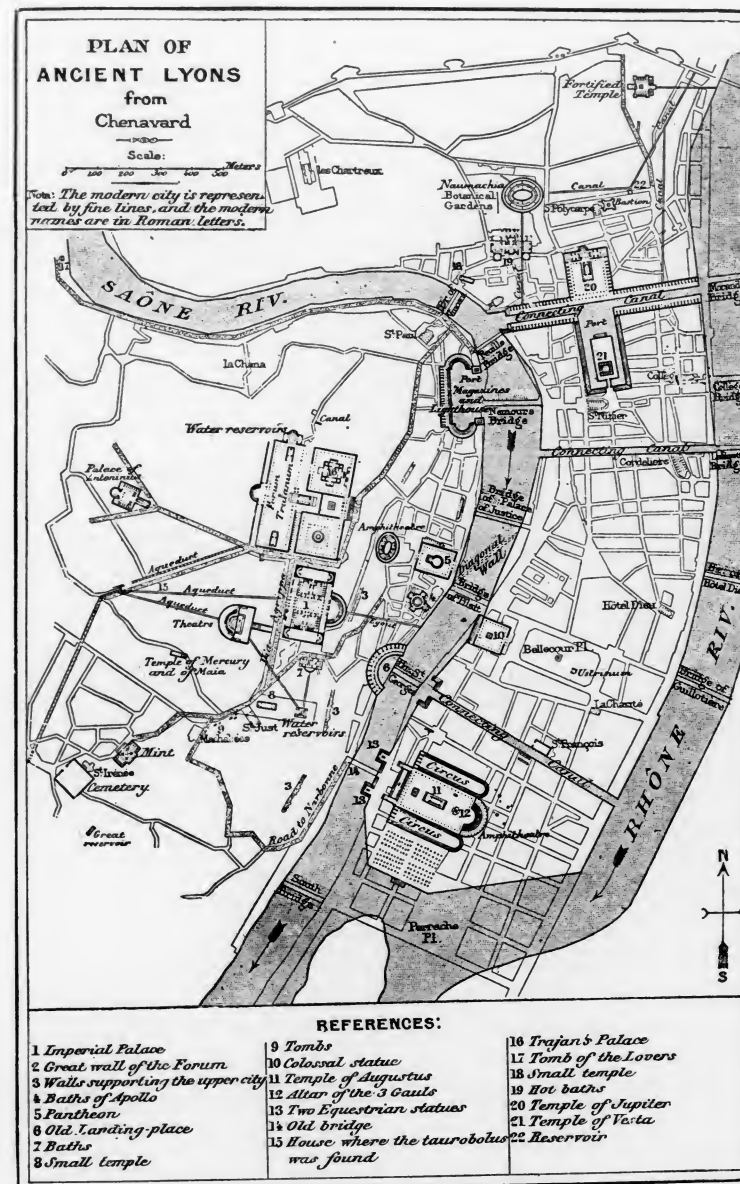
Valens, legate of one of the legions of Lower Germany, had killed Capito, perhaps to remove a witness of his own abortive intrigues; he thought himself ill-paid for this service, and urged Vitellius to seize on the fortune which lay open to him. The ruined general hesitated no longer when he learned that the legions at Mayence had broken the images of Galba. "You must either," said he to the soldiers, "march against your comrades and begin war, or choose another prince." Valens replied by hailing him as emperor. Cæcina, another legate whom Galba was prosecuting for his extortions, easily persuaded the army of Upper Germany to recognize this election. That of Britain followed this example, which was in turn imitated by the First Italian Legion encamped at Lyons. This made eleven legions,¹ more than a third of the forces of the Empire and the most famous troops,² in revolt. The more aged of the soldiers (*senes*) and the auxiliaries were left in the Rhine camps, so that the frontier should not seem abandoned to the barbarians, and from the whole of the active troops three armies were formed. One of 40,000 men, under the command of Valens, marched on Italy by the Cottian Alps;³ the second, of 30,000, under Cæcina, was to cross the Pennine Alps; Vitellius was to follow with the third. The Germans and Belgians vied with each other in furnishing auxiliaries. Cologne, Langres, and Trèves offered men, horses, arms, and money. The enthusiasm was general, as if Belgic Gaul was about to recover its freedom. The same zeal existed among the soldiers; they brought their pay and their costly arms to supply the campaign fund; they insisted, spite of the winter, upon marching and crossing the mountains in the midst of ice. So rich did Italy appear! It was the promised booty, and they could plunder Gaul on the way.

The armies were already on the march when Otho's accession

¹ Four in Lower Germany, three in Upper, as many in Brittany, and that of Lyons. There were then thirty legions, without counting an equal number of auxiliaries, formed into cavalry and cohorts.

² *Magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama* (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 58).

³ The army which passed by *Lucus Augusti*, Luc, on the Drome, must have crossed either Mount Cenis or Mount Genève. (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 66.)



Plan of Ancient Lyons (after Chenavard).

became known. Having revolted under Galba, they continued their revolt under his successor. What mattered the motive of the war? What they wished was war itself. The two princes exchanged words of peace at first, then threats, and ended by despatching assassins against each other.¹ Otho, master of Italy and Africa, recognized by the legions of Illyricum and the East,² governed Rome as if at peace while yet preparing rapidly for war. He confirmed in their offices all those to whom Nero and Galba had made promises, recalled those in banishment, did not remove L. Vitellius, his rival's brother, and contented himself with sending Cornelius Dolabella, whom many regarded as a candidate for the Empire,³ to Aquinum. To secure the favour of the provinces he divided the consulship between Verginius and Vobiscus, a noble of Vienne. He gave citizenship to the Lingones, sent fresh colonists to Hispalis and Emerita, and bestowed privileges on Africa and Cappadocia; he also extended the right of jurisdiction of Bætica⁴ over Mauretania—a favour to one, a punishment to the other. He could also boast of a victory over the enemies of the State. Nine thousand Roxolanian horsemen who had invaded Mœsia were cut in pieces to the last man, and he had just quelled a sedition of the prætorians, which, however, was not directed against him, for, believing him menaced by the senators, they had hastened under arms to his palace, with the outcry that there was no safety for him while the senate existed. This riot furnished him with an occasion for delivering a grand eulogy on "this assembly which had maintained itself from the kings to the emperors, a body indestructible, immortal, which it was their duty to transmit to their descendants intact as they had received it from their fathers."



Otho Emperor
(Gold Coin).

It suited Otho's part well to recall the law to these rioters and to extol to them the senate; unfortunately he had purchased permission to speak thus moderately by a gift of 5,000 sesterces

¹ Suet., *Otho*, 8; Plutarch, *Otho*, 4; Tac., *Hist.*, i. 74-5.

² The Asiatic legions had sent to the prætorians two clasped hands as sign of peace. (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 8.)

³ Galba had disbanded the German guard as being devoted to him. (Suet., *Galba*, 12.)

⁴ *Provinciae Bæticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 78).

to each soldier. It must, however, always be remembered in his favour, as opposed to the abuse of power already shown by his rival. "Vitellius made use of his new elevation," says Tacitus, "only to squander in advance the revenues of the Empire in low profligacy and extravagant banquets. By noon he was always drunk and heavy with eating." To this add a pride which caused him to disdain the name of Cæsar, and he was scarcely willing to accept that of Augustus; he preferred to be called Germanicus. It was indeed barbarians, Germans and Gauls, whom he led to the sack of Rome; Cæcina, his general, wore their costume, and received deputations from the senates of Italy attired in the variegated blouse of a Cherusean and the breeches of a Batavian.¹ The havoc committed by his troops upon the route was terrible: at Divodurum (Metz) they killed 4,000 men, "which spread such terror throughout Gaul that there was no city which at the approach of the army did not go out in a body, headed by its magistrates, to meet the soldiers and beg for mercy. Women and children prostrated themselves upon the highways, and nothing which could disarm a furious enemy was omitted by these tribes, trying in time of peace to obtain the favour of not being treated as if engaged in war."² At Langres, a friendly city, took place a bloody conflict between the legionaries and eight cohorts of Batavian auxiliaries. A pretext for war was vainly sought on the Æduan territory; in addition to the money and arms exacted, this tribe furnished provisions gratuitously. Through fear, Autun had anticipated the requisitions. Lyons did the same through zeal, but as the price of its proved devotion, begged for the destruction of its rival, Vienne, which city, after buying itself off by a donation of 300 sesterces to each soldier, was still further obliged to furnish provisions, surrender its arms, and give a large sum secretly to Valens.

Aquitania, Narbonensis, and Spain, had naturally pronounced against the murderer of the emperor of their own election; this first army therefore reached the Alps peaceably. The other advanced through the country of the Helvetians, who, ignorant of the death of Galba, refused to recognize Vitellius. They chose a general and

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 20.

² *Ibid.*, i. 63 and 66.

gathered troops, but their recruits could not stand against the trained legionaries. Cæcina surprised them in the rear with the Rhetian militia, at the same time attacking them himself in front. Defeated everywhere, surrounded in their woods and mountains by the Rhetians, Thracians, and Germans, they surrendered at discretion, in order to save their capital Aventicum.

This submission opened to Cæcina the passes of the Alps. But the mountains, already inaccessible by winter, might perhaps be more so owing to the partisans of Otho. By the desertion of a corps of cavalry entrenched upon the banks of the Po, and ordered to watch over the fords, the entrance into Italy was betrayed. Cæcina, certain henceforward that no enemy would detain him, hastened his march. Otho, while saying that Nero had been lost through his delay, allowed himself to be forestalled; he accepted war, instead of himself carrying it into the midst of his adversaries. He could not without the greatest effort have awakened any warlike energy in Rome. Italy had seen no battles since the end of the triumvirate. The senate, the nobles, and the knights, shrank from the idea of leaving sumptuous villas and idle lives to enter again upon the life of the camp. Seated for more than half a century at the feast of Damocles, they were accustomed to see the sword suspended over their heads and looked at it without fear, on condition that the feast was well served and nothing came from without to disturb their slothful lives. But to be obliged to fly to arms, to be exposed to fatigue, to wounds, and like free men, die for Rome, as in the days of the Republic—that was indeed too much to expect! Omens were made to speak; but Otho would not listen. He set forth after commending the Republic to the senate, and speaking at length from the Forum of the majesty of the Roman people, in whose name he went out to battle (March 24th, 69 A.D.). He took with him the prætorians, the city cohorts, detachments of the legions at the moment stationed in the city, volunteers, and 2,000 gladiators, whom he armed as soldiers. He marched without pomp, always on foot, at the head of the standards, wearing an iron cuirass, but led by his soldiers rather than guiding them himself. Their army was under no discipline, though devoted to the chief whom they had chosen and who had showed himself worthy of their affection. But after such disorder

and so many catastrophes, the soldiers doubted their officers, and called that treason which was prudence. "Obedience and discipline," says Tacitus, "were the only virtues lacking to this party, which was not wanting in courage."

While Otho was directing towards the Po the main body of the forces he had been able to gather at Rome, and seven legions, those of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia, were preparing to join him, his fleet proceeded to the coast of Narbonne, in the hope of there arresting Valens. It engaged him in a successful combat, which was, however, rendered useless by the absence of any skilful or respected commander (the supporters of Otho had put their own general in irons); and Valens, weakened only by a few cohorts, which held the fleet in check, crossed the Alps. Cæcina had need of this relief. A too precipitate attack upon Placentia had failed, and Suetonius Paulinus, the greatest general of the time since the death of Corbulo, crossing the Po at the heels of Vitellius, had come to give them battle with partial success at Campus Castorum, twelve miles from Cremona. But the soldiers accused Suetonius of not wishing to complete his victory, and loudly demanded to be again led to battle. In vain the old general pointed out that since the union of Valens and Cæcina, the Vitellians having no further relief to expect, everything was to be gained by protracting the campaign; that thus they might be starved out, and time given for the troops from Mœsia, above all for the redoubtable fourteenth legion—which by itself had held in check the rebellious Britons and of old conquered 80,000 islanders—to join them; Otho, anxious to see the end, gave the order for battle. To this first fault he added that of taking away the command from Suetonius, and of himself yielding to the foolish urgency of his friends, who kept him at a distance from the field of battle. The followers of Otho, surprised while marching on a narrow causeway, were cut to pieces (April 14th),¹ and those who escaped the carnage regained in disorder their camp of Bedriacum, whose gates they opened on the morrow to the followers of Vitellius. Otho was at Brixellum,²

¹ Dion (lxiv. 10) puts the number of men killed on both sides as high as 40,000. [Cf. the picturesque account of the battle in Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 40 *sq.*—*Ed.*]

² Bressello, on the right bank of the Po, eleven leagues from Cremona. The position of Bedriacum is uncertain, perhaps near Ustiano, upon the left bank of the Oglio.

whither a soldier hastened to inform him of the defeat. Those around the prince refused to believe in it. "This messenger," they said, "is but a coward who has fled from the field of battle." The soldier made no reply, but pointing his sword towards his breast, fell bleeding at the feet of Otho. This death touched him deeply. "No," he cried, "I will no longer expose the lives of such defenders!" In vain his friends pointed out to him what forces he still had left—the half of the army which had not been in action, the defeated soldiers of Bedriacum, anxious to revenge themselves, the legions of Mœsia, which were already in Aquileia—in vain the soldiers swore to redeem his fortune, those at a distance holding out their hands to him, those near by embracing his knees. He rejected all these projects of civil war. "One battle is enough," he said, and calmly, without ostentation, made his last preparations. He spoke with kindness to each one, according to his age and rank, ordering the young, beseeching the old, to depart and take themselves out of the way of the victor's resentment, and with calm brow and firm voice he reproached them for their useless tears and grief. He saw that those who left him had either boats or carriages, burned all his letters, and distributed what money he had among his servants. Preparing thus for the last sacrifice, he heard a tumult, and perceived that those who, at his order, were leaving camp, were being arrested as deserters, saying, "I must live yet one more night." He forbade violence to be used towards any one, and opened his tent to all who wished to speak with him. Left alone at last, he asked for some ice water and two poniards, whose points he tried; then, having assured himself of the departure of his friends, he lay down quietly and slept. At break of day he woke, and with one blow pierced his heart under the left breast. At the sound of his first groans his people came running, but he died immediately. He was only thirty-eight years old. His funeral took place immediately, as he had ordered. His body was borne by the prætorians, who covered his hands and wound with their tears and kisses; several threw themselves upon the funeral pile. At Bedriacum, at Placentia, and in the other camps, there were many similar deaths.¹ This noble end of a

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 46-51, and Suet., *Otho*, 10 and 11. The father of Suetonius, Suetonius

prince, unwilling to prolong civil war, and the affection of the soldiers for their chief, relieves a little the darkness of the age. Like a reflection of antique virtue, it shines amidst the orgies and cowardly acts of Vitellius and Nero, keeping alive men's faith in devotion and courage, as Thrasea and Helvidius preserved the tradition of virtue (April 16th, 69 A.D.).

III.—VITELLIUS.

The Empire was offered by the soldiers to Verginius, who was in the camp at Brixellum: he again refused it, and escaped just as they were breaking into his house. The submission of the soldiers, proud though vanquished, who yielded only because without a leader, was at last carried to Cæcina by Rubrius Gallus. Upper Italy now saw renewed the horrors of former civil wars. The soldiery pillaged, and the German, Batavian, and Gallic auxiliaries satisfied at once their greed and their ancient spite. The leaders, subject to their own troops, dared not interfere; vanquished and vanquishers, both were feared. Quarrels ending in sedition were continually breaking out. Turin was burned and the eight Batavian cohorts stationed there almost came to blows with their legion and the prætorians. In Pavia two Gallic cohorts were cut in pieces by their own legionaries, and scarcely was the tumult quieted when the fourteenth legion was believed to be returning in order to attempt a surprise on the camp of the Vitellians. This corps, which long hesitated between obedience and revolt, was hastily ordered away. The prætorians were disbanded, the seventh legion (*Gemina*), raised by Galba in Spain, was sent to Pannonia, and the First Adjutrix to Spain; the rest of the followers of Otho, sore with defeat, the punishment of their bravest centurions, and the insulting triumph of their rivals, were sent into winter quarters: these were auxiliaries all ready for a new candidate.

The horrible confusion under which Italy suffered spread to those provinces which had recognized Vitellius. In Africa, the procurator of the two Mauretaniae had assumed, it was said, the insignia of royalty and the name of Juba, which recalled to the

Lenis (?) was then with Otho as tribune of the thirteenth legion. Plutarch saw the prince's tomb; it was simple, and for its inscription bore merely his name.

Moors their independence. He perished in the attempt, but Cluvius Rufus, who governed all Spain, was accused of wishing to take this government for his share in the division of the Empire. In Britain the soldiers had driven away their leader, and Gaul had just been shaken by an unexpected outbreak of the religious and patriotic sentiment which always existed in the hearts of the rural population. A Boïan peasant passed himself off as a god, and called himself the liberator of Gaul. He was followed by a crowd of fanatics, had already gathered 8,000 men, and the movement was rapidly gaining on the Æduan territory, when the nobles of this city, who were eligible for the senate and honours of Rome, became frightened, and aided by some corps belonging to Vitellius dispersed the mob and took captive its leader. He was thrown to the wild animals, who having already been fed, refused to devour him. "He is invulnerable," cried the people; and it became necessary to have him killed by the soldiers. Nearer still to Rome, in Istria, a fugitive slave passed himself off as a Roman noble whom the cruelty of Nero had forced to seek refuge in this out-of-the-way country; the populace and soldiers were collecting round him when the imposture was discovered. Finally, the entire East was disturbed by the great insurrection of the Jews, to which the proximity of Parthia, and the strange rumours spread through these provinces, might suddenly give formidable proportions.

As is already known, Vitellius was not a man capable of putting a stop to this premature dissolution. He had but just passed the frontiers of Belgica when he learned the victory of Bedriacum. From that moment he would pass through the cities in nothing less than a triumphal car, and descended the Saône in a barge loaded with every preparation for sumptuous feasts. No discipline existed among the servants, none among the soldiers. He himself laughed at their violence and pillage. Having reached the plain of Bedriacum forty days after the battle (May 25th), and seeing a few recoil with horror from the putrefying corpses, he gave utterance to this thought, which has been repeated elsewhere in still more unhappy times: "The smell of an enemy's corpse is always sweet." Slowly he marched towards Rome, laying waste city and country as he passed, for it was less an army than an immense mob which followed him: 60,000 soldiers, of whom

thirty-four cohorts were auxiliary troops, a still greater number of retainers, with buffoons, actors of every description, and charioteers, in whose midst he passed the only moments not devoted to the table or his heavy sleep. "Throughout the camp, as well as in the prætorium, nothing was seen or heard," says Tacitus, "but bacchanalian orgies intermingled with uproar and murder." Seven miles out of Rome the soldiers fell upon the people who came flocking to meet them; even in the city, where their costume, their long pikes, and the skins which they wore, excited curiosity and alarm, for a word, for a look, they slaughtered.

What mattered these disorders to Vitellius? The armies of the East had sworn allegiance, therefore away with care! He set up again the statues of Nero, and spent his time at the circus or at table. For him to reign meant to feast continually. Those Roman tyrants, alike in their proclivity for murder, yet had each some distinguishing vice; that of Vitellius was ignoble—an insatiable gluttony. His biographer tells us, "that he invited himself to feast with several persons at different hours of the same day, and that no banquet cost less than 400,000 sesterces. In order to keep up an appetite for these repasts he was in the habit of taking emetics. At a supper given him by his brother, on the day of his arrival in Rome, there were served 2,000 rare fishes and 7,000 birds. But Vitellius threw into the shade all this profusion by the inauguration of an immense dish, which he christened the shield of Minerva Tutela.¹ In it were livers of plaice, brains of pheasants and peacocks, flamingoes' tongues, roe of lamprey, and a thousand other things, which the three-banked galleys had sought from the remotest border of the Euxine to the Pillars of Hercules. He could not control his gluttony even during the sacrifices: he ate the flesh upon the altar and the cakes which the priests were cooking." In a few months, says Tacitus, he devoured 900,000,000 sesterces.² He gave his name to certain dishes which in the time of Dion were still called by his name.

As for the administration, that was the business of Cæcina

¹ This dish was of silver, and was preserved until the time of Hadrian, who had it melted. (Dion, lxx. 3.)

² Suet., *Vitell.*, 13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 12; Dion, lxx. 2-4; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 42; Tac., *Hist.*, 95. Cf. Eutropius, vii. 12.

and Valens, long rivals, now enemies, and one of them already a traitor. Vitellius had given them the consulate for the months of



Vitellius (Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 20).

September and October, 69 A.D.: a year rich in consuls, counting as many as fifteen.¹ When this nomination was made and his two generals put in charge of the government, he thought he had

¹ There were four consuls-elect who had not time to enter into office. See Borghesi, *Fasti consulares*, p. 68.

fulfilled his imperial duty, and that it only remained to him to live well and merrily. This coarse man had the easy temperament of all good livers. On his way from Cologne to Bedriacum he had rescued from the rage of the soldiers more unfortunates than he had left in their hands; after his victory he had spared Otho's brother, pardoned Suetonius Paulinus, who had defeated him in the battle of Campus Castorum; and towards the end, at the most critical moment, having in his power a brother, son, and nephew of Vespasian, he had not taken their lives.

As he had been in the camp so he was in Rome, a base seeker after popularity: at the theatre he applauded with the populace, at the circus he supported their favourite charioteers. In the senate, whither he went without any necessity, his manner and language were not those of a prince: he made long speeches and took part in lively discussions, compromising to the imperial dignity. Once when Helvidius Priscus seemed to him to presume too far, he called the tribunes to the aid of his despised authority. At the end of the debate an effort was made to soften his anger: "Is it, then," he said to them, "so new a thing to see two senators differ in opinion?" That seemed quite dignified, but when he added: "Have I not myself often contradicted Thræsea?" the suggestion seemed impertinent. Dion praises him for not having confiscated any person's property, nor broken any of the wills of Otho's friends.

These easy manners did not, however, prevent his assuming at times imperial habits. Cornelius Dolabella, a prominent man whom he suspected, had his throat cut while sleeping; later he seems to have forced another, Junius Blæsus, to take poison.¹ Suetonius asserts that to settle his accounts with his creditors he condemned them to death.² One of them thought to escape by crying out, "I have made you my heir;" a doubly dangerous remark, which would have caused him to be condemned had he not been so already. Vitellius, on opening the will and finding that a freed-man was to share with him, executed both testator and co-legatee.

¹ Tacitus's account is not clear; it is not easy to understand how such a thing could be done. He says even that the joy of Vitellius upon seeing Blæsus dead confirmed belief in the crime: *addidit facinori fidem* (*Hist.* iii. 39).

² Dion only says, what is more probable (*lxxv.* 5), that he was satisfied with the surrender of their credentials.

At the same time were executed two sons for asking for their father's pardon.

In those days seers were men of importance: in misfortune they were consulted, and not unnaturally when good fortune came they were proscribed. Vitellius ordered those of Italy to leave the peninsula before the 1st October; they fled or hid, but still in their own way launched an edict: "Greeting to all. By order of the Chaldeans, Vitellius is forbidden to exist in any quarter of the globe by the Calends of October." All who could be seized were executed. A severe reply to their joke, but the executioner had often a part in the imperial facetiæ, and there were always people found to laugh.

This then is what the Empire had come to in the course of half a century after the death of its founder. In Rome rough and savage manners; in the army no discipline; in the provinces doubtful allegiance; lax government everywhere; cities resuming their strife as rivals under the cover of revolution;¹ the peace bestowed by Augustus was disappearing; the frontiers, which he had garrisoned with troops, left without defence; in short, the edifice which he had raised was tottering to a fall which threatened to overwhelm the world in one vast ruin.

For this once the excess of ill brought for a time a salutary reaction. The Augustan age recommences with Vespasian, and was continued by Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, with no certainty, it is true, for the future, since everything was still left to chance and force, but making of their reigns the most prosperous epoch in the history of the human race.

The list of emperors shows how rapid had been the decline and destruction of the Roman aristocracy under the double action of its vices and a monarchical government. The nobles no longer fill the high offices, formerly their province, and the leaders of the army are new men and furnish masters for the Empire. After the Cæsars yet one more patrician, Galba, held the power; Otho belonged only to a royal house of Etruria; and already we have

¹ *Discordibus municipiorum animis magis inter semet quam contumacia adversus principem* (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 3). As had happened in Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, Leptis and Cæa, in Africa, entered into bloody combat. (*Ibid.*, 50.) Cf. Suet., *Vesp.*, 8: *Provincia civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quædam tumultuosius inter se agebant.*

Vitellius, who is only of knightly origiu; Vespasian,¹ the son of a Sabine peasant, the first of the provincial emperors.

Vespasian's grandfather had been centurion in Pompey's legions at Pharsalia, and his father did not attain much higher rank in the army, but when charged with collecting the tax of the fortieth



Vespasian.²

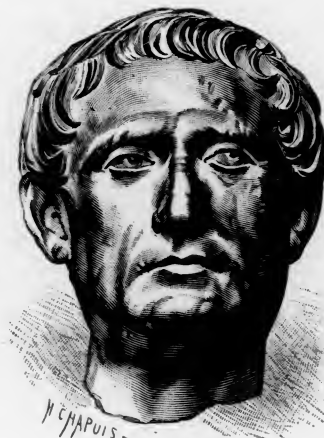
in Asia, he showed such honesty that several cities raised statues to him, bearing this inscription: "To the honest collector of taxes." This nobility was as good as any, and Vespasian never blushed for his ancestry, but laughed at those who would trace it to one of Hercules' companions; as emperor it pleased him to visit the places where his childhood had been passed; he forbade anything to be changed in the humble house where he had lived, and even on solemn festivals he always drank from a little silver cup given him by his grandfather. We should willingly ignore his cowardly complaisances towards Caligula, but under an easily offended despotism sycophancy is the price paid for safety by honest but timid persons. His services under Claudius caused them to be forgotten. Legate of a legion during the expedition to Britain, he fought against the enemy thirty times,

¹ Titus Flavius Vespasianus, born at Falacrinum, near Reate (Rieti), on the 17th of November, 9 A.D. (Suet., *Vesp.*, 2.)

² Marble found near S. John Lateran.

subjugated two powerful tribes, twenty cities, and the Isle of Wight. In addition he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, two priesthoods, and the consulate for the two last months of the year 51. Sent by lot to Africa as proconsul, he proved himself both honest and severe,¹ and returned from his province poorer than he had started, so poor indeed, that consul though he was and recipient of triumphal honours, he was obliged, in order to live, to engage in horse dealing. He however accompanied Nero on his journey to Achaia, and while there risked his life by going to sleep while the emperor was singing. His disgrace was brought to an end by the necessity felt at the time for a clever general of low birth. The Jews had just defeated the consular lieutenant of Syria and captured an eagle. Corbulo being dead, and Suetonius Paulinus forgotten in his government of Mœsia, Nero be-thought himself of Vespasian, and gave to him the command of the three legions sent against the Jews (latter part of 66 A.D.).

His first care was to re-establish discipline. He used the best means to accomplish this by himself setting the example of shirking neither fatigue nor danger. Everywhere his soldiers saw him fighting at their head; while besieging one little city several arrows entered his shield and he was wounded in the knee. His great ability, together with the devoted assistance of his son Titus



Trajan's father (M. Ulpius Trajanus).²

¹ Suet., *Vesp.*, i. 4. Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 97) seems to assert the opposite. Vespasian had without doubt already shown rigid economy in this administration. Hence that riot of Hadrumetum, when turnips were thrown at his head, and those unfavourable recollections (*famosum invisumque*) left among the inhabitants, while Vitellius had made himself beloved by his laxity and prodigality. One thing is certain, that Vespasian was poor when he left the province. Still Suetonius accuses him of having extorted 200,000 sesterces from a young man who wished to obtain the laticlave. Burrus was also known to sell his influence, and, unfortunately, these habits, which have been practised in other ages, have not always caused men to lose their character.

² Bronze bust found in Servia and now in the Museum of Belgrade.

and Trajan's father, did the rest; the conquered Jews were once more shut up in Jerusalem, and the entire East, taught by the Greeks to hate the race of Abraham, rang with the name of Vespasian. After Nero's death he successively recognized Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. But when he read the third oath of allegiance, his soldiers showed by their silence that they no longer intended submissively to accept chiefs given them by the other armies. They repeated the murmurs of several of the Mœsian cohorts: "Had they less weight than the Spanish legions, who had elected Galba, than the prætorians who had chosen Otho, or than the German army which had proclaimed Vitellius? Throughout the Empire they alone at this moment combated the enemies of Rome, and to reward their pains they were to be taken from a province which they loved and exiled to the banks of the Rhine, where a severe climate and hard service awaited them; and this, undoubtedly, with the intention of separating them from their leader, that thus he might be prevented from accomplishing the vengeance bequeathed him by the dying Otho in the name of the Republic."¹ A copy of a letter, written, it was said, by that emperor, and summoning Vespasian to the relief of the Empire, was in fact circulated.

The interests of the chiefs of the Eastern provinces were identical with those of their soldiers. Mucianus, who commanded four legions in Syria, might have disputed the purple with his colleague; but as rivals neither would have succeeded, and this he had the wisdom to see. Besides, the soldiers favoured Vespasian, one of whose sons already showed ability. Mucianus, without family, had only himself to think of, and believed it safer to make an emperor and impose upon him conditions than to become one himself.

He became reconciled to the commander of the Judæan legions, whose enemy he had hitherto been, and offered to recognize him as chief. The prefect of Egypt, associated in their plans, promised two legions; Vespasian's image had been already placed upon their

¹ Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 80) and Suetonius (*Vesp.*, 4-6) say that this project, attributed to Vitellius, of transporting the German legions to the East, displeased the natives as well as the soldiers. There was besides a long-standing jealousy between the Syrian legions and those of the West. Under Tiberius, they alone of all the Roman army had not placed Sejanus in the centre of their flags, they alone also at his death received a gratuity. (Suet., *Tib.*, 48.)

flags by some of the Mœsian soldiery, and the legions of Illyricum, vanquished without having fought at Bedriacum, might be counted on to support the avenger of Otho. They possessed fleets, numerous auxiliaries, the friendship of Vologeses, and oracles announced that about this time a master of the world would come out of Judæa. A Jewish prisoner had named this ruler of the world; during the life of Nero, Josephus was being sent, loaded with chains, to Rome, when he said to Vespasian: "Keep me, I am a prophet; you will be emperor!"¹

On the 1st of July, 69 A.D., he was proclaimed in Alexandria by the prefect of Egypt; two days later the army of Judæa saluted him emperor, and at the same time Mucianus administered the oath to his legions. To the honour of the troops and their new prince be it said, there was no question of a large gratuity. Money was needed for the preparations, and they were obliged

to lay a requisition on the people of the country. Mucianus gave all he had; others imitated him, especially the allied kings of Edessa, Commagene, and Iturea.² Each and all expected to make good their investments in the event of victory. But, adds Tacitus, all had not, like Mucianus, the right and the power to indemnify themselves.

It was decided that Armenia and Parthia should give hostages, in order to guarantee the peace of the frontier; that Titus, the elder son of the emperor, should take upon himself the reduction



Youthful Titus (from a Bust at Naples).

¹ Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. 8, 9. Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 74-78, v. 13: *Profecti Judæa rerum potirentur.*

² Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 81; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 28.

of Jerusalem; Vespasian, by occupying Alexandria and Carthage, was to close Africa and thus starve Rome; Mucianus to march on Italy and stir up the legions of the Danube; while urgent messages were to be sent to agitate Gaul, shake the wavering fidelity of the armies of Britain and Spain, and to hold out to the prætorians the hope of their re-establishment. The seven legions



A Vexillary (from the Column of Antonine).²

of Illyricum, already decided, did not even wait for Mucianus, but took the initiative under the influence of a legionary legate, Antonius Primus, a man of tarnished reputation and a bad citizen, but a soldier of courage and resolution, who knew how to command and enforce obedience.¹ The chiefs of the Sarmatian Jazyges, who undertook to guard the Danube, were taken in pay, and two kings of the Suevi, Sidonius and Italicus, who followed Primus, when, in spite of Vespasian's orders, he crossed the Julian Alps with the cavalry and vexillarii.

The Vitellians also took the field, but no one would have recognized in these languid, enervated soldiers, marching in disorder and almost without arms along the Flaminian Way, the proud German legions who were renowned throughout the Empire. The bravest of them had remained in Rome, as the twenty new cohorts of the prætorium and of the city.³ Their chief, Cæcina, jealous of the credit of Valens, had already lent a favourable ear to the propositions of Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, who was prefect of Rome. Cæcina chose to

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 36. He was a Gaul from Toulouse, surnamed Becco. Driven from the senate in 61 A.D. for a forgery, he had been restored by Galba, who gave him command of the seventh legion (*Gemina*). (Suet., *Vitell.*, 13; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 40; *Hist.*, ii. 86.)

² The vexillary was the standard-bearer, and in addition, the veteran, who having finished the legal term of service, was retained *sub vexillo*. The corps serving separately from the legion were also called *vexilla*: *Germanica vexilla* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 31, 70); *equitum vexilla* (*Hist.*, ii. 11); etc.

³ Sixteen prætorian, four city, each of 1,000 men. (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 93.)

be deliberate about his treason. In order to give his agents time to conclude the bargain, he, with a military foresight which proved his ability, chose the line of the Adige as the proper place to hold in check an enemy, already master of Aquileia, Vicentia, Padua, and the stronghold of Verona. By these well-calculated delays, he gave to the Flavians time to gather more than 40,000 men, and to his accomplice, Lucilius Bassus, to decide the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. When this news reached him he pulled down the statues of Vitellius which were in his camp, and inscribed the name of Vespasian on his flags. But the soldiers became indignant at this treason towards the choice of the German legions; falling upon Cæcina, they put him in chains, and then without a leader and in disorder, abandoned their lines and rejoined the troops which they had left at Cremona. Taking advantage of the sedition Antonius Primus crossed the Adige, no longer defended, and in two days reached Bedriacum, whence he might be able to cut off the relief which Valens would not fail to bring them. However, resolved as soon as possible to strike some decisive blow, before the Transalpine provinces became disturbed, or the Germans who threatened an invasion through Rætia should appear, he, after the first day, sent out a strong reconnoitring party towards Cremona, which, eight miles from Bedriacum, encountered two hostile legions, and drove them in disorder back upon the city. At that very moment six other legions entered it, after a march of thirty miles in one day. Instead of resting after so long a march, they crossed the city and the entrenched camp which protected it, and advanced to the attack, leaving to Antonius scarcely time to remind the Mæsan legions that this was less a quarrel of two emperors than of the two armies of the Danube and the Rhine.

They fought all through the night. The moon having risen behind the Flavians, threw heavy shadows of the soldiers and their horses in advance of their line, thus misleading the blows of the Vitellians; while the latter, seen in broad light, were harassed by arrows not one of which missed its aim. In the morning, while the third legion from Syria was worshipping the rising sun, came news of the arrival of Mucianus; the air resounded with wild shouts, and the army, making a supreme effort, stormed the camp. The Vitellians, in despair of longer resisting, had recourse to

Cæcina, whom they freed from his chains and implored to intercede for them, and they hung out upon the city walls, as a token of their submission, the veils and fillets worn by suppliants in the temples. This was the first victory, since the time of Sylla, gained by the troops of the Eastern provinces over those of the West.

In the strife a father had been killed by his son, a brother by his brother: this is a common crime in civil war; but one of these murderers boasted of his deed as of a glorious exploit, and demanded a reward from the generals. "A like piece of ill-fortune," says Tacitus, "had been known at the time of our former dissensions: one of Pompey's soldiers killed a brother in the ranks of Cinna; but having recognized him, refused to survive, and fell upon his sword." Even civil war had degenerated.

On the day of the battle a large fair was held at Cremona; the greed of the soldiers was fed by it, and during four days the city was given over to the brutal passions of 40,000 furious soldiers and as many more camp-followers. The Flavians gave the honours of the pillage to the Vitellians, and sealed their reconciliation over the smoking ruins of the ill-starred city. After being gutted and all its inhabitants killed, it was at last burned, and of this flourishing colony, founded 286 years before, to arrest Hannibal and the Gauls, nothing remained standing but the little temple of Mephitis outside the walls.¹

The fall of Cremona echoed sadly to the heart of Italy. For more than a century² the peninsula had heard no sound of arms, save that at Bedriacum, nor seen a cottage burned by soldiers, and now Pannonians, Dalmatians, Suevi, natives of Mœsia and Syria, renewed the misfortunes known for four generations only through the stories told in the watches of the night. The leaders realized the abominations of the sack of Cremona, but suffered them because they were no longer masters of their soldiers; some, because they lacked authority, like Pompeius Silvanus, "who in talking allowed

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 1-35; Dion, lxx. 15; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 41. "The Vitellians did the most injury, because they knew the houses of the rich men." Spite of Antonius's order to release all the captive Cremonians, the soldiers wished to sell them for slaves, and no purchaser coming forward they began to kill them (*occidi capere*, Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 34). Then the relations and the allies bought them in secret.

² Since the sack of Perugia, 40 B.C.

the time for action to pass;"¹ others because they tried to succeed by disastrous methods, like Antonius, who gave them the right of replacing their dead officers. "Suffrage gave rank to the most turbulent, and the soldiers no longer depended upon their chiefs, the leaders being elected by the tumultuous caprice of their soldiers, so that discipline became corrupted by these seditious practices."

Fabius Valens, who, on account of the defection of the fleet, had not been able to go by way of Rimini and Ravenna, heard in Etruria of the disaster of Cremona. He formed the plan of embarking for Narbonensis to excite the Gauls to revolt, and also Britain and Germany, and to recommence his first campaign. Narbonensis, however, had already pronounced for Vespasian; Valens, driven by a tempest upon the islands of Hyères, near Marseilles, was captured by the galleys of the procurator, Valerius Paulinus, and after a time put to death. This news and that which arrived from Italy decided the defection of Spain and Gaul. Britain alone hesitated, and the islanders seeing in these conflicts a chance of regaining their own liberty recommenced the war. Upon the Rhine, Civilis aroused the Batavians, not so much against Vitellius as against Rome. Germany was in commotion, and all the barbarians from the Hercynian Forest to the Caucasus, feeling that the Empire had lifted from them its mighty hand and turned it against itself, rose and marched upon the dismantled frontiers. The Dacians had crossed the Danube; the Euxine was covered with pirates; and in Pontus one of the late king's freedmen was calling the neighbouring nations to arms.²

Amidst the noise of an Empire falling to pieces upon his head, Vitellius, "hidden in the shady groves of the gardens of Aricia," seemed to hear and see nothing, "like those unclean beasts who, after they have been fed, lie down and sleep."³ He had regarded the Empire as a banquet, and desired to finish the feast in tranquillity. He roused himself, however, on hearing of the defeat at Cremona, and on the approach of the Flavians he sent out from Rome fourteen prætorian cohorts, all the cavalry, and the legion formed of the marines. These were picked men;

¹ *Socordem bello et dies rerum verbis terentem* (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 50).

² Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 44-47.

³ *Jacent torpentque* (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 36).

with them he could close the Apennines, which were already covered with snow, and possibly imperil the victorious army which Antonius was urging, in a confused and disorderly crowd, upon the Capital, in order to arrive there before Mucianus. But Vitellius did not know how to employ them to advantage; and, on the rumour that a new war was breaking out behind him, he arrested them in the strong position of Narnia. A centurion, with the aid of forged letters, purporting to be from Vespasian, had just brought about the defection of the fleet of Misenum. Puteoli, which would be ruined if the war should continue, had pronounced for him who was in command of Egypt and Asia; Capua, through rivalry, remained faithful to Vitellius; but a troop which he despatched against the rebels went over to their side and also captured Terracina. The Samnites, and Marsians, and Pelignians, joined the rebels; "and of the Empire of the world there was left to him only the space included between Circeii and Narnia." Even the army in camp at this latter place itself abandoned Vitellius on being shown the head of Fabius Valens, whom the soldiers thought was obtaining succour from Gaul and Germany.

The Flavian chiefs knew the character of their troops, and for Rome taken by assault they dreaded the fate of Cremona, whose destruction had seemed to all Italy a work of barbarians.¹

¹ Dion says of the Flavians that they showed so much ardour only for the sake of pillaging Italy . . . ἵνα τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαπράσωσιν ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο (lxx. 9). They were, in fact, barbarians. We have seen that Antonius took in his pay two Suevian kings, who, with their troops, were placed in the first line in the second battle of Cremona (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 21). The soldiers of the fleet of Ravenna were for the most part (*magna pars*, *ibid.*, 12) Dalmatians and Pan-
nonians, who were drafted into the legions. The cavalry played an important part in this war; sustained by the auxiliary cohorts it had been the main cause of the success of the first battle before Cremona, and this cavalry, these cohorts, were chiefly levied in the provinces where the legions were quartered. Tacitus (iii. 19) says of the Moesian auxiliaries that they were as good as the legionaries; and one legion, the eleventh, had 6,000 Dalmatian auxiliaries. It is clear that the chiefs had good reason to fear for Rome. The Vitellian army was composed in nearly the same way. Civilis reminds the Gauls (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 17) that, in the battle with Vindex, it was the Batavian cavalry which had crushed the Arverni and Ædui, and that the Belgæ formed part of the legions of Rufus, and he adds: *Vere reputantibus, Galliam suismet viribus concidisse*. There were so many Germans among the Vitellians that at the sack of Rome all the tall young men were killed, for the reason that unusual stature indicated a barbarian (*proceritas corporum*, Tac., *Hist.*, v. 14). In the ranks of the legions there were many provincials from the frontier districts who had entered the legions after serving in the auxiliary cohorts. At Cremona the third legion, which had come from Syria, worshipped the rising sun, as if it had been entirely composed of Syrians. At the siege of Jerusalem acts of distinguished valour were performed by a Syrian, Bithynian, etc. (Josephus, vi. 1, 6, and 8). Finally, the despair of the Syrians on hearing that the legions of the Euphrates were to be sent to the

Antonius and Mucianus sent pressing messages to Vitellius which decided him to treat with Sabinus, Vespasian's brother and prefect of the city. He accepted their conditions: his life and 100,000,000 sesterces, with shelter in Campania. But, though he was a man capable of shamefully abandoning his position and accommodating himself to the terms his rival deigned to offer, the former legionaries of Germany who had chosen him to make their own profit out of his reign, and the Roman mob who gladly recognized their own type in this drunken and gluttonous emperor, did not propose to lose the advantages they had promised themselves. Soldiery and people once again ranged themselves together in favour of the ignoble creature, heartless and brainless, whose vices so well suited their own. When, from the steps of the palace, he announced to the crowd that he "had relinquished the imperial power which had been laid upon him against his will," violent clamours broke out, and he consented to withdraw his abdication.

The night brought back his fears; at daybreak he left the palace, wrapped in a dark-coloured toga, surrounded by his weeping servants; his young son followed him borne in a litter: it was a scene resembling a funeral procession. He had summoned the people into the Forum, and from the Rostra repeated his declaration of the preceding night: For the love of peace, he said, and for the good of the State, he withdrew, asking only that the people would remember him, and that they would have compassion on his brother, his wife, and the innocent age of his children, and upon this he presented to them his son. Lastly, he detached his dagger from his belt, in token that he renounced his right of life and death over the citizens, and attempted to give it to the consul, who was unwilling to accept so dangerous a present. Again the soldiers and the people clamoured against this renunciation; and when Vitellius directed his steps towards his brother's dwelling they objected to his withdrawing into a private house. The palace was his abode, they cried; it was thither that he must go; and they

Rhine, proves that relations of all kinds were established between the provincials and the legionaries who were permanently established in the provinces. Accordingly, the armies being encamped along the frontiers, that is to say, in the least Romanized parts of the Empire, and recruiting chiefly in their immediate neighbourhood, their character would naturally alter by degrees, and we have no occasion to wonder that they ended by having nothing Roman about them.

barred all the other streets, leaving open to him only the Via Sacra, which led to the Palatine. Vitellius returned to the palace.

Meanwhile the rumour of the abdication had spread, and the principal senators, most of the knights, the soldiers of the urban cohorts and of the watch had gathered around Sabinus. An accidental meeting brought about a street encounter between the two parties near the Quirinal. The Vitellians getting the better of their adversaries, Sabinus fled for shelter to the Capitol, whence he sent a messenger to Vitellius reproaching him with the infraction of the agreement. This success had not increased the courage of the sad emperor; he excused himself, throwing the blame upon his troops, and dismissed the messenger by a secret door, "fearing lest the soldiers might kill—in their aversion to peace—the man who had come to mediate between the two parties."

The night was quiet, thanks to rain which was falling heavily. In the morning the Vitellians assailed the Capitol, making their way by means of the houses which, since Rome had become so great a city, had been permitted on the sides of the hill, their roofs being on a level with the foundations of the old fortress. For awhile they were beaten back with stones and tiles thrown down from the tops of the porticoes; but the insurgents threw lighted torches which set the surrounding buildings on fire, and followed close upon the flames. A new kind of barricade arrested them: the statues of gods and heroes which Sabinus had heaped up at the entrance of the fortress. Two flank attacks, one through the grove of the Asylum, the other by way of the hundred steps which adjoined the Tarpeian Rock, gave them opportunity to come out upon the plateau. The struggle was brief; some few more courageous than the rest were killed, but most fled soon enough to find the means of escape open, which by no means hindered them from claiming later the honour of having fought for Vespasian and in defence of the Capitol. Others escaped, mingling with the Vitellians, whose pass-word they had been able to obtain; Domitian, clad in a linen garment, went out with the priests, and took refuge near the Velabrum, with one of his father's clients. Seated at table in the house of Tiberius, Vitellius had watched the conflict from a distance. Sabinus and the consul Quintus Atticus were brought to him; he attempted to save their lives, but in spite

of his entreaties the populace tore in pieces Sabinus; the consul, Vitellius was able to save.

While this was going on the flames were devouring the Capitol and the temple of the Empire was becoming a mass of ruins.

Upon the faith of the treaty which was in process of negotiating, the army of Vespasian had stopped at Otriculum, and there was tranquilly celebrating the Saturnalia. Upon receiving news of what had passed in Rome the troops were at once sent forward towards the city: Antonius, with the infantry, by the Flaminian Way; Petilius Cerialis, with the cavalry, by the Via Salaria. A repulse which the latter experienced in the suburbs intoxicated the populace, who armed themselves with whatever they could find, and rushed with great uproar to the ramparts. Vitellius, not much encouraged, although he had received news that his brother had just succeeded in suppressing the movement in Campania, repaired to the senate-house, where nothing better could be found to do than to send a deputation to the Flavians, "counselling peace and concord." He even sent out the Vestals with a letter in which he requested a day should be fixed "on which to terminate everything." Antonius received the sacred



Concordia.

virgins with great respect, and continued to advance as far as the Milvian Bridge, where he proposed to halt his troops, to avoid fighting within the city. The philosopher Musonius also proposed to arrest their advance by calling on them to consider their afflicted country; he, however, was received with howls of derision and narrowly escaped with his life. The prey was too attractive, and the soldiers carried along their chiefs.

There were many sanguinary encounters, in the Gardens of Sallust, in the Campus Martius, especially in the camp of the prætorian guard, which was regularly besieged with "the tortoise," with battering machines, earthworks, and fire. Otho's prætorians were especially vindictive here, making it a point of honour to re-enter victoriously the lucrative place whence they had been driven out by the prætorians of Vitellius. Not one of the latter begged for quarter when the camp was stormed; not one would have obtained it had he asked. This was, like the whole of the war, a rivalry of soldiers rather than of emperors.

A part of the population aided the Vitellians, while the rest looked on at the battle from the tops of the houses, as at a gladiatorial show, applauding the strong and skilful, howling their contempt at the unlucky or cowardly, on whichever side they were; and if a group of disbanded soldiery took refuge in the shops they pointed out the refugees to their pursuers. The populace and the slaves followed the carnage, picking up the spoils which the soldier, busy with his destructive work, was neglecting, and

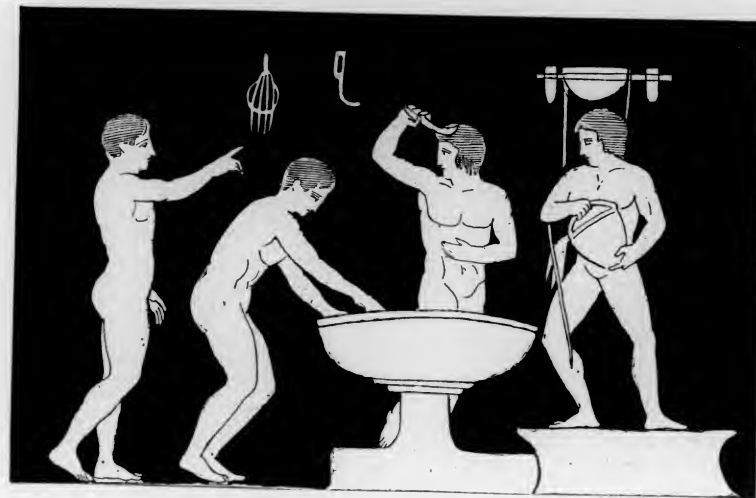


Scene of Baths (Women). From a Vase in the Hamilton Collection (Tischbein, vol. i. pl. 59.)

plundering the dead. But from the great extent of the city it was impossible that fighting should go on everywhere. In quarters not yet invaded men went on with their usual routine of business or amusement. The baths, and taverns, and places of ill-repute were open and filled. The public calamity was like a new zest to pleasure, and the idea of patriotism was so completely extinct that no one suffered in the affliction of the country. Disastrous news arriving a few days later from the provinces produced no more effect:¹ a fresh proof that Rome was no longer Rome, and that the people who inhabited it had utterly ceased to be Roman.

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 12: . . . *nequaquam mæsta civitas . . . cæsos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias, non ut mala, loquebantur.*

Nevertheless these dwellers in Rome, incapable of foresight or action, whose hearts no longer responded to the public woe, quickly learned to their cost—without for that becoming any the more resolute citizens—that cowardice or carelessness which stands aloof from danger is by no means the best way of escaping from peril. The half-barbarous soldiery scouring the city as conquerors began by killing at random all whom they met. When the streets had been blocked with heaps of the slain, and the public squares and pavement of the temples were red with blood, they



Scene of Baths (Men). (Tischbein, vol. i. p. 58.)

searched the houses for legionaries from the army of the Rhine; it was enough to be tall and young for a man to be considered a soldier of the German legions and murdered accordingly. After blood, gold: the rich were denounced; slaves betrayed their masters; the latter were slain as Vitellians and their property seized. Dion and Josephus speak of more than 50,000 murdered at this time.

It was a long time before Vitellius was seized. "When he learned that the Flavians had entered the city, he escaped by the rear of the palace, with his cook and his baker, and had himself carried in a litter to the Aventine, where his wife lived, hoping thence to escape into Campania. There again harassed by

uncertainty, he returned to the palace, the silence and desolation of which filled him with terror. After wandering through the building in much distress, he took refuge in the porter's room, fastened the dog outside, and barricaded the door with a mattress and bedstead. Presently came the Flavians and dragged him from his retreat; he begged for his life, even though it were to be spent in prison, and declared that he had important secrets to reveal to



Pompeian Mosaic, called the *Cave canem*.

Vespasian. But they dragged him down the Via Sacra towards the Forum, half-naked, his hands tied behind his back, a rope around his neck, his garments torn, amidst insults and outrages; some pulled his head back by the hair, others raised his chin with the point of a sword to make him show his face and look up at his overthrown statues and at the spot where Galba had perished. Some threw mud at him; others called him drunkard and incendiary, and reproached him with his red face and sottish figure. Thus he was dragged to the Gemoniæ, where he was

hacked in pieces, and his remains thrown into the Tiber"¹ (21st December, 69 A.D.). He was the last of the patrician emperors.

Vitellius does not merit the twenty-five pages we have bestowed upon him; but Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, have shown us what they did with the palace and government of Augustus, we must needs also see what Vitellius did with Rome and the legions of Cæsar.

¹ Suet., *Vitell.*, 17; Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 68-85; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv. 7; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 42.



Coin of Vitellius (large Bronze).

CHAPTER LXXVII.

VESPASIAN (69-79 A.D.).

I.—WAR WITH THE BATAVI (69-70).

VESPASIAN saw the conclusion of two wars, one commenced under Nero, the other under Vitellius, neither of which concerns the history of his reign, except that his generals finished them.

The originator of one of these wars, Civilis, was of royal race in his own nation—an ambitious title which was applied among the Germans to petty chiefs who, born of honoured families, were by this circumstance raised above the mass of freemen. Civilis had good causes of resentment against the Empire. Nero had put his brother to death and he himself had narrowly escaped. Galba having pardoned him, the soldiers of the army of the Lower Rhine accused him of being an accomplice in the murder of Fonteius Capito and demanded his death. Vitellius saved him a second time, but he swore not to cut his hair until he had had his revenge. When Antonius Primus had proclaimed Vespasian in Pannonia, he wrote to Civilis to make a feint of insurrection for the purpose of hindering the legions of the Rhine from hastening to the assistance of Vitellius. The Batavian willingly accepted the commission; he had lost an eye, and he prided himself upon this misfortune, which assimilated him to Hannibal and to Sertorius; he, like them, cherished the hope of crushing Rome by his subjects' arms. Upon receipt of the letters of Antonius he secretly called together the chief men of his nation,¹ explained to them that Gaul was in disorder, the Germans friendly to all the

¹ The Batavi, a section of the Catti, who had established themselves in the neighbourhood of the ocean, occupied a part of what is now southern Holland, Utrecht, Gueldres, and northern Brabant.

enemies of Rome, the Roman camps deserted,¹ Italy in a blaze, and the moment arrived to throw off a hated yoke. The Canninifates and Frisians, neighbours of the Batavi, joined in the plot;



Vespasian (Bust in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence).

and emissaries were sent to stimulate the defection of the British auxiliaries and of those Batavi who had served with the legions, especially the eight cohorts who had rendered themselves famous by their courage at Bedriacum.

¹ The fifth and fifteenth legions together did not contain 5,000 men.

In a few days the Romans had been driven from all the positions that they occupied in the island formed by the Rhine, the Vahalis, and the Mosa. As the result of a battle, Civilis obtained their weapons, and the German oarsmen of the fleet carried over to him the vessels belonging to the legions, twenty-four in number, which made him master of the Lower Rhine. After this brilliant success he sought to persuade Germany and Gaul to take up arms. The latter, however, sent him but a few volunteers, far more coming from the right shore of the Rhine. Two legions seeking to return into the island were unsuccessful on account of the defection of the Batavian cavalry and the feeble resistance made by the Ubian and Trevirian auxiliaries. What remained of the legions hastened to take shelter at Vetera Castra.¹

The eight Batavian cohorts on their return from Italy had already arrived at Mayence when the messenger from Civilis reached them, at the moment when, by the order of Vitellius, they were about to turn back to recross the Alps. They responded without hesitation to the appeal of their compatriots, and on the road they destroyed a third Roman corps which barred their passage. Civilis had now an army inured to fighting, and he led them at once to attack the fortifications of Vetera Castra. The army of the Upper Rhine hastened to the spot, but insubordination prevailed in these legions, the officers being of the party of Vespasian and the soldiers favourable to Vitellius. The latter suspecting treason everywhere, and not without cause, compelled their commanding officer, Hordeonius, to relinquish his position. They then separated into three divisions, part of them encamping at Gelduba, where they narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy; another portion at Novesium; and the rest at Mayence. Meanwhile the siege of Vetera Castra continued. News from Italy at this time augmented the insubordination and ill-feeling among the legions. In a seditious tumult the soldiers murdered Hordeonius, and Dilius Vocula, who had been placed in command, was obliged to flee in the disguise of a slave. The Roman troops united and then separated again. They had sworn allegiance to Vespasian; two legions now set up again the images

¹ Furstenberg, near Xanten, in the Duchy of Cleves, or Xanten itself, according to Cluvier and Greenwood, *Hist. of the Germans*, i. 150.

of Vitellius, although they knew that he was dead, and in a few days threw them down again. These uncertainties and disorders favoured the Batavi, who now captured Gelduba, and Civilis exercised his young son in shooting at the Roman prisoners tied to trees to serve as a mark. Other legionaries were sent as a present to the German chiefs, and ere long large bodies of German troops crossed the Rhine, which chanced to be so low that navigation was stopped, and fords were formed in many places, as if the rivers themselves, those old barriers of the Empire, gave way before the barbarians. Already the remote districts of Gaul were refusing enrolment and tribute. When news came that the Capitol had been burned, men's minds were impressed by it as by a presage from which there could be no escape. With this sanctuary fallen, the fortune of the Roman people seemed buried under its ruins. The Druids, emerging from their secret retreats, openly declared that the last days of Rome had come and those of the Gallic empire were commencing; it was now the turn of the Transalpine nations to rule the world.

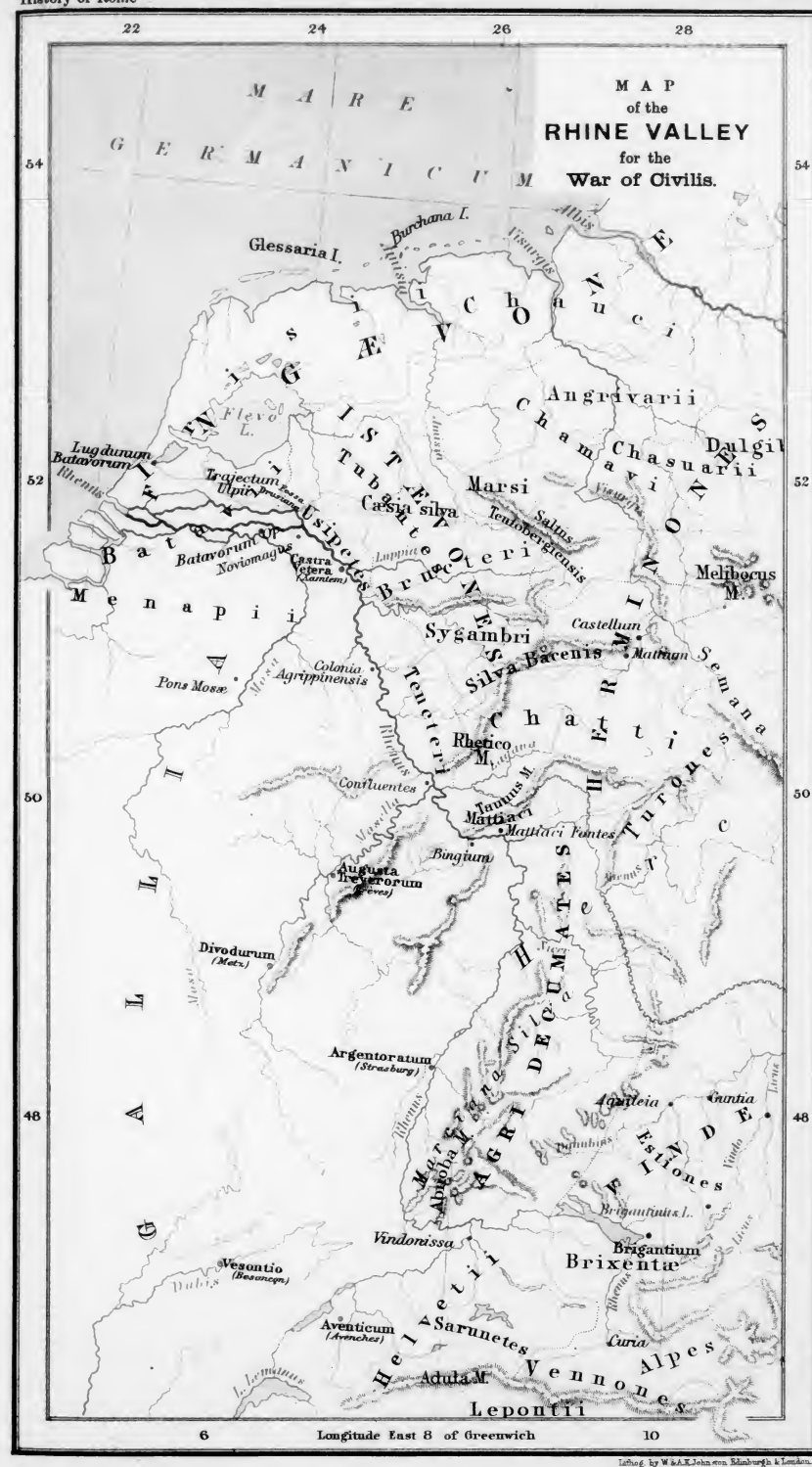
The Belgæ, faithful to Vitellius and consequently enemies to the new emperor, were the first to break out into revolt. Two Treviri, Classicus and Tutor, with Sabinus, one of the Lingones, who claimed descent from Julius Cæsar, made an agreement with each other to deliver their country. They first tampered with the Belgian and German auxiliaries and then with the legionaries themselves, assuring them that the troops of Vespasian were on the way to punish them for their hesitation to take the oath to him. Two legions swore fidelity to the Gallic empire upon the standards presented to them by Civilis—an unheard of step, and only to be understood when we remember that these legions were now entirely made up of provincials. The 5,000 men whom Civilis with the German infantry held besieged in Vetera Castra accepted like terms. The barbarians, however, were not willing to let their prey escape them. The Romans marched out, confiding in the oath; but five miles from their entrenchments the barbarians fell upon them. Those who escaped the first massacre fled towards the camp, but the barbarians had already pillaged it, and they now set it on fire, and the fugitives perished in the flames.

Civilis had at last obtained his revenge and he now cut his

hair. His ambition rising with his fortunes, he refused to concern himself in a foreign cause. Neither he nor any of his followers consented to take oath to the Gallic empire. He dreamed of something different—a vast dominion of which his own country should be the centre, and Gaul and Germany the provinces. A prophetess, Velleda, was at that time in great renown among the Germans. She was a young girl of the Bructeri, and dwelt alone in a tower in the depths of a forest. No stranger was allowed to see her; one of her relatives, a sort of interpreter to the divinity, received questions and brought back her replies. She had predicted the destruction of the legions, and her credit was increased upon the fulfilment of the oracle. Civilis, who had already obtained her devotion to his interests, sent her as a gift a legate whom he had made prisoner. In his schemes, the Rhine being no longer a frontier, the fortifications which guarded it were to be destroyed. Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), the city of the Ubii, refused to destroy its walls and frankly enter the league; but from the Alps to the ocean all the camps were burned with the exception of Mogontiacum (Mayence) and Vindonissa (Windisch), and the troops were dispersed. Two legions were sent by Classicus to Trèves; they obeyed, advancing slowly amidst the insulting joy of the Gallic tribes; a squadron of Italian horse alone refused and shut themselves up in Mayence.

In the interior of the country Sabinus excited the Lingones to revolt, and had assumed the title of Cæsar. But it was the opinion of many that a Roman would do as well for an emperor as one of the Lingones. This was the feeling of the Sequani, who defeated Sabinus in an attack made upon them; the chief took shelter in a villa belonging to him, and being closely pressed set the building on fire, and is believed, like Sacrovir, to have perished in the flames.

This defeat reduced the zeal of the partisans of independence. In a general assembly gathered at Rheims, the Treviri and the Lingones spoke loudly for war. They were reproached with having betrayed the cause of Gaul in the time of Vindex; then it was asked who should conduct the operations, give orders, and take the auspices. After the victory, where place the seat of empire? Dissensions thus appearing before the struggle, what might be



expected after the triumph? They were too much Romanized to conceive anything except an empire, while they were still too Gallic to forget the rivalries which made their designs impossible. Moreover, Civilis and his Germans held themselves aloof with an air of displeasure. "Do you prefer," the Remi asked, "to be called the subjects of the Catti and the Bructeri rather than citizens of Rome?" Finally the assembly sent orders to the Treviri, "in the name of Gaul," to lay down their arms.

This, however, did not at all reduce the courage of the rebel states. But the leaders were not equal to the situation. Civilis wasted time in the pursuit of a relative whom jealousy had driven into the Roman party, and who was now attacking him with Tongrian and Nervian auxiliaries. Classicus enjoyed the pleasures of power, as if he were in the midst of peace; and Tutor made no effort to occupy the passes of the Alps. Four legions at this moment were passing over them, under command of Petilius Cerialis, an able general; Mucianus himself was about to follow with Vespasian's youngest son, whom it was desirable to send away from Rome. Two other legions were coming from Spain, and the fourteenth had been recalled from Britain. "Seven legions," cried the Remi in alarm, "are upon us." Tutor marched to meet the troops who were emerging from Helvetia, and at sight of the eagles his legionaries went over to the Romans. He fell back, but was surprised at Bingen. The defeat relieved Mayence and all the valley of the Rhine as far as Vetera Castra. The legions encamped at Trèves, who were captives rather than rebels, immediately set up the name of Vespasian upon their standards, and Cerialis, scornfully sending away the Gallic auxiliaries, that the Empire might, as he said, itself alone avenge the insults offered to it, marched upon the last army, which protected the city of the Treviri. It was readily dispersed and its chiefs made prisoners. With prudent moderation, Cerialis received into his camp the old legions of the Rhine, and forbade that mention should be made of what had occurred. The soldiers were eager to sack the city of Trèves, but he restrained them. "Our fathers," he said, "came into Gaul only to put an end to your discords and to save you from the Germans. As a reward of our victories we ask of you only the means of maintaining you in a condition of peace.

But to have peace we need soldiers; for soldiers there must be pay; for this military pay there must be tribute. All else is held in common between us and you. You yourselves commonly command our legions and rule our provinces. There is no privileged class and none excluded from power. If we have good rulers, remote as you are, you still share with us in our prosperity; if our rulers are cruel, we, who are nearest, are the first to suffer. . . . Enslaved by Classicus and Tutor, would your taxes be less? Were the Empire of Rome to disappear—a misfortune which may the gods avert!—what would be left upon earth but a universal war among the nations? Eight hundred years of prosperity and discipline have been needed to raise this mighty power, which could not fall without crushing the world beneath its ruins. . . . Wherefore, love and cherish peace and the Roman Empire, which is serviceable alike to the conquered and the conquerors." These words were true, and were echoed throughout all the country of Gaul. The Lingones gave in their submission.

Civilis made an attempt to shake the fidelity of the Roman general. He wrote to Cerialis that Vespasian was dead, that Rome and Italy were a prey to civil war, that Mucianus and Domitian were without power and without consideration; that, if the Roman general desired the empire of the Gauls, he himself with his Batavi would be content with the peaceful possession of their own country. Cerialis having made no reply whatever to this overture, the allies advanced to attack him. For a moment his army was imperilled, but a severe defeat which they inflicted upon the troops of Civilis determined the defection of Cologne. The inhabitants of that city murdered all the Germans within their walls; and after having intoxicated a whole cohort of Chauci and Frisii, the best troops in the army of Civilis, who were to defend Tolbiacum, they set that town on fire and burned it. At this time arrived the legion from Britain and subdued the Nervi and Tongri.

Civilis thus saw his grand schemes melt away. His patriotic attempts outlasted his designs of personal ambition. To protect his island of the Batavi, he strove, but in vain, to defend Vetera Castra. Driven thence, he sheltered himself beyond the Vahalis, cut the dike of Drusus in order to lay the country under water, and himself, with 113 chief men of the Treviri, went over into

Germany in the hope of obtaining the assistance of the German tribes. During his absence Cerialis crossed the Vahalis, but narrowly escaped capture, and the Germans triumphantly carried off to Velleda the prætorian galley which they had been able to seize. The rains and freshets of the autumnal season were serviceable to the cause of the revolted nations. The Romans, without provisions or shelter and on a marshy ground, grew weary of the struggle; the Batavians were also fatigued by the turbulence of the Germans



Roman Soldiers burning a Village, from the Column of Antonine (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, i.).

and by the authority which Velleda claimed for herself. In circumstances like these both parties are willing to come to an understanding. The two chiefs had an interview upon a bridge over the Vahalis, the bridge having been broken in the middle of the river. Civilis obtained leave to live quietly with his own people, and the Batavi, relieved from all tribute, were only required to furnish to the legions auxiliaries, whose just fame had been increased by this war against the Empire. Civilis, therefore, gained only fame for himself, but liberty for his country.

The insurrection in the two Gallic provinces of Belgium and Germany had failed. Its leaders were dead or else fugitives, and

a severe search instituted by Vespasian in all the cities brought to punishment any who had not perished on the battlefield. The Treviri were deprived of their liberty.¹

One of the chiefs, however, and the one most compromised, Sabinus, made his escape. After the burning of his villa he might easily have made his escape into Germany, but he could not persuade himself to part from his young wife, Eponina, and he concealed himself in an underground hiding-place, whose entrance was known only to himself and two faithful freedmen. He had



Barbaric Tribes giving Allegiance, from the Column of Antonine (*ibid.*, p. 85).

been believed dead, and his wife, sharing the opinion of those around her, had been for three days plunged in inconsolable affliction. Mysteriously informed that Sabinus was still alive, she concealed her delight, and was conducted to his place of refuge, where, in the end, she determined also to remain. After seven months the husband and wife ventured to emerge, and made a journey to Rome for the purpose of soliciting pardon. Being warned in season that the petition would be in vain, they left Rome without seeing the emperor and again sheltered themselves

¹ From this period the name of the Druids no longer appears in history; but many times again we find mention of the Druidesses, who, in 234, predicted the death of Alexander Severus, whom Aurelian consulted in 273 to know if the Empire would descend to his posterity and who promised it to Diocletian. It will be seen that they were merely fortune-tellers. However, Ausonius counted an Armorican Druid among his ancestors. (*Professores*, x. 22.)

in their subterranean refuge. Here they lived during nine years; being at last discovered, Sabinus was taken to Rome, where Vespasian ordered his execution. Eponina had followed her husband, and she threw herself at the emperor's feet. "Cæsar," she cried, showing her two sons who were with her, "these have I brought forth and nourished in the tombs that two more suppliants might implore thy clemency." Those present were moved to tears, and even Vespasian himself, but he remained inflexible. Eponina then asked to die with him whom she had not been able to save. "I have been more happy with him," she said, "in darkness and under the ground, than thou in supreme power." Her second request was granted her. Plutarch met at Delphi one of their children, who related to him this sad and touching story.

Vespasian might safely have manifested clemency in this case. Gaul was resigned to remaining Roman. Some few patriots did indeed preserve the memory of the standard

which a hundred and twenty years before had been beaten down before Alesia by Julius Cæsar, and had now been reared once more for "the empire of the Gauls." But we must not exaggerate their number or the importance of the war just described. It had been principally carried on by a people who were more German than Gallic, by a man whose thoughts were not mainly devoted to Gaul; and the Roman troops, whom we



Vespasian. Statue found near Rome (H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 77).

have seen besieged and conquered, were merely what remained when the legions themselves had been called away into Italy. So soon as the latter returned peace was at once restored. The great bulk of the Transalpine nations had not responded to an appeal which they did not understand, and those who had taken up arms quickly returned into their usual routine of life on being summoned to do so, as we have seen, by Cerialis. Internal order was at once re-established, and as from without invasion no longer threatened or had not yet begun to threaten, there began for Gaul, as for the Empire, an age of prosperity which counts among the good ages of the world, which is known as the period of the Antonines. To this era Gaul contributed something, since she furnished, if not the ablest, at least the most respected, of these emperors, Antoninus Pius, the adoptive father of Marcus Aurelius.

II.—THE JEWISH WAR (66-70).

We must now pass to the other extremity of the Empire, where a less dangerous but more difficult war was drawing to its close, one which has remained one of the great events of history, because in it an entire people seemed to perish.

The last moments of this people present moreover an interesting study in historic psychology, on account of the strange moral condition in which the Jews were at that time, a sort of intoxication or divine delirium, produced by religious exaltation, which led them to hope against all hope. It is a phenomenon which re-appears in times of religious ferment, with the same contrasts, in all ages, of abominable cruelty and sublime devotion, of passion which obscures the conscience or veils the reason, and faith which may make of the same man an executioner or a martyr. And yet, terrible as the spectacle may often be, we are less pained than in confronting the base appetites which we have been obliged to depict.

The Jews have been several times mentioned in this history, in the time of Pompey, Cæsar, and Augustus. We have seen how they had planted throughout the East and even in Italy their colonies and synagogues, and their belief in one God, which was

unsettling the authority, already so compromised, of the pagan gods, and preparing the way for the doctrines of Jesus.

Augustus had made their king Herod his friend, or rather the instrument of his designs in this part of the East. After the death of this prince the Jews had requested of the emperor that Judæa might be annexed to the province of Syria. He chose rather to maintain a national government, which relieved him of the burden and vexations of a military occupation. Archelaus received his father's crown. Ten years later, however, the new king, accused at Rome by his subjects, was deposed without even a hearing and Judæa placed under the rule of procurators (6-37).

A caprice of Caligula restored this kingdom. Agrippa, grandson of Herod, had dared to pay court to the young Caius during the lifetime of Tiberius. "Shall I see the time come," said he, "when this old man will depart to the other world and leave you master of this?" The remark was reported to the emperor. A Roman noble would have paid for it with his life; the Jewish prince escaped with a mild imprisonment. Caligula, however, requited his friend for the danger he had incurred; after his accession he appointed him king, giving him a gold chain as heavy as the fetters he had worn. The favour of Claudius completed this unexpected good fortune; new provinces were added to his kingdom, and he reunited, for the last time, all that Herod the Great had possessed. But at his death (44), his son Agrippa, too young to succeed him, had only a tetrarchy, and Judæa, with Samaria, again came under the rule of procurators who, nominally subordinate to the governor of Syria, were in reality invested with independent authority.

No province at that time needed the firm hand of the Empire as did this unhappy country, for several years a prey to that incurable anarchy which announces the last days of a people. There was no longer any social bond and public power. Assassinations occurred daily in the streets of Jerusalem, even in the temple in the midst of the throng and during solemn festivals.¹ The roads were not even safe for the messengers of the emperor, and those

¹ "So they put to death Jonathan the high-priest, and not a day passed when they did not kill several in the same manner." They were religious assassinations. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 23.)

whom Josephus, the friend of the Romans, treats as robbers, sorcerers, and impostors, but whom the multitude called prophets and Christs raised up by Jehovah,¹ formed bands numerous as an army.

The evil did not all arise from the absence of an energetic government. The prophetic spirit was the soul of this people. Very skilful in conducting their private interests, in promoting



Ruins of the Temple of Augustus, built by Herod at Samaria.

their fortune in traffic, the Jews failed when required to rise to general ideas. Science, which demands a cold reason, art, which presupposes a study of nature, the perception of relations and the harmony of proportions, were always foreign to them. Apocalypses, for which they had acquired a taste among the Mazdeans during the Captivity, had become their grand literary form. In times of crisis they expressed in that mode all passion, love, or hope. The *Apocalypse* of St. John is the highest expression and has remained the model of these symbolical works, in which the *Seer*

¹ S. Matthew (xxiv. 11, 24) speaks of false Christs and false prophets.

tells the secrets of the grave, reveals the decrees of the Most High, and announces to the rulers of the earth the chastisements which await them. Many had preceded, many followed it. It was a style of literature, Persian in its origin, which offered great resources to the poet and the believer. In the *Revelation* sent to the Seven Churches in Asia the Apostle continues, against the enemies of the New Jerusalem, against "the great harlot which makes drunk the nations with the wine of her fornication," the revolutionary part played by the ancient prophets against the impious kings and the persecutors of Israel. He imitates their policy, he borrows their most terrible images, and by his burning words, by the combination of sublime visions and strange inventions, by his descriptions of oriental wealth and barbaric ornament, he pleased the unhealthy imagination of the Southern races. Written between the death of Nero and the fall of Jerusalem, this *Apocalypse* exercised no influence upon the revolt of the Jews, but it helps us to understand the mental state of a people whose intelligence, at once sterile and over-prolific, now, through sheer force of misery, went into the most mystical reveries. Like the soul broken by grief, they had become superstitious and fearful under the load of misfortune. Everything dismayed them; everything also caused them to hope. They passed continually from despondency to confidence, from love to hate. After having invited the Roman dominion they repulsed it; after having a hundred times suffered their country to be parcelled out and their population distributed like a flock at the will of the purchasers, they now spoke only of national independence and were going to die for it.

They still believed in their holy temple and fulfilled the external rites of their religion. But when they saw that their doctrine and their morality, so pure and so beautiful, had not been able to save them, and that they, the people of Jehovah, the elect race, must obey those whose idols had been lashed by the keen irony of Isaiah, they clung with the strength of despair to the sole hope which remained to them, the advent of a messiah.¹ The

¹ See vol. iii. p. 624 *sq.*, in what a state of expectation this people was. It is the mental condition of our Algerian Arabs. There is the same contempt for a higher civilization which they do not comprehend, and for laws purely rational, which seem to them miserable by the side of their civil and religious law revealed by God himself, and the same tenacious hope in messiahs or marabouts deliverers. See also vol. iv. p. 181.

Christians told them indeed that the Messiah had come, that his kingdom had begun, and that his law had been carried even into the court of Nero. In the sacred victim fastened to the cross of Golgotha they refused to see the Saviour who was to make them rule over the world, and they waited still, listening to every voice that arose, following whoever said to them, "Come and see."

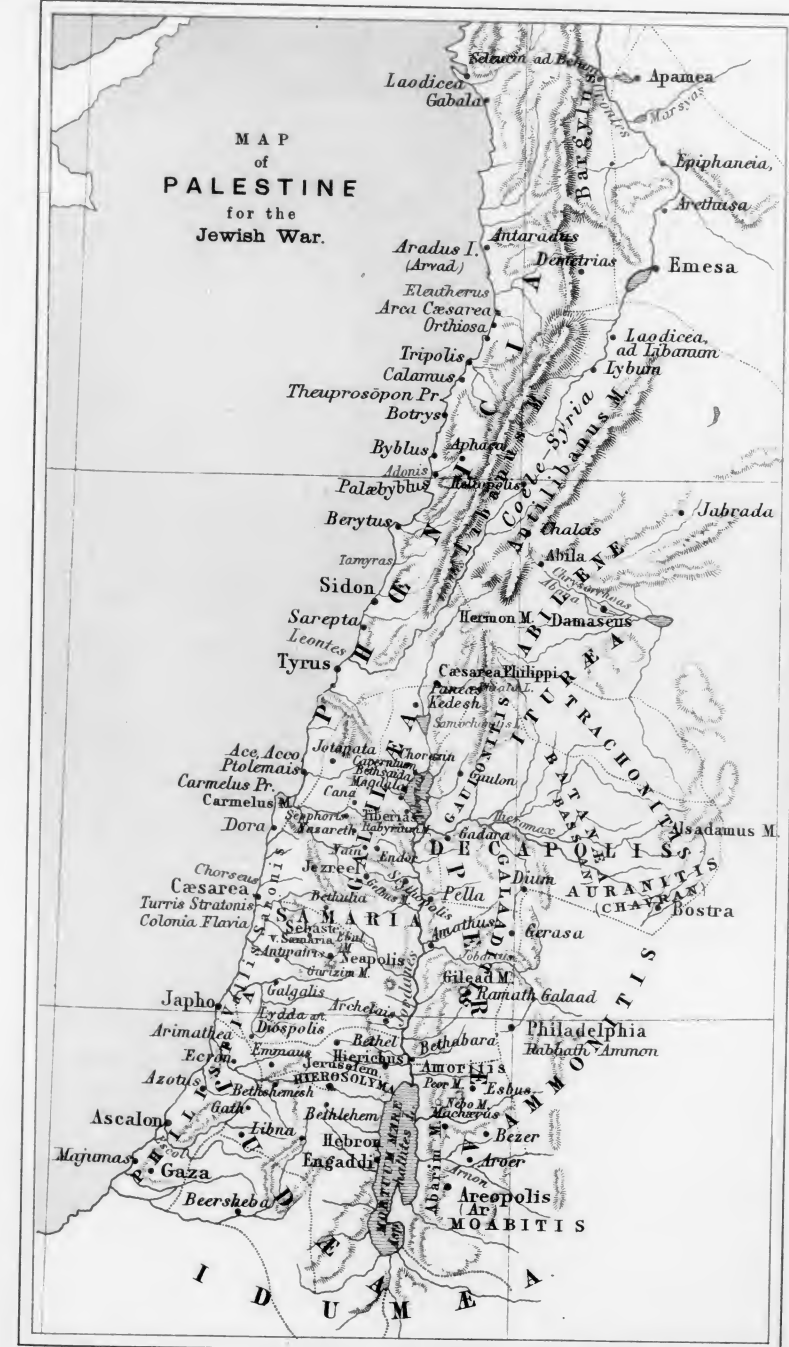
"Nowhere," says the historian Josephus, an eye-witness of the sufferings he recounts, "nowhere did impostors have so fine an



Mount Gerizim.

opportunity; whatever they promised was believed. They shared the country with the robber chiefs. Impious wretches, deceiving the people under false pretence of religion, led them into solitudes where they said God would make manifest by sure signs that he would free the race of Abraham from servitude. An Egyptian false prophet succeeded so well in seducing the people that he assembled nearly 30,000 men on the Mount of Olives. At his voice the walls of Jerusalem were to crumble and the Romans take to flight."¹ Another promised that they should be saved and

¹ *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 23. His flock was dispersed; many perished, but he escaped, and it is not known what became of him. This is why the tribune asked S. Paul when, some time after, the Jews brought the Apostle to him that he might condemn him: "Art thou not then that



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should witness the ending of their misfortunes if they would follow him to the desert. Another invited the people to ascend Mount Gerizim, where he would show them some sacred vessels which Moses had concealed there.¹ Another offered to compel the waters of the Jordan to divide and let him and his followers pass through dry-shod. Others, on the contrary, drew their inspiration from Isaiah and repeated his menaces against the house of Israel. "Four years before war was declared," says Josephus, "a peasant began to cry out: 'A voice from the East! A voice from the West! A voice from the four winds! A voice against Jerusalem and the temple! A voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! A voice against the whole people!' From that time he ceased not to cry day and night: 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' On festival days he redoubled his cries; no other words ever issued from his mouth. Those who had compassion for him, those who denounced him, those who ministered to his wants, heard only those terrible words: 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' He was apprehended, examined by the magistrates and condemned to the lash. To each question and at every stroke he responded without complaint: 'Woe to Jerusalem!' Discharged as a madman, he went throughout the country repeating his mournful prophecy. For seven years he continued to cry incessantly in this manner without losing his voice. At the time of the final siege of Jerusalem he shut himself up in the city, ever making the circuit of the walls and crying: 'Woe to the temple! Woe to the city! Woe to the people!' Finally he added: 'Woe to me!' and at the same time was slain by a stone hurled from a machine."

Scripture itself bears testimony to this latent ferment which was agitating the minds of the people. The *Acts of the Apostles* speak of Simon the sorcerer, of the false prophet Elymas, and quote the remarkable words of Gamaliel: "Before these days," said he, "rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about 400, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed and came

Egyptian?" (*Acts*, xxi. 38). For the Jews, Egypt was the country where wonder-working was taught. (Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal. d'après les Sources rabbiniques*, p. 203, n. 2.)

¹ *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4. They went there in great numbers, bearing arms. Pontius Pilate dispersed the gathering and was recalled after this event.

to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad."¹

The preaching of the new Gospel did not restore calm to their souls, for at Jerusalem the Christians were persecuted, and the more they spoke of an unknown Messiah the more did the Jews cherish their hope in him whom they still expected, not lowly and persecuted, but glorious and powerful. To attain the promised dominion national independence must first be preserved, and at this thought all hearts were filled with courage. Those whom Josephus calls robbers were the first to spread the whisperings of revolt, for, just as in the time of Mattathias and of Judas Maccabæus, these robbers were bold patriots who refused to serve the foreigner. Let us be just towards this nation which has given to the world the greatest example it has yet beheld: it is not a few men, nor an army, it is almost an entire people which is about to die for its faith and its liberty. It is true, this sacrifice may not have been necessary; it may have proved useless to the race of those who made it as well as to humanity. But the historian finds so many wars undertaken from reprehensible motives, that he cannot refuse his sympathy to those who have fought and fallen in the name of country and religion.

The Roman rule in Judæa had long been mild, as elsewhere, even more than elsewhere, because the Jews of Palestine were especially protected by the first emperors. Under Tiberius they had had in twenty-two or twenty-three years only two procurators, and the last one, Pontius Pilate, had been recalled to give account for certain seditious movements which he had too severely repressed.² Under Claudius, a Roman soldier who had torn up a copy of the *Pentateuch* in one of the villages, was decapitated, and a procurator who had allowed himself to be bribed was condemned to exile. In the same affair, the emperor sent to Rome a tribune of the soldiers, who was drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the city and then put to death.³ To this stern justice was

¹ *Acts*, v. 36-39.

² He did not arrive at Rome till after the accession of Caligula, who, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 7), exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, where he killed himself in despair.

³ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 56, and *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 12.

joined respect for their worship. No Roman officer entered the capital without ascending to the temple, there to adore the national God. Every year victims were offered in the name of the prince. This consideration went so far as to take care that governors were given the Jews who would be agreeable to them. It was at the request of the high-priest Jonathan that Felix, brother of the freedman Pallas, obtained the procuratorship of Judæa (52-60).¹

But, during the last years of Claudius and under the reign of Nero, the excesses of the proconsuls of the Republic were renewed. Vintidius Cumanus at that time governed in Galilee, Felix in Samaria and Judæa. The eternal rivalry between the Jews and the Samaritans, and the hatred of the latter for their neighbours in Galilee, armed these populations against each other. The procurators shut their eyes to mutual robberies, on condition that the lion's share of the spoils should be given to them. On complaint of certain Jews, Claudius punished Cumanus, indeed, but Felix, a brother of the all-powerful favourite, was enrolled by the governor of Syria among the judges before whom the complainants were to set forth their grievances. Encouraged by this mark of his influence, Felix "continued his cruelties and acts of violence, exercising the sovereign authority with the odious and greedy baseness of a slave."² He retained the apostle Paul in prison to extort money from him, and when the high-priest Jonathan reproached him with his exactions he procured his assassination.

This was dangerous conduct; for, if the people, incited by messiahs and rendered fanatical by the lower orders of priests whom their chiefs despoiled of their tithes,³ flocked in throngs to join the bandits and thus gave brigandage the colour of a patriotic uprising against the foreigner, the rich and the noble sought in

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8. Felix had married a Jewess (*Acts*, xxiv. 24). See, in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, iv. 3, 10), the discourse of the high priest Ananus, which renders full justice to the Romans. True, it is their friend Josephus who is speaking by his mouth.

² *Tac., Ann.*, xii. 54. It was already, as is evident, the system of government which the Turkish pachas have established in this unhappy country.

³ For some time the chiefs of the priesthood had sent their servants to seize by violence the tithes which were by law due to these priests, and kept possession of them without giving to the inferior priests a share in them. The latter, reduced to the most frightful misery, went over to the side of the people, who aided them by their charitable gifts, and several times took up arms to enforce rendering justice to them. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8, 9.) [We have had in Ireland a condition of things not very dissimilar.—*Ed.*]

the support of the Roman soldiers the security which they lacked for their lives and fortunes. To alienate these would hence have been imprudent, if they had not dreaded the violence of their compatriots more than that of the procurators.¹ Beneath them in fact they beheld fermenting in the multitude, not only the germs of a political and religious struggle, but those of a social revolution—an insurrection of the poor against the rich.

The new Covenant, preoccupied with the weak and the afflicted, had expressed many threats against the mighty. Many took the precepts of Gospel equality literally and in the sense of their social application. Whenever a new doctrine appears there are men who follow it entirely and in its true spirit. But there are also those who keep on its outside, do not penetrate below its surface, and accept only what is agreeable to their passions. This division certainly was evident at the epoch of the promulgation of Christianity. While some looked with Jesus unto heaven, others, as took place so often in the peasant rebellions of the Middle Ages, heard only the words which were applicable to earthly concerns. The first came unto Christ when he preached contempt of riches: "No man can serve two masters: ye cannot serve God and mammon;" or when he taught them to prefer prayer to labour: "Be not anxious for your food, nor for your raiment. Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns: and your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they? And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Consider the lilies of the field how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?" This doctrine, so much in conformity to the customs of the East, where labour means suffering and is never an imperious necessity, was sufficient to cause the abandonment of some workshops or offices, as it decided Peter to leave his fisher's net and Matthew his publican's seat. But other words, for example these: "The first shall be last, and the last first," were

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 31.

doubtless eagerly seized upon by the violent men who were inciting a factious revolution, against the superior clergy whom Jesus attacked as blind keepers of the law, and against the rich unto whom the gentle master of the afflicted almost closed the avenues to heaven. His disciples were more specific in their teachings. At Jerusalem they required the faithful to have all things in common. What St. James wrote "to the tribes of the dispersion," he surely declared to the Jews at the capital, whose church he governed for twenty-nine years: "As the flower of the grass he shall pass away. For the sun ariseth with the scorching wind, and withereth the grass: and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his goings." "Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment seats?" And further on: "Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you. Behold, the hire of the labourers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: and the cries of them that have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived delicately on the earth, and taken your pleasure: ye have nourished your hearts in a day of slaughter."¹ We have had, unfortunately, too long an experience of popular revolutions not to suppose that these words, falling into the furnace in which men's minds were seething, added new fuel to the flame. Even those who rejected the new doctrine retained its denunciation of the rich, which was so much in harmony with their desires.

When war broke out, the first acts of the rebels were the burning of the office of public records in which the debtors' obligations and contracts were consumed, the murder of the high-priest and some of the principal citizens, and finally the destruction of the palace of King Agrippa and Queen Berenice.

The Zealots placed themselves at the head of this factious insurrection. This sect had originated fifty years before, and, recognizing in heaven or on earth no master save God alone, had already a score of times attempted to break at one blow the yoke of Rome and that of the priesthood. The attempts of the Zealots

¹ St. James (*Epist.*, i. 11; ii. 6; v. 1, 5). See also, *Acts*, v. 1-11, the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

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¹ St. James (*Epist.*, i. 11; ii. 6; v. 1, 5). See also, *Acts*, v. 1-11, the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

had long found expression in acts of violence. They had fled for refuge to the mountains and there associated themselves with bands of robbers. But, by sheltering their robberies under the excuse of a pious doctrine, they had formed a party which was at the same time political and religious. The band of the *Sicarii*, mentioned with so much horror by Josephus—men who assassinated in the midst of the throng any designated victim—calls to mind in some respects that terrible sect of Ishmaelites which, eleven centuries later and almost in the same locality, filled Europe with dismay at their assassinations.

With leaders of such a character, impostors, magicians, oppressed priests, and fanatic robbers, what people would have kept the peace, especially when the conservatives were themselves urged to revolt by such a variety of sentiments: by love for their country, for the religion of their ancestors, and for liberty; by implacable hatred against the friends of the foreigner, who were thriving upon their misfortunes; above all by a firm belief in an unlimited power which had been promised them, and whose hour had now come?¹ What causes for a terrible explosion! It was in the year 65 that it burst forth, and five years later it had swept away everything—the city, its temple, and its people.

The spark which kindled the conflagration started from the city where the two religions, the two civilizations, brought face to face by Herod, became mutually exasperated by daily contact. While the Jews of Cæsarea were assembled in their synagogue, a Greek, for the purpose of insulting their rites, went to the door of the house and sacrificed some birds. From this a riot ensued, followed by complaints before the procurator Gessius Florus, who decided against the Jews, notwithstanding that they had given him eight talents to purchase his support. On hearing this the people of Jerusalem insulted the governor. He responded as those who have swords at their command usually do: his troops charged the multitude. Many were slain, others imprisoned, and some, in spite of their position as members of the equestrian rank of Rome, were lacerated with the scourge and afterwards crucified. In vain did

¹ Eleazar, leader of the active faction, was the son of the old high-priest Ananias, and one of the prominent persons of the city; two princes of the royal family of Adiabene, a lieutenant of Agrippa II., etc., were also of the national party.

King Agrippa,¹ the Sadducees, the Pharisees, the high-priests, and the rich interpose between the insurgents and the Roman troops. Urged on by the Zealots the people hastened to take possession of the impregnable fortress of Masada, where the arsenal of Herod had been, and then came back to assail the advocates of peace in Jerusalem. As a declaration of war against the emperor himself, Eleazar refused to permit the sacrifice of offerings made in his name (May, 66).

Gessius Florus had retired to Cæsarea. Left almost to themselves² the rich opposed the insurrection. For seven days fighting went on in the streets. But the *Sicarii* had time to hasten down from their mountains. As soon as they came to take part in the struggle it was quickly decided. The chief persons were driven from the upper city, their palaces were set on fire, and those who fell into their hands were put to death. Roman soldiers had been left by Florus at Jerusalem. These defended themselves in the towers of Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne, until, after exhausting their resources, they threw open the gates upon stipulation that their lives should be spared; they were massacred though it was the Sabbath day.

When the report of these events went abroad, the hatred of the Greeks, for a long time restrained, burst forth against this people upon which the wrath of Rome was of necessity about to descend. In the capital of Egypt 50,000 Jews perished as the result of a riot; in Cæsarea 20,000, at Scythopolis 13,000, at Damascus 10,000, at Ascalon 2,500. All the cities of Syria, with the exception of Antioch, Apamea, and Sidon, had similar executions. Everywhere the populace resented the equality which the senate had decreed between them and an odious



Coin of Cæsarea.³



Coin of Scythopolis.⁴

¹ The son of the friend of Caligula and Claudius. At the death of his father he had received only a tetrarchy. Afterwards the Romans permitted him to assume the title of king.

² Agrippa, however, sent them 3,000 soldiers.

³ Astarte standing; bronze money of Nero, struck at Cæsarea, bearing the inscription, "Cæsarea, near the harbour of Augustus." Herod, who had built this city in honour of Augustus, had constructed there a harbour as large as that of the Piræus, and protected against the violence of the sea on the south-west by a breakwater of enormous blocks of stone, measuring as much as 50 feet in length, by 18 in width, and 9 in thickness. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 9, 6.)

⁴ A woman with crenelated crown, erect, bearing in her right hand an undefined object; money of Nysa Scythopolis.

race.¹ When the Jews of Palestine beheld the arrival among them of those who had escaped these massacres, they were convinced that a plot had been formed to exterminate their race, and the insurrection at Jerusalem spread throughout the entire country. For the slaughter of the Jews in Syria that of the Greeks in Palestine was a retaliation. In Decapolis and Gaulonitis, at Philadelpia, Heshbon, Gerasa, Pella, Anthedon, Gaza, etc., blood flowed in streams. The Greek population of Scythopolis fled, assisted by the Jews stationed among them to repulse their co-religionists, and then massacred the Jews.

Coin of Gaza.²

Meanwhile the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, entered Judæa at the head of his troops. He reached Jerusalem in safety, and occupied the new city and the suburb of Bezetha. Assailed, however, by an overwhelming populace, he was forced to make a precipitate retreat, in which he lost 6,000 men, his engines of war, and his baggage (October, 66). This success animated the most timid. Besides, since the massacres at Damascus and Alexandria, no one had dared to speak of laying down their arms. Borne on by fear or by example, all, even the Essenes,³ accepted this as a final struggle for independence. The Christians alone had nothing to do with these contentions in behalf of a temple and a country which they no longer recognized. Following the advice of their Master,⁴ they withdrew from Jerusalem

¹ Ever since the time of Cæsar there had been privileges conferred upon the Jews at the expense of the Greeks.

² Diana and another divinity, standing, in a distyle temple. Bronze money of Hadrian, struck at Gaza. *MAFNA* was the name of an ancient divinity of the city who has been identified with the Cretan Jupiter. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, iii. 448-454.)

³ According to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 1, 5) there were at that time not more than 4,000 of the Essenes, who composed not so much a faction as a kind of religious order, into which admission was granted only after severe tests. They believed in the immortality of the soul and not of the body, in the absolute will of God, and consequently denied the free-will of man. They lived in common, without servants, and had no personal property. Their mode of life was austere; many took vows of celibacy. Every morning they plunged into water to purify themselves; their meals were preceded and followed by prayers. They never took an oath, deeming their affirmation sufficient. They shunned cities, yet wished to have an employment, though preferring agriculture. Their religious severity predisposed them to ecstasies and transports, and hence they believed in the gift of prophecy. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 6; *Ant. Jud.*, xiii. 11; xv. 10; xvii. 13. Cf. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, ch. x.) An Essene named John was appointed to organize the opposition in the districts of Thamna, Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus.

⁴ *S. Luke*, xxi. 20; *S. Matt.*, xxiv. 16; *S. Mark*, xiii. 14.

with their bishop Simeon, and retired into the wilderness beyond the Jordan.¹ What they now do in respect to Jerusalem they will do later on for Rome; these conquerors of souls and of heaven are unwilling to shut up their doctrine within the confines of a city or of a perishable empire.

A great assembly was held in the temple, after the retreat of

Arch of Triumph of Gerasa.²

Cestius, to elect leaders and organize resistance at all points. The chief persons now gave their adherence to the movement, and the moderate party accepted duties. The historian Josephus, of the illustrious family of the Asmonæans, and who was reckoned among the least zealous, had one of the five jurisdictions into which the country was divided, that of Galilee, which from its wealth and

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 3; S. Epiphanius, *De Ponder. et Mensuris*, 18. They must have been very few in number at Jerusalem, for Josephus does not even mention the name. Yet M. Derenbourg (*op. cit.*, p. 275) believes that the saying of Rabbi Simeon, then at Jerusalem: "Doctrine is not the chief thing, but work," was directed against them and particularly against the Paulinians.

² Album of the Duc de Luynes, pl. 44.

population was like a bulwark to Jerusalem. Josephus claims to have organized there as many as 100,000 men whom he accustomed to Roman discipline by frequent exercises. A *sanhedrim* or supreme council, sitting at Jerusalem, had the general direction of operations.

Notwithstanding the contempt professed by Nero for this rising of one of the most insignificant peoples of the Empire, the war was becoming serious. In this rugged and mountainous country, the assailant, despite the number and skill of his troops, could not make vigorous attacks upon impregnable cliffs defended by desperate men. King Agrippa, a tool of Rome, betrayed the cause of his people; but the Jews, who were scattered in great numbers throughout the East, were able to send assistance to their brethren and probably to enlist the sympathies of some of the communities where they dwelt. We find Babylonians, Adiabeni, and Arabs among the defenders of Jerusalem. Josephus expressly declares, "the object was, not so much to chastise the Jews as to retain the rest of the East in allegiance, by checking the disposition of all these nations to throw off the yoke of Rome."¹ This was in reality the opinion of Nero, and it was to his best general, Vespasian, that he intrusted the task of crushing this people which dared to disturb the repose of the world.²

In the last months of the year 67 Vespasian entered Galilee at the head of more than 60,000 soldiers. Palmyra had contributed skilled archers. Josephus concentrated his principal forces in Jotapata, and there withstood for forty-seven days all the efforts of Vespasian. When this place fell the rest of Galilee soon submitted. But the wealthy province paid dearly for its dream of independence. The Romans were void of all pity, and from the first day the conflict assumed an atrocious character. Neither age nor sex was spared; if a few prisoners were taken, it was merely that they might be sent to labour at the cutting of the isthmus of Corinth. The Jews themselves anticipated the enemy; they slew their wives and children, and killed themselves over their

¹ He says again in his preface to the *Jewish War*: "The Roman Empire was then agitated by domestic discords. The Jews stirred up a great commotion in the East, to take advantage of this occasion, so that whole nations were apprehensive of being brought into subjection to them, since they had summoned to their aid the Jews who dwelt beyond the Euphrates."

² *Augebat iras, says Tacitus, quod soli Judei non cessissent* (*Hist.*, v. 10).

dead bodies. Forty defenders of Jotapata sought refuge, with their chief, in a cavern. The enemy offered to spare their lives, and Josephus desired to accept the proposal, but his companions threatened him with death if he took one step towards departing. He had no other alternative than to propose that they should decide by lot the order in which they should put each other to death. The one first designated was slain by the following one, he by the third, and so on to the last.¹ Josephus was left alone with one of his men, whom he obliged to follow him to the Roman camp, where, as a worthy culmination of this day of cowardice, he promised the Empire, in the name of heaven, to the persecutor of his race (67).

Scenes like these, and even more terrible, were to be re-enacted at Jerusalem, for the Jews, whose faith in another life had been so slow of growth, now thought that those who fell in battle or suffered punishment,² the heroes and martyrs, enjoyed immortality. It was already the declaration of what Mahomet taught later: "Paradise is in the shadow of swords."

The Zealots had become masters of the temple, and from this prominent point they over-awed the city, which they deluged with blood. The members of the family of Herod, with the most noble and wealthy citizens, were arrested on suspicion of desiring to make terms with the Romans. They were held as hostages, but it was feared they could not keep them. One day the populace surrounded the prison, into which armed robbers penetrated, and slaughtered the captives. In their religious radicalism the Zealots would no longer recognize a sovereign pontiff chosen from the great sacerdotal families. They cast lots for this office, and a poor and ignorant Levite, who had never ventured beyond his own fields, was, in spite of himself, invested with the robe of the high-priest.

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. 8, 7. I do not guarantee, of course, that this strange story, related by Josephus himself, is authentic. His vanity was doubly flattered by making this tragic narration, which represented him as miraculously saved by Providence.

² Tac., *Hist.*, v. 5. The first clear notion of a life to come is to be found in the *Book of the Maccabees*, ii. 7, 9. Josephus, in the discourse which he claims to have delivered to the forty shut up with him in the cavern of Jotapata, says that those who die, after rendering unto God his due, enjoy eternal glory, that their race abides, that their souls go to dwell in the holiest mansions of heaven, whence they again take up their abode in pure bodies, ἀγνοίς παλιν ἀντενοικίζονται σώμασιν. This was the belief in the immortality of the soul and metempsychosis which the Sadducees rejected.

Meanwhile the veritable high-priest, Ananus, attempted to rouse the courage of the peaceful citizens. His reproaches were for a moment successful. They took up arms, and under the direction of their accidental leader, forced back the Zealots behind the second inclosure of the temple. There were now three wars in Judæa: that of the armed religious demagogues against Rome and Jewish society; of the defenders of the latter; and that of the Romans hostile to both. As is usual in times of crisis, it was the moderate party which first succumbed.

By a determined effort the political party might have forced the refuge of the demagogues. Ananus, who feared to defile with blood the holy place, contented himself with negligently maintaining a blockade. Many purchased substitutes for this service from the common people, who were in connivance with the enemies of the rich. Informed by their numerous spies of the facility

Coin of Ananus.¹

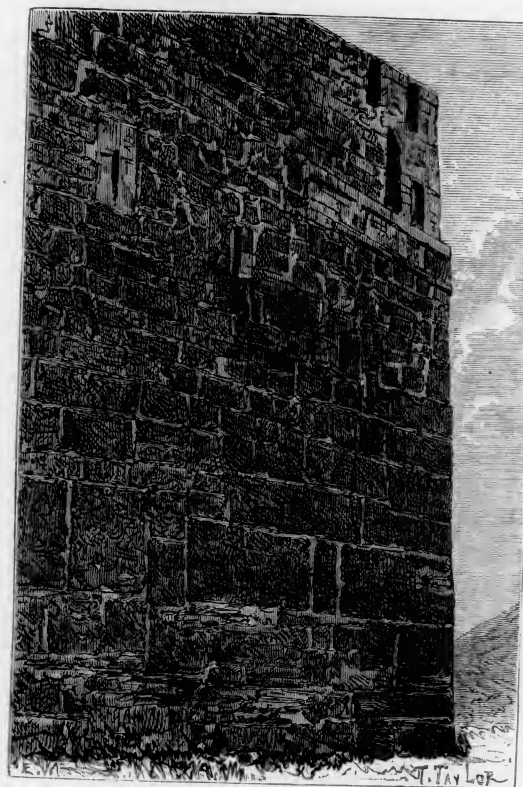
with which the lines might be passed, the Zealots sent out emissaries who reached the districts in the south, where they summoned the peasants (the Idumæans) "to the defence of the house of God which traitors sought to deliver up to the Romans." A vast multitude hastened to surround Jerusalem. They were unable to force an entrance, but one night, during a violent storm which drove the sentinels to seek shelter, the Zealots descended from the temple into the city and opened the gates to the Idumæans. Ananus, hurrying forward at the first alarm, was slain. Many others perished, among whom were the high-priests and such of the rich as had no time to escape. "It was," said the assassins, "the wrath of God and of the people which rested heavily upon them." By day they filled the prisons, by night they emptied them, slaughtering the captives, whose bodies were thrown to the dogs. No one dared manifest his grief and tears. The poor alone and the worthless had nought to fear.²

There was, however, one memorable instance of courage. The

¹ A bunch of grapes and the date: *The first year of the Redemption of Israel*. On the reverse: *Ananus, son of Ananus*, and a palm-tree. Bronze.

² Καὶ διέφυγον οὐδεὶς, εἰ μὴ σφέδρα τις ἦν ταπεινός, ἢ διὰ τὴν πόλιν (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iv, 6, 1).

Zealots, in order to assume the appearance of justice, appointed a tribunal of seventy judges, before whom they dragged as the first culprit Zacharias, son of Baruch, and a friend of Ananus, charged with holding communication with Vespasian. He easily established

Remains of the Outer Inclosure of the Temple of Jerusalem.¹

his innocence, and reproached the victorious party for their usurpation and their crimes. Those present uttered cries of fury and sought to slay him before the verdict. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner and discharged him. He was assassinated a short distance from the tribunal. The judges, motionless on their seats, awaited the same end. They were driven from the

¹ De Saulcy, *Mémoire sur les divers appareils de maçonnerie employés dans l'enceinte du Haram-ech-Chérif de Jérusalem*, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscript.*, vol. xxvi. part 1.

inclosure of the temple, and withdrew amid outcries, insults, and blows.

Vespasian was aware of this state of things at Jerusalem, and, letting the Jews slaughter one another there, he completed the subjugation of the country with a dilatoriness intended to keep him, in the crisis of the Empire at that period, general of a considerable force. He employed the year 68 in bringing into submission, on the left bank of the Jordan, Peræa and several cities of Judæa. In the early months of 69 he invaded Idumæa or Southern Palestine, captured Bethel and Ephraim, to the north of Jerusalem, which then found itself invested, and he was about to begin the siege of the holy city, when the troops proclaimed him emperor on the

Coin of Eleazar.¹Coin of Simon Ben Giora.²

3rd of July, 69. For nearly a year the civil war diverted his attention from the Jewish war.

The respite afforded to the Jews by the elevation of Vespasian served only to increase their dissensions. Three factions, three armies, engaged in frequent conflicts at Jerusalem. John of Gischala, with the moderate party of the Zealots, held the exterior inclosure of the temple and the approaches of Mount Moriah. Eleazar, leader of the assassins of the high-priest, was shut up in the temple itself, while Simon Ben Giora, with his bands of Idumæans, occupied the upper city or Hill of Zion. Each of these three chiefs aspired to be sole master of Jerusalem, to deliver it from the Romans, and then cause himself to be recognized as the Messiah to whom so great glory was promised. Eleazar, strongly posted in an impregnable position, made sorties which John was powerless to prevent, but which he avenged upon Simon, with whom he disputed the possession of the lower city. At the feast

¹ A wine-pitcher, branch of palm, and the name: *Eleazar the Priest*. Reverse, a bunch of grapes and: *First year of the Redemption of Israel*. Coin of silver.

² A bunch of grapes and the name: *Simon*. Reverse, a wine-pitcher, branch of palm, and: *The Deliverance of Jerusalem*. Silver.

of the Passover Eleazar threw open to the faithful the entrance to the temple. John concealed armed men in the crowd, and after a sanguinary conflict forced his adversary to surrender. There was now one faction less; two remained, and these, in the presence of a common enemy, at length ceased to fight among themselves.

In the spring of the year 70 Titus set out from Cæsarea at the head of 60,000 men, and arrived early in March¹ under the walls of Jerusalem. The siege, which lasted five months, is one of the most memorable of antiquity, and the one best known to us, since Josephus, who took part in it, has related the history of it at great length. We cannot give even a summary of his narrative. To do this intelligibly would require us to enter into details concerning topography and military engines which would occupy more space than is at our disposal.² We may say, in a word, that the works of the Romans were immense, and the resistance of the Jews equal or superior to all that heroism had ever accomplished elsewhere. Though Vespasian had assembled what we may call a formidable artillery, it took six weeks for Titus to effect a breach in the first inclosure and carry the suburb Bezetha. The lower city seemed captured, but each house became a fortress. A second wall defended it, of which the Romans did not become masters until nine days later. To the misfortunes of war were added those of famine. The siege having commenced during the festival of the Passover, an immense gathering had been shut up in the place. The supply of provisions had soon become exhausted by the requirements of this multitude, and by the order to deliver to the soldiers what each had in reserve. The misery became so extreme that a mother ate her own child. Many persons also attempted to flee, but those who eluded the guards on the walls were seized by the Romans and crucified; at one time as many as 500 perished in this manner daily.

Titus offered to negotiate. "The house of God cannot perish,"

¹ I follow the dates given by M. de Saulcy in his *Journal* of the siege. In order to reconcile them with those usually adopted it will be necessary to place them back about a month, and put the commencement of operations in April and the close at September 8. In regard to the lieutenants of Titus, see Léon Renier, *Conseil de guerre tenu par Titus avant de livrer l'assaut au temple de Jérusalem*.

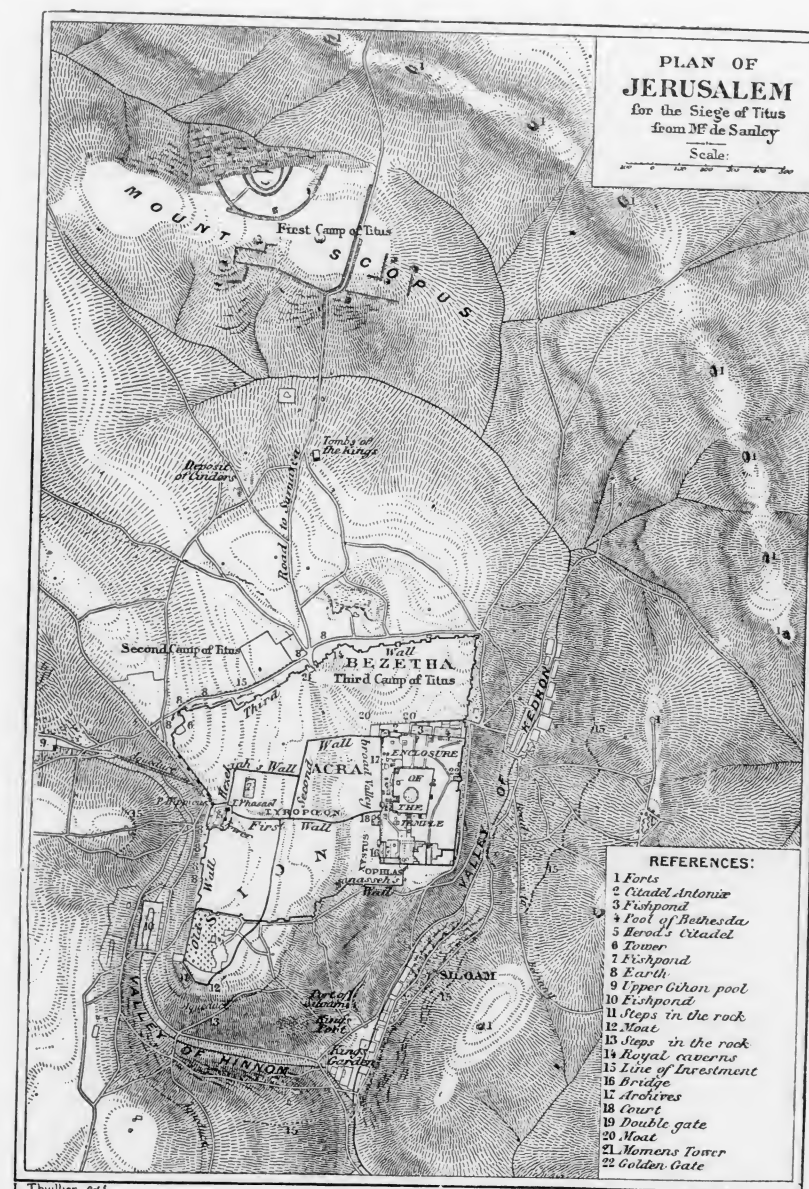
² This labour has besides been accomplished by M. de Saulcy, in his two-fold character, as officer of artillery and archæologist, in his book entitled: *Les Derniers Jours de Jérusalem*.

replied John with fierce enthusiasm, and the struggle continued for some time longer upon the ruins of the walls and amid the smoking fragments of the porticoes of the temple. The Roman



Titus Vespasianus (Bust of the Capitol, No. 22).

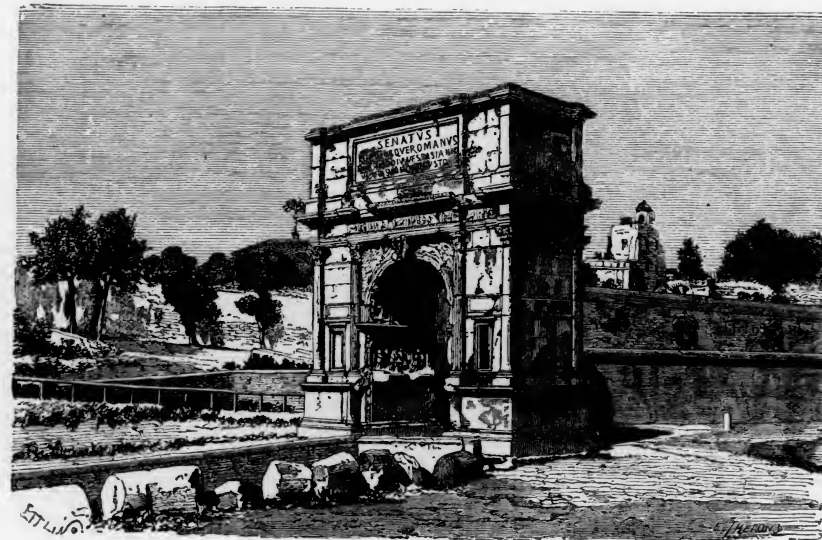
general had desired to spare this celebrated sanctuary, but a soldier, impelled, as Josephus says, by a divine inspiration, threw a piece of burning wood into one of the galleries surrounding the temple. The flames quickly spread in every direction, and the Jews, eager



Plan of Jerusalem.

for a death which opened heaven to them,¹ dashed through the flames and flung themselves upon the swords of the Romans.

Thus was burned the second temple of Jerusalem, on the 8th of July, in the year of our Lord 70. The upper city still held out; on the 1st of August the Romans captured and set fire to it. Three fortresses which the Zealots occupied in the suburbs were taken one after the other. In the last one, Masada, the Jews,



Arch of Titus at Rome.²

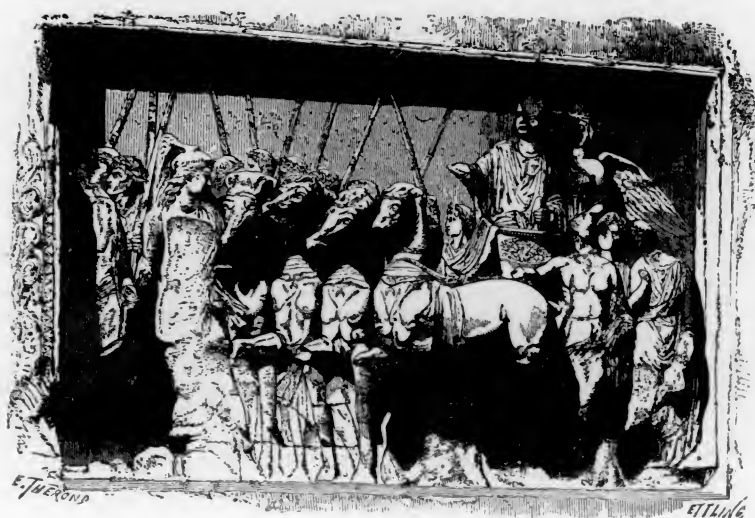
when the walls were about to be forced, slew their wives and children, and then, clasping the dead bodies of their loved victims, each one presented his neck to those who had been designated by lot to render this last service to their companions. These in their turns fell by each other's hands; and when the Romans entered the place they found the silence of death, disturbed only by the

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, v. 5. Sulpicius Severus pretends (ii. 30, 6) that Titus, in a council of war, had decided upon the destruction of the temple, "to extirpate the last trace of the Jewish and Christian superstitions;" but most probably Titus knew but little about the Christians and paid little attention to them. Cf. Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iii. 403.

² [This arch was erected to Titus after his death, *Dico Tito*. Another had been built to him during his life, but has disappeared. Its inscription, however, is preserved, a hymn of triumph in the lapidary style: *Urbem Hierosolymam omnibus ante se ducibus, regibus, gentibus aut frustra petitam, aut omnino intemptatam deleuit* (C. I. L., vi. 944).—Ed.]

noise of the conflagration which the Zealots had kindled before seeking death.¹

This was the last act of the appalling drama. By the computation of Josephus, who, of course, exaggerates all the figures, 1,100,000 Jews must have perished, one-half of them in Jerusalem. Ninety-seven thousand were made prisoners, some of whom were sold, others sent to the quarries in Egypt, and the remainder reserved for the combats of the circus. Some recompense had to



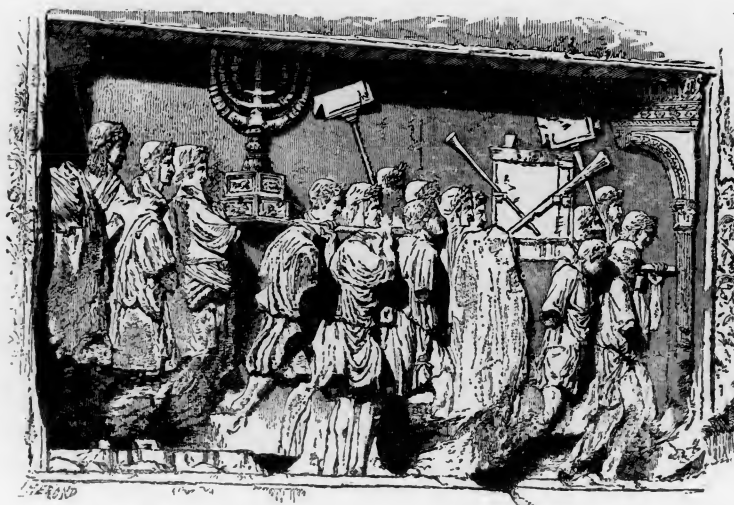
Triumph of Titus (Bas-relief from his Arch of Triumph).

be made to the Syrian cities for their fidelity: Titus gave them games and festivals, in which he exhibited to them these odious Jews torn to pieces in the arena by wild beasts or killing each other like gladiators. At Panæas, to celebrate his brother's festival, he caused 2,500 to perish in the flames or in the amphitheatre, and as many at Berytus on the day of the anniversary of the birth of Vespasian. Only 700 were reserved to follow at Rome the car on which Vespasian and himself made their triumphal entry. Borne in front of them the captives beheld the spoils of the temple, the golden table, the candlestick with seven

¹ This event did not take place until the year 73, and Titus returned to Rome in the spring of 71.

branches, the veils of the sanctuary, and the book of the law.¹ At their head marched the two chiefs John and Simon. The latter, after the festivities, was conducted to the Forum and there beaten with rods and afterwards beheaded. The other died in prison. Medals struck to commemorate this war represent a woman in tears, seated at the foot of a palm tree, with this inscription: *Judæa captive*.²

She was indeed captive, and for ever! Of the temple there



Spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem: the Candlestick with Seven Branches, etc. (Bas-relief of the Arch of Titus).

remained only a heap of rubbish; of the holy city, here and there remains of walls blackened by fire;³ and of the Jewish people, a few remnants scattered among the provinces, where hatred always followed them. Vespasian had already united Judæa to his

¹ These are still to be seen sculptured on the arch of triumph erected at Rome in memory of this event, and under which, it is said, for eighteen centuries no Jew has willingly passed. "It is to be hoped, for the honour of the Jews, that this anecdote is true: long memories are suited to long misfortunes." (Mme. de Staël, *Corinne*, chap. iv.)

² Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 326. See p. 640.

³ However, Titus left standing the three towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, the artificial mountain (Haram-ech-Cherif) which supported the temple and is yet visible, as well as several other ruins clearly of Hebrew construction. The Romans afterwards placed a garrison of 800 men on Mount Zion. They had found in their pillage an amount of wealth so vast that, according to the account of Josephus, the value of gold deteriorated one-half throughout Syria.

domain, and ordered all the Jews of the Empire to pay henceforth into the treasure of Jupiter Capitolinus the two drachmas per head which they annually sent to the temple of Jerusalem.¹

War had now destroyed, almost at the same time, the two sanctuaries of the religious beliefs in which the world was divided. But while one will soon rise again glittering with gold, the other will remain for ever prostrate. It is now no longer needed. The idea which it kept secret in the Holy of Holies has gone forth to be



Judæa Captive (*Trésor de Nîmes*).

diffused over the world, and by it the conquered of to-day shall be the victors of to-morrow;² the fugitives shall become the conquerors; those they thought to crush by force shall obtain dominion by the spirit, and the Jewish God, driven by Titus from the Temple of Jerusalem, shall enter as master into the Capitol of Rome, out of which Jupiter and all "the great gods" shall be hurled. Tacitus says that before the last assault the gates of the temple opened of themselves, that a supernatural voice was heard crying out, "The gods depart," and at the same time there was all the noise of a departure.³ It was the Mosaic Jehovah, transfigured by Jesus, who left his solitary rock of Zion to become the God of the universe, and to cause to reign in it for centuries, with the second *revealed* law, a new theocracy, full of mildness toward his own, implacable as the Jewish toward his adversaries. But the struggle will recommence some day in the bosom of the *renascent* world; for the two people who have just furnished us this terrible spectacle represent two contrary

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 6. A colony was established at Cæsarea, whose inhabitants were exempt from this tax, and later, under Titus, from the land-tax (*Digest*, l. 15, 8). Beside the garrison sent to Jerusalem, the Empire maintained troops in Palestine, and, as if the country were "in a state of siege," we find Domitian, in 86, keeping in camp there soldiers of twenty-five years' service. To these he accorded the privileges of veterans, but without the *honesta missio*, that is, without disbanding them. Cf. L. Renier, *Diplômes milit.*, p. 220.

² S. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11): *victi victoribus leges dedere*.

³ *Hist.*, v. 13.

tendencies of our nature whose opposition is not yet to cease: faith against reason, enthusiasm against science, religion against politics, divine right against natural right.

III.—VESPASIAN (69–79).

The two wars which we have just described have detained us at the extremities of the Empire; let us now go back to Rome, which we left with its Capitol in ashes and its streets strewn with the dead. The conflicts which had stained it with blood were the expiring convulsions of an anarchy of two years' duration. Beginning in Gaul and Spain, when the downfall of the house of the Cæsars had occasioned a great void in which the Empire was well-nigh overwhelmed, the insurrection had spread into Germany and Illyria, from there into Judæa and Egypt, and civil war "had passed over the universe like a terrible expiation."¹ Yet the spirit of revolt, after having agitated all the legions and all the provinces, is about to subside and become extinguished for want of nutriment; and the Empire will be like some great body which, at the cost of a violent commotion, has thrown off the illness under which it laboured. It retains the disturbing cause; but, for a time at least, calm and vigour will return. There was indeed no longer an emperor to make, nor legions to be bought. Vespasian was accepted by the chiefs and by the armies, by the troops of the East who had elected him, by the partisans of Galba whose statues he set up again, and by the Othonians to whom he furnished an opportunity to blot out the disgrace of Bedriacum. As for the old legions of Germany, destroyed or dispersed, they had now no influence. Accordingly, every one at this time counted on peace, and the senate made haste to decree to the conqueror the honours and rights which constituted the imperial authority: those which



Coins of Titus and of Domitian,
Princes of Youth
(*Cabinet de France*).

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 3: *Civilia bella . . . omnes provincias exercitusque lustraverant velut expiatio terrarum orbe*.

had been successively granted to preceding Emperors.¹ At the same time his two sons Titus and Domitian received the titles of Cæsars and of Princes of Youth, and Mucianus the ornaments of a triumph "for his victory over the Sarmatians."

Delayed by contrary winds, and especially by a prudence which was unwilling to incur any risk, Vespasian was still in Egypt when he learned of the victory of Cremona and the death of his rival. These successes, gained so far away, were loudly proclaimed in that Eastern land so filled with superstitions. Rendered credulous by all that he had witnessed in this land of wonders and



Serapis carrying a Modius.²

by this realization of the interested prophecies of the Jew Josephus, Vespasian began to regard himself as especially favoured of the gods, or found it useful to encourage such a belief. Apollonius of Tyana, whom his rigorous asceticism had rendered subject to visions, was then at Alexandria. His voyages to the mysterious land of the Brahmins, his constant journeyings over the whole Empire, aroused wherever he might tarry a curiosity which he was very careful not to exhaust by too long a stay. If he was not already regarded as a god, as contemporaries of Alexander Severus declare, he at least was thought to foretell the future. Vespasian sought an opportunity of hearing him; more than that, he himself had visions sent from on high, and, to complete the resemblance to the king promised to the East—the frequent topic of the popular imagination—he performed miracles; he healed, in public assembly, a blind man and a paralytic. In the East the marvellous is always necessary. It is the means of action which most seldom fails of its end, and the mind lends itself so readily to it that the one who practises it often becomes the dupe of his own artifice or visions. Then the language, so full of boldness and of metaphors, adds the exaggeration of words

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 3. This is the famous *lex regia*, the text of which has been recovered and is now everywhere accessible. Cf. Orelli, *Inscr.*, vol. i. p. 567.

² Bust of white agate, two and three-tenths inches high (*Cabinet de France*, No. 278).

to the exaggeration of things, so that an act is very speedily transferred from the natural order of things to the supernatural. The truth, hidden under this double covering which the eye of the people never penetrates, is rarely discovered again, and it matters little. Let Vespasian work miracles; let even the Alexandrians, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion, believe that he performed them;¹ and we may remark that in this country and amid such occurrences this conduct was skilful, not doubtless such skill as we admire, but that which always succeeds. Serapis also, the great deity of the Alexandrians, sanctioned the fortune of this upstart, and the plebeian emperor was about to carry back to Rome, for lack of the illustrious lineage of the Cæsars, the adoption by the gods. It was a well-managed affair.

His sojourn in Egypt was not entirely in vain with respect to serious concerns. He made useful reforms in the administration of that country, which had not beheld an emperor since Augustus, and he augmented, notwithstanding the raillery of the Alexandrians, the taxes imposed on that rich city.² From there he kept watch over Judæa, Asia, and Africa. Vologeses offered him 40,000 mounted men; he refused them. To quell the insurrection in Pontus he required only a few cohorts of vexillaries.³ In Africa he exchanged with the legate Valerius Festus, commander of the military forces in Numidia, secret messages which led to his defection. The proconsul who administered this senatorial province, it was said, dreamed of profiting by the general disorder to have himself proclaimed emperor. He was of the illustrious family of the Pisos, and brother-in-law of another member of that house whom Mucianus had recently put to death. The legate's body-guard, coming from their station to Carthage, relieved Vespasian of this candidate. Africa was now in subjection and some degree of order again established. Leptis and Cæa were at war, like Lugdunum and Vienne in Gaul, like Puteoli and Capua in Italy, like all the towns of Sicily, and like many others in the provinces.

¹ *Multa miracula evenere quis cæli favor et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum* (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 81; Suet., *Vesp.*, 7; Dion, lxxvi. 8). See further on, the last moments of Vespasian.

² Dion, lxxvi. 8; Suet., *Vesp.*, 19.

³ Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 48.

The people of Œa, aided by the Garamantes, were ravaging with frightful excesses the territory of Leptis;¹ cohorts of cavalry were sent out who re-established the *Roman peace*. Along the Danube the Sarmatians and Dacians had devastated Mœsia after the withdrawal of the legions. Mucianus, opportunely arriving with the army of Asia, drove them back beyond the river; but when he had retired they returned to the attack. Vespasian at once despatched Rubrius Gallus, who delivered Mœsia and carefully fortified the bank of the river.² Thus, before the termination of the civil war, Vespasian inaugurated his reign by establishing peace in the provinces and on the frontiers.

He would have awaited the ending of the war in Judæa so as to return to Rome with Titus. But the siege of Jerusalem being prolonged, he set out, visiting on his way Rhodes and various cities of Asia Minor. He landed in Italy at the extreme point of Calabria, found Mucianus and nearly all the senate at Brundisium, Domitian at Beneventum, with a part of the people. Vitellius had now been dead nearly a year. This time had been well employed. Two dangerous wars had been brought to a close, the disturbed Empire had again found quiet and order. The only traces remaining of the recent agitation were the ruins of the Capitol and a great desire for rest. Mucianus was largely instrumental in this return to peace. He was at once the Mæcenas and the Agrippa of the new Augustus, who had also given to him his ring that he might act everywhere in his name. Leaving the emperor in that distance which enlarges proportions and increases respect, he had assumed the thankless task of checking the reaction against the vanquished, of again bringing the victors under the yoke of discipline, of remanding to obscurity the hero of the civil war, and of holding Domitian in restraint. After the murder of Vitellius, of his son, of his brother Lucius, of Asiaticus, the most odious of his freedmen, who perished on the cross, and of a Piso whose popularity gave him uneasiness,³ Mucianus had put an end to political executions. The daughter of Vitellius was spared; when Helvidius Priscus and Musonius Rufus denounced the delators he

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 50; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 5.

² Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 46.

³ Julius Priscus, prefect of the prætorium of Vitellius, killed himself. (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 2.)

allowed sentence to be passed in a few instances, and then stopped these prosecutions, often attended with danger. Antonius Primus was loudly vaunting his services, and had already rewarded himself by laying hands on the imperial treasury and on the house of the prince, as if they had been the spoils of Cremona.¹ Mucianus treated him with great consideration; he caused the consular ornaments to be decreed to him and granted favours to all his friends; but he took away all power from him and induced him to appear before Vespasian, who received him with honour, without bestowing upon him any further mark of esteem.²

The war with the Gauls came very opportunely to deliver Italy from embarrassing armies; there still remained at Rome the disbanded prætorians of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the Flavian legionaries to whom enrolment in the prætorian cohorts had been promised. As Mucianus made little haste to respond to all these demands a riot broke out; he quelled it, offered them lands which they did not want, and ended by admitting them all to the prætorium. But after the service had been organized he quietly dismissed, one by one, those who had passed the prescribed age or committed some fault.



Domitian crowned with Laurel.³

Domitian occasioned him more anxiety. This young prince, nineteen years of age, had been found with Sabinus at the Capitol, and had only escaped under favour of a disguise. On account of the danger he had incurred he thought himself one of the victors and affected sovereign airs. In one day he distributed twenty places. Vespasian wrote to him: "I must esteem myself happy that you have not thought of appointing an emperor also."⁴ When the revolt of the Gauls became known, Domitian, jealous of his brother, wished to take command of the army and left Rome.

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 2.

² Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 80. Mucianus sent away from Rome the troops devoted to Primus and prevented Domitian from taking him to himself, *inter comites*.

³ Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 241. Agate-onyx of two layers of $\frac{7}{100}$ ths of an inch in height by $\frac{15}{100}$ ths of an inch in breadth. It is set in a ring.

⁴ Suet., *Dom.*, 1.

Mucianus, not daring to quit him, followed him; but at the foot of the Alps they learned of the defeat of Treveri, upon which Mucianus represented to the young Cæsar that there would be little glory in going to finish a war which was ending of itself, and decided him to stop at Lugdunum. It is believed that from this place Domitian secretly sounded Cerialis to ascertain whether the command would be transferred to him in case he should repair to the army. Cerialis avoided a reply, and Domitian, perceiving with chagrin that these old politicians were making sport of him, withdrew from all affairs; henceforth he appeared occupied only with verses and literature.¹ His skilful tutor brought him back to Rome, from which place both went to meet the emperor.

Unfortunately Tacitus fails us again at this point, and this time completely. Nothing has been saved of his *Histories* from the middle of the year 70, and we find ourselves reduced to the mere biographies of Suetonius, to the fragments of Dion, to the abridgments of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. The majestic stream from which we have drawn and which flowed with brimming banks is now only a meagre thread of water. Of all the emperors Vespasian is the one who loses the most by this, for he was, says S. Augustine, a very good prince and very worthy of being beloved.²

He came into power at an age when one is no longer given to change, at sixty years. He had never been fond of gaming or debauchery, and he maintained his health by a frugal diet, even passing one day every month without eating. His life was simple and laborious. When emperor he always employed a portion of the night in public affairs; Pliny the Elder and many others came before day to work with him; and finally, Thræsea and Soranus, the most virtuous of the senate, were his friends.³ This soldier accustomed to discipline, this upstart who had known want, was just the man needed by the Empire. In the imperial palace he made no change in his habits, lived, as before, like a simple

¹ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 86.

² *De Civ. Dei*, v. 21. Suetonius (*Vesp.*, 8) says of him: *Per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius, quam prope afflictam nutantemque rempublicam stabilire primo, deinde et ornare.* Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 9) speaks in the same manner: *Ersanguem diu fessumque terrarum orbem brevi refecit.*

³ Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 7; Suet., *Vesp.*, 20, 21; Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 5.

private citizen, his door open to all, without remembering injuries,¹ and without pride; laughing at those who desired to make out a genealogy for him, and replying to sarcasms by coarse pleasantries which were always preferable to an order into exile or a sentence to death; capable of gratitude, a rare thing in a prince; bearing to hear the truth and counsel.² He gave a magnificent dowry to the daughter of Vitellius, took away none of their paternal estate from the children of those who had fought against him,³ and allowed Mucianus, whom he twice decorated with the consular purple, to assume the tone and manner of a colleague rather than of a minister; yet without weakness, even for his son Domitian, whom he held in strict dependence. In accordance with the traditions of the first imperial court he received the great familiarly and visited them at their homes without formal preparation. One day they sought to tease him about a person to whom the stars had promised the Empire; he gave him the consulate. "If he becomes emperor," said he, "he will remember that I conferred a favour on him."

Vespasian has not attained a lofty fame; he is known chiefly by the anecdotes of Suetonius and Dion. We have carefully examined his acts, and when we have said that he took Augustus for a model, we have given him all the eulogy which his politic spirit deserves. He had no higher aim than to establish order in the state and in the finances; but he accomplished this, and if his principate, like all the others, made no preparations for the future, it did much for the present. It was a restorative reign, the effects of which were felt for several generations; this service is as valuable as the most brilliant victories.

Following the example of the second Julius, the first of the Flavians resolved to seek in the senate the support of his government. This assembly, debased by so many years of tyranny, needed as much as it did a century before to be submitted to a

¹ One of Nero's freedmen who had insulted him during the lifetime of that prince came and asked pardon; Vespasian repeated the insult to him, and with a laugh dismissed him. A senator and a knight having quarrelled, the first accused the second of having brought reproach upon his rank. The prince decided that it was not lawful to attack a senator with scurrilous language, but that it was fair to return it. (Suet., *Vesp.*, 9.)

² *Patientissimus veri* (Tac., *de Orat.*, 3). Cf. Suet., *Vesp.*, 13.

³ Suet., *Vesp.*, 14.

severe revision. More than this, the civil wars, intrigues, and debauchery, had so decimated the nobility that, if we may believe an old historian, only 200 *gentes* could at that time be enumerated at Rome. This exhausting of the aristocratic blood seemed perilous with regard to the gods, some of whose altars were about to be left desolate; and, in the eyes of the people, there resulted from it a diminution of the prestige of the city, which, like the England of our day, honoured large families and loved their wide-spread existence. Vespasian acted with resolution. Invested with the title of censor in 73,¹ with his son Titus for colleague, he struck from the rolls of the two orders the members deemed unworthy, replaced them by the most distinguished persons of the Empire, and, by virtue of his powers as sovereign pontiff, raised several of them to the patriciate. A thousand Italian or provincial families came to be added to the 200 aristocratic families which had survived, and constituted with these the higher Roman society, from which the candidates for all civil, military, and religious functions were taken.² A proof of the extreme care which Vespasian exercised in choosing, as Suetonius and Aurelius Victor express it, "the best," is that in the number of those whom he appointed patricians were found Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus, who was from Narbonensis, the Spaniard Trajan, the Gaul Antoninus—one the father, the other the grandfather of glorious emperors;³ and that he initiated the good fortune of Tacitus,⁴ that of the

¹ Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 181.

² Suetonius says (*Vesp.*, 9): *Amplissimos ordines exhaustos cæde varia . . . supplevit . . . honestissimo . . . Italicorum ac provincialium allecto*. Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 9) states more precisely: *Lectis undique optimis viris mille gentes compositæ, quum ducentas ægerrime reperisset, extinctis sævitia tyrannorum plerisque*. In this phrase, *gentes* cannot be taken to mean "patrician families." At the time of Aur. Victor the very name of patrician, in the antique sense of the word, had disappeared, since it is found for the last time in the edict of Diocletian upon the *maximum*, and Gaius had long before said that the *gentilicium jus* no longer existed. Hadrian's secretary, who was well acquainted with the reform of Vespasian, does not speak of *gentes*, and his reasoning indicates that the patriciate not being obligatory except for certain religious functions, they were not required to be lavish of a title still greatly respected, since the emperors assumed it at their accession, but which was of very little account in the State. This profusion had lessened the value of it at a time when political reasons advised the preservation of its illustrious character. Aur. Victor, in *De Vir. ill.* 14, employs indifferently the words *gens* and *familia*: his thousand *gentes*, then, were a thousand families called to Rome: a part for the senate, a part for the equestrian order, some for the patriciate, others for offices, for the ranks (*allectus inter prætorios*, etc.).

³ Tac., *Agric.*, 9: *Inter patricios adscivit*. Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius*, 1, and *Anton. Philos.*, 1.

⁴ Tac., *Hist.*, i. 1.

Cornutus Tertullus of whom Pliny the Younger speaks with so high commendation,¹ of Licinius Sura, whom Trajan made almost his colleague, of the Moor Lusius Quietus, one of the most skilful generals of that epoch, in fact, of so many others, old Romans or new men, whom he sought out in all conditions and in all the provinces.

Claudius had understood that this mode of recruiting the senate was a necessity of the imperial government; Nero himself had summoned to high functions the Aquitanian Vindex and a converted Jew, Tiberius Alexander. But no emperor since Cæsar had applied this liberal policy so largely as Vespasian.

It is to be regretted that we have no information concerning this renewal of the Roman nobility: an important event, the echo of which is found under Domitian in the lines of Statius,² and which had for its sequel the happy epoch of the Antonines. This aristocracy, borrowed by Vespasian from the provincial cities, where it had been trained to public affairs, where it had acquired a taste for economy, simplicity, and order, brought into Rome pure morals, with which the descendants of the proconsuls of the Republic were no longer acquainted—that *gilded youth* whose abominable acts of licence we have seen under Nero. It will furnish the great emperors of the second century, the skilled lieutenants who will second them, and senators who will hereafter conspire only at long intervals, because, unmindful at length of Brutus and Cato, whose images are no longer erected in the *atrium* of these new houses, they will rarely



M. Ulpius Trajanus (Trajan the Father).³

¹ *Epist.*, v. 15. Cornutus had been *allectus inter prætorios* by Vespasian during his censorship (Orelli, 3,659). We may cite also C. Fulvius Servilianus, who had exercised the highest magistracy at Nemausus (Herzog, p. 123); Q. Aur. Pactumius Clemens, of Cirta, the first African honoured with the consulate (L. Renier, *Inscr. de l'Alg.*, Nos. 1,807 and 1,808); C. Salv. Liberalis Nonius Bassus, who was four times *quinquennalis* and the patron of Pollentia, but who resided at Rome, where he became known as an advocate (Borghesi, vol. iii. p. 178); the Spaniard Herennius Senecio, etc.

² *Silv.*, iii. 3, 143: . . . *In cuneos populum quum duxit equestres*.

³ Bust, crowned with laurel, on lapis-lazuli. Mutilated cameo, $\frac{8\frac{1}{2}}{100}$ ths of an inch by $\frac{7\frac{1}{2}}{100}$ ths; to whom attributed is uncertain. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 239 of the Catalogue.)

yield to the evil temptations which gave their predecessors their illustrious name, the influence of wealth and the fatality of great memories.

To the senate, thus renewed and become the true representation of the Empire, Vespasian submitted all important matters. He was present regularly at the discussions, and when he addressed a message to the Fathers, it was his sons and not his quaestor who went to read it. By his liberal acts he made up to several senators the census required, and established in aid of the poor of consular rank an annual fund of 500,000 sesterces.¹



Vespasian (*Trésor de Num.*, pl. 20, No. 9).

Suetonius renders him this testimony, that it would be difficult to cite a single individual unjustly punished in his reign, at least unless it were in his absence or without his knowledge.² He loved to dispense justice himself in the Forum; and in order to settle the arrears of the civil war by a speedy termination of the innumerable cases which crowded the rolls of the centumviri, he instituted a commission of judges drawn by lot, to restore what had been seized unlawfully in the disorders of the times. In the same spirit he tore up all the treasury certificates, so as to inherit nothing from those unhappy times.

The legions, who had made and unmade five emperors in two years, were no longer attentive to the ancient discipline. He brought them back to it, and putting in practice the saying of Galba, he chose his soldiers and did not buy them. The mutinous

¹ Suet., *Vesp.*, 17.

² Suet., *Vesp.*, 15. "He deplored," he adds, "even the most just punishments." An author of the seventh century, John of Antioch, who seems to have drawn from good authorities, says also: . . . ὁὕτως ἦν ἡπιος καὶ προσηνής ὥς μηδὲ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν γινόμενας ἀμαρτίας πέρα τιμωρεῖσθαι φύγῃς . . . (*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 578, Didot). Suidas (v. Βεσπασιανός) and Eutropius (vii. 13) say that Vespasian is worthy to be compared with the best princes who have ever reigned: . . . *optimis comparandus*. [The case of J. Sabinus the Gaul and his wife Eponina, already related, is a sad exception.—*Ed.*]

were subdued, the conquerors even waited long for the promised rewards.¹

The morals of the times were bad; he did more than the laws to reform them—he set good examples. A young man coming much perfumed to thank him for the gift of a prefecture, he turned away from him with an air of disgust, saying in a stern voice, "I had rather you smelt of garlic," and revoked his appointment. Cato could not have done it better. Accordingly, Tacitus dates from this reign a salutary change. "Vespasian," says he, "at his table and in his garments recalled ancient simplicity. The desire to please and to resemble the prince accomplished more than laws, punishments, and fear."

In his work of restoration he included, after the example of Augustus, the official worship, and he also attempted to rekindle expiring piety. We can only catch a glimpse of this reform in the obscurity which envelops the entire history of this prince; but he laboured to this end, for inscriptions which are still to be read celebrate him as "the restorer of the ancient rites, religious ceremonies, and sacred edifices."² One of the temples which he built was dedicated to a strange divinity. Third Temple of the Capitol, reared by Vespasian.³ to Claudius; but Claudius was the author of his good fortune; besides, having been made *divus*, he ought to have his priests and altars; it was according to law.



Vespasian was not fond of the shows, especially those of gladiators, and in the whole Empire he gave permission only to the Ephesians to institute new games. But he multiplied the number of buildings, for he wished, like Augustus, that the people might gain their living by labour. An engineer agreed to convey some immense columns into the Capitol at a small

¹ The soldiers of the fleet petitioned for shoes, on account of the frequent journeys they had to make from Puteoli or Ostia to Rome; he obliged them to go barefoot. (Suet., *Vesp.*, 8.)

² Cf. Orelli, Nos. 746, 1,460, 1,868, 2,364. Vespasian had, in his turn, his priests *sodales* and *severi Flaviales* (*Id.*, Nos. 2,370 and 2,375).

³ On this coin are very distinctly seen the six Corinthian columns of the *façade*, the statues of the three divinities of the Capitol, Jupiter seated between Minerva and Juno, who are standing. The tympanum presents the same figures in the same disposition, two men striking the anvil at the angles. At the summit of the pediment, the quadriga which previously adorned the first two edifices. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, p. 903 and fig. 1,148.)

expense; he ordered a large sum to be paid him, but declined his proposal, saying: "Suffer me to find maintenance for the poor people."¹ Immediately on his return to his capital he set to work with such ardour that at the expiration of a few months "the streets of Rome, rendered impassable by the misfortune of the times," were found to be in good condition for travel.² The same solicitude extended to the provinces.³ He repaired the aqueducts, enlarged the sources which supplied the fountains of Rome,⁴ and, to cause the ruins to disappear which encumbered it since the great conflagration of Nero, he permitted whoever would to occupy the vacant ground and build upon it if the proprietors neglected to do so. They had begun, by his orders, the reconstruction of the Capitol, but the work progressed slowly. When he returned he himself put his hand to the work of clearing away the rubbish, and carried stones upon his shoulder. After that no one dared refuse to work. Three thousand tables of brass, on which were engraved the senatus-consulta and the plebiscita relating to the alliances, treaties, and privileges granted to different peoples, had been destroyed in the burning of the temple. He ordered search to be made everywhere for copies of the acts, and reconstructed the archives of national history. Augustus had raised two altars to Peace; Vespasian built a temple to her, in which he deposited the most precious spoils of Jerusalem;⁵ and in order the better to show to the world his peaceful intentions, the old general closed, for the sixth time, the doors of the temple of Janus. He built a forum surrounded by colonnades, in addition to those already existing, and commenced, in the midst of the city, the vast amphitheatre, a mountain of stone of which three-fourths remain standing to-day, striking the beholder with amazement and admiration. Eighty-seven thousand spectators were accommodated on its gigantic tiers. A colossal statue raised near by for Nero, but which Vespasian consecrated to the Sun, gave it its name, the Coliseum.

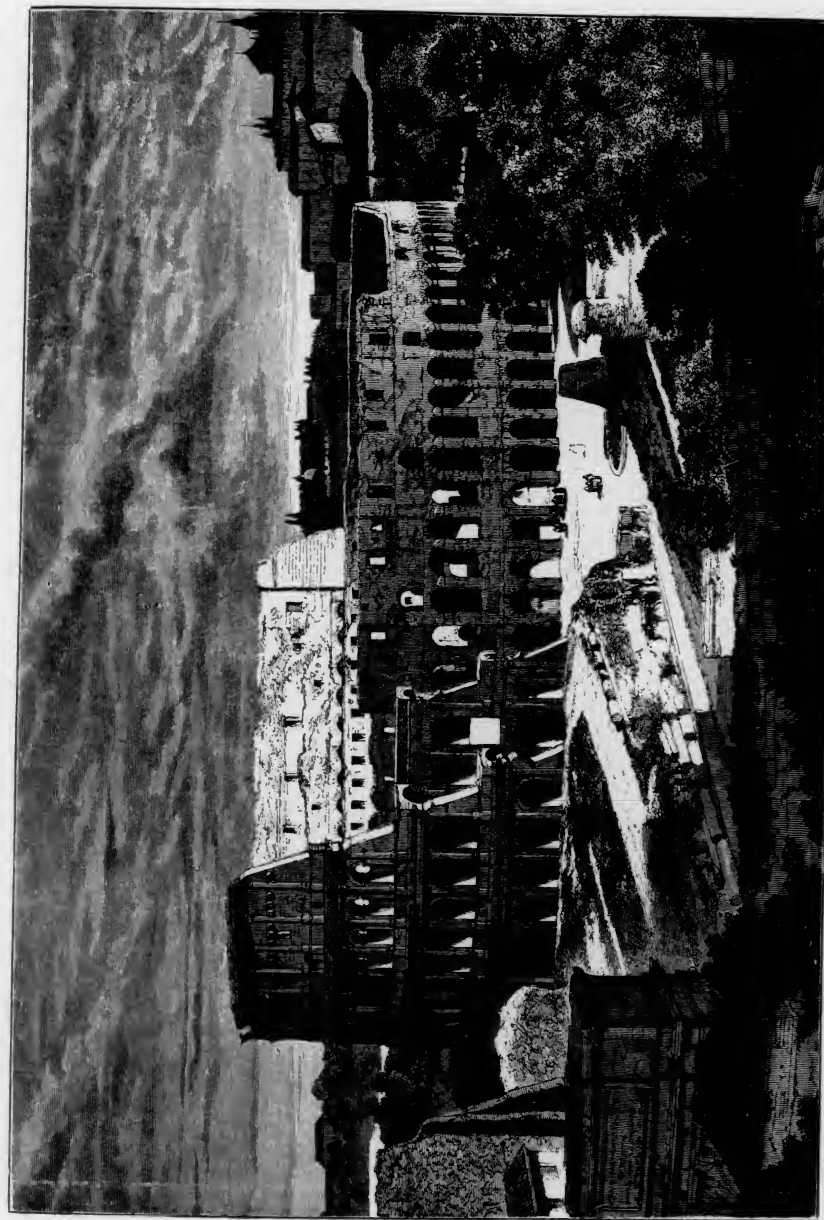
¹ Suet., *Vesp.*, 18.

² Inscription of the year 71 (Orelli, No. 742) voted by the senate: . . . *quod vias urbis negligentia super. tempor. corruptas impensa sua restituit.*

³ An inscription of Thyatira in Asia Minor, of the year 75, bears: *Vias faciendus curavit* (C. I. L., vol. iii, No. 470).

⁴ . . . *aquas Curtiam et Cerealeam sua impensa urbi restituit* (Orelli, No. 55).

⁵ The Temple of Peace, dedicated by Vespasian in 77, was destroyed by fire under Commodus. It seems that Constantine substituted his basilica for it.



The Coliseum.

He extended the pomerium; it was his right, given him by his victories.¹

In Italy he excavated a tunnel under a mountain, to give a more gentle descent to the Flaminian Way, and he rebuilt at Herculaneum the temple of the Mother of the Gods, which had been thrown down by an earthquake.² He attempted to stop the continual encroachments of private persons on the public domain: at Rome he ordered the College of Pontiffs to make one of these inquests;³ at Pompeii he sent a tribune to measure the localities, hear the complaints, and render to the city what pertained to it:⁴ Vesuvius was soon to bring into harmony both proprietors and trespassers by taking all unto itself, even the road of tombs which leads to the enshrouded city. In the provinces he rebuilt at his own expense cities ruined by earthquakes or by fire; he constructed roads without molesting the bordering proprietors,⁵ he erected useful monuments, and terminated the disputes of communities with reference to their boundaries.



Minerva, found near the Temple of Peace (Statue of the Vatican, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, pl. 9).

It is not, therefore, clear why Suetonius, after enumerating his expenditures, of which some were necessities and others benefactions, should have applied to him a reproach which has clung to his memory, that of a sordid and culpable avarice. According to this writer—who listens at every keyhole, and accepts from every

¹ *Auctis P. R. finibus, pomerium ampliaverunt terminaveruntque* (C. I. L., vi. No. 1,232).

² Orelli, No. 744, in the year 76.

³ *Id.*, No. 3,261.

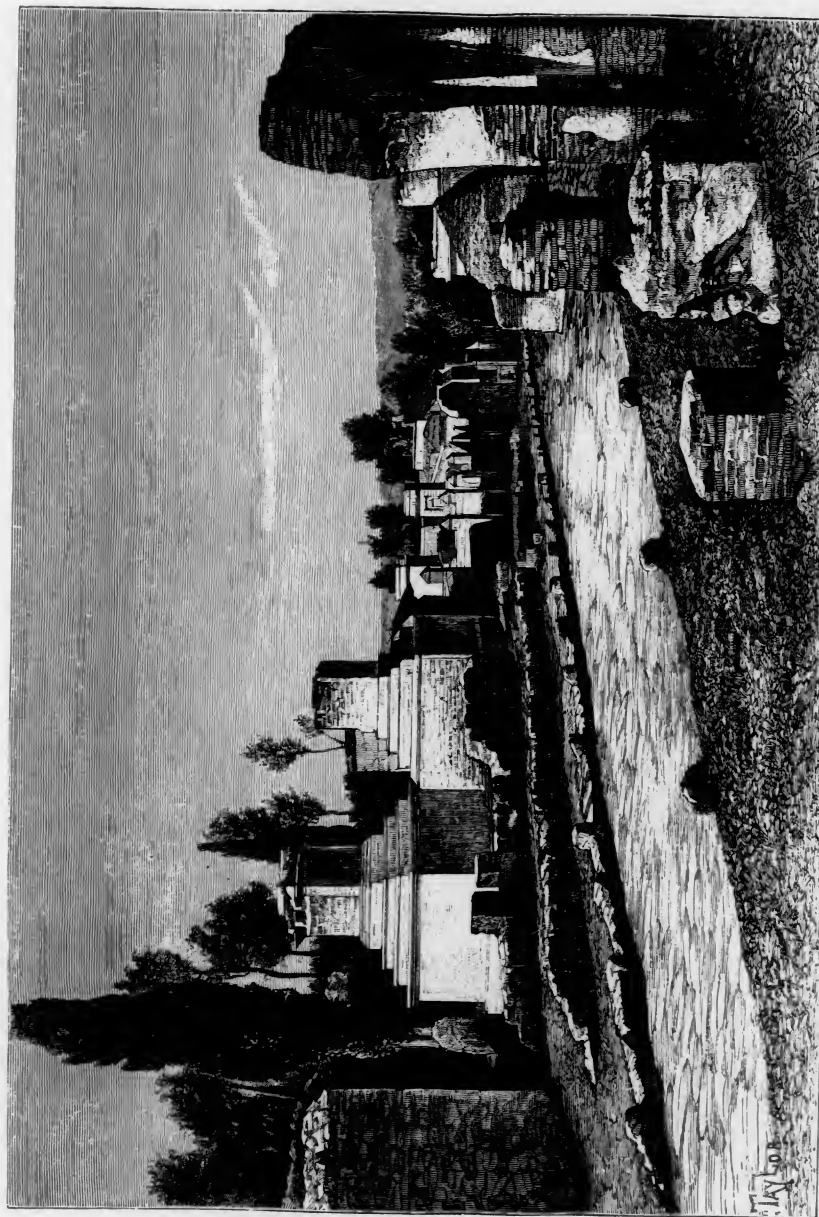
⁴ *Id.*, No. 3,262.

⁵ *Intactis cultoribus* (Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 9; Orelli, No. 4,051).

gossip suspicious anecdotes and authentic information, official statements and witticisms, without concerning himself whether one portion of his story does not destroy some other—Vespasian sold magistracies to applicants and pardon to those under prosecution; bought up certain commodities to sell again at retail; permitted the governors to pillage, reserving the right to make them disgorge, like sponges, which he allowed to fill themselves in the provinces but which he squeezed at Rome. Such customs would have constituted a detestable government, itself organizing the squandering of its own resources. Vespasian, a soldier trained to discipline and order, certainly did not possess these, and we find no trace of them in the facts which have come down to us. The selections that we know to have been made by him are excellent: in Britain, Frontinus and Agricola, whom Tacitus treats as great men; in Asia, Silius Italicus, who, on the testimony of Pliny, gained to himself much glory there.¹ We have seen that he prepared the fortune of Trajan, that of the Antonines, and he honoured the consulate by calling to it the celebrated jurisconsult Pegasus.

Suetonius also shows us Vespasian sharing with his freedmen the profits which they derived for certain favours. One day the servant who was in charge of his litter halted, on pretext that one of the mules had cast a shoe, and a party to a law-suit was just in time to prefer a request. "How much have you gained by shoeing your mule?" he asked of the attendant, and exacted one-half of the gratuity. One of his freedmen solicited a stewardship for a pretended brother; the emperor sent for the candidate, made him count out the promised sum and gave him the place. The deputies of a town came to announce to him that a sum of money had been voted by their fellow-citizens to erect a statue to him. "Put it here," said Vespasian extending his hand, "the base is all ready." Add to this also, if desired, the surname of Six Oboli, which the Alexandrians gave him, and the parody of the buffoon at his funeral: "How much will my funeral procession cost? Ten million sesterces? Give me 100,000, and throw me into the Tiber;" and about the money from a certain tax, of

¹ Tac., *Agric.*, 17; Pliny, *Epist.*, iii, 7.



The Way of the Tombs at Pompeii.

which Vespasian said to his son who had opposed it: "Do you find that this money has a bad smell?"¹ All this is certainly lacking in dignity; but may they not be good tricks played by an old man who loved to laugh, or rather slanders, put in circulation by the fine society of Rome, by those elegant debauchees of the court of Nero, who could not be consoled as they saw this plebeian upstart counting the money of the State, which the heir of the Julii flung to them in feasts and orgies; to them, to be prodigal was "to act the Cæsar."² Let us leave these wretched matters and come to serious history.

We are aware that it is impossible to make out the budget of the Empire, and that, according to all probabilities, its resources were not great. Under Domitian an increase of one-third in the payments to the troops ruined the *ærarium militare*, although it was fed by the largest revenues of the State.³ The bad princes guarded against this financial deficiency by the law of majesty, but Vespasian did not know how to "audit his accounts" after the fashion of Caligula and Nero.⁴ Yet, for nearly ten years the government had done nothing for the Empire, and to the ruins caused by carelessness of power were added those which arose from internal dissensions; all public service was suffering. A multitude of creditors were presenting their claims to the treasury; many cities demanded that they should be assisted in rebuilding their temples, their walls; and the reconstruction of their Capitol alone, that is to say of their national sanctuary, must have cost enormous sums; but still more was required to repair the bridges, the highways; to erect the *castra stativa* torn down at certain

¹ This tax on urinals really existed, and many others of like character: on manure, on sewers, on courtesans, on dogs, etc. Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 9) says: *Satis constat, ærarii inopia ac labe urbium novas eum, neque aliquandiu postea habitas vectigalium pensiones exquisivisse.* He afterwards enumerates the works executed by Vespasian, and adds: *Quæ tot tantaque brevi confecta, prudentiam magis quam avaritiam probavere.* He is also reproached for having taken from certain colonies lands not yet conceded, *subseciva*, to sell them for the profit of the treasury. He would have done better, as Domitian did (*Suet., Dom.*, 9), to leave the lands in dispute to the colonists, who would have ended by utilizing them; but this measure was still one of the least onerous to meet the financial exigencies of the moment.

² *Καυαπεύειν*; this is the saying of the Alexandrians against Vespasian: "He does not know how to act the Cæsar." (*Dion*, lxi. 8.)

³ *Suet., Dom.*, 12. On the *ærarium mil.* see above, vol. iv. p. 13.

⁴ He did not like the law of majesty and did not apply it in its rigour. Cf. *Dion*, lxi. 9; Aur. Victor, *de Cæs.*, 9; Eutropius, vii. 13; Suidas, v. Βεσπασιανός.

points by the barbarians; to establish numerous colonies of veterans, to render the legions more docile, and to lessen the expenditures for the army; to fill the arsenals emptied by the civil war, and to provide for the expenses which the military reorganization of the frontiers necessitated. We have no knowledge of the wars of Vespasian, except that three times in the year 71 he assumed the title of *imperator*, and three times again the following year. But when we see him making Cappadocia an imperial proconsular province with numerous garrisons to check the incursions which desolated it; and, towards the Danube, extending his influence over the barbarians even beyond the Borysthenes;¹ when we read in Tacitus that Velleda, the prophetess of the Bructeri, was at that time brought a captive to Rome; that Cerialis vanquished the Brigantes and Frontinus the Silures, we must believe that Vespasian made a vigorous effort along the whole line of his outposts to impress upon foreign nations respect for the Roman name, which two years of anarchy had singularly diminished. These expeditions, even when successful, were a source of expense.

Here is the secret of that severe economy which appeared to the prodigal and light-minded a shameful stinginess. Vespasian one day declared to the Conscript Fathers that 4,000,000,000 sesterces, or according to another version 40,000,000,000, were needed by him to restore everything to good condition.² He conducted this work of reparation with boldness, re-establishing the taxes abolished under Galba, creating new ones, and augmenting those of the provinces. It was as much for this financial reorganization of the Empire that he had himself appointed censor as for its political and moral reorganization. The register of the survey of lands, which he caused to be drawn up, aided in discovering numerous estates and persons who were freed from taxes or had not been entered upon the rolls. He had them included, and the

¹ Orelli, No. 750.

² A milliard of francs, if one reads *quadragies*; ten milliards, if we retain *quadrings* (Suet., *Vesp.*, 16). See in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græc.*, vol. iv. p. 578 (Ed. Didot), two passages from John of Antioch and Suidas very favourable to Vespasian: . . . τὸν πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐν τὰς ἡδονάς, ἀλλ' ἐν τὰς ἀπορίας χρείας ἐποιεῖτο. Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 9) is very favourable to him and says, in reference to the accusation of avarice: *Uti quidam prave putant*. Eutropius (*Epit.*, vii. 13) accepts it, but adds that he never took anything from any person and that he loaded the indigent with gifts.

tribute of several provinces was found to have doubled.¹ Nero had foolishly bestowed immunities with lavish hand; Vespasian withdrew them, and created an additional profit to the treasury by forming new provinces, new taxable material. This is what he sought when he took away the franchises from eight states which had remained free, and which for the most part had made very ill use of their liberties. We comprehend all these measures. They are those of a statesman who knows how to find resources to meet necessary expenses.

He even opened a new source of permanent expenditure. Rude as he was in his manners and in his language, the son of the publican of Reate understood the influence of letters and the arts, and he protected them "by granting rich perquisites and magnificent presents to celebrated poets;² to famous artists—to the one, for instance, who restored the Venus of Cos, and to the statuary who repaired the Colossus. He even constituted an annual grant of 100,000 sesterces (20,000 francs) to the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric." Quintilian, who first received it, retained it for twenty years, and was in addition honoured with the consular ornaments. It is said that this unwonted liberality³—which gives to the veteran soldier to-day a claim to the eulogium of the friends of letters—arose less from a lively appreciation of literature than from a desire to control it, and it was the first instance of placing intellectual affairs under the official hand of the State. Doubtless Vespasian had no such purpose, and simply followed the current of opinion. The wants of a polished society developed in the midst of a rich and tranquil empire. The Romans, who could no longer act and knew not how to think outside the round of Greek ideas, occupied their protracted leisure in making in prose and verse continual variations on familiar themes. Everybody wrote and declaimed, and as they had *prudentes* to solve legal difficulties, they desired to have masters to elucidate questions of

¹ Frontin., *de Colon.*, ap. Goes., 126 and 146; Suet., *Vesp.*, 16.

² Suetonius doubtless alludes to the gift of 500,000 sesterces which Vespasian, on the testimony of Tacitus (*de Orat.*, 9), made to a famous poet of this time, Saleius Bassus, of whom we have no knowledge.

³ Augustus had already treated in a like manner Verrius Flaccus, son of a freedman, the most celebrated master of his time and to whom he intrusted the education of his grandsons. (Suet., *de Illust. Gramm.*, 17.)

grammar and rhetoric. Private persons established schools, libraries, and scholarships in favour of poor young men; the cities appointed public professors, or, as we say, founded chairs of instruction.¹ The State did as the cities did.

Besides, all that hitherto had been free activity and private industry came under regulation and took its place in the great machine constructed by the emperors. Already under Nero physicians had been placed in the line of official and municipal organization, by giving a salary, immunities, and a title to the physicians of the city or quarter, *archiatri populares*, and to the physicians of the palace, *archiatri palatini*, all of whom ended by exercising a sort of authority over the rest of their profession. Vespasian did the same for letters. By giving them a position at court and in the State he obeyed that spirit of classification which had been infused into the imperial government by Augustus. Thus the administration, like the devil-fish which in the free ocean arrests and devours all that passes within its reach, was going to seize and enfold gradually that which before had enjoyed a free existence. When it shall have succeeded in this work of absorption it will have suppressed all movement, all life. The perfection of the system will be, for the Empire, rigidity and then death.

It is, however, proper to remark that a part of the men of letters determined henceforth to draw from this fount which was opened to them, and calmed down their eloquence. Others continued their declamations against "the tyrants."

In suppressing civil war and political activity the government had thrown out of employment many persons who, after the proscriptions of the triumvirs, as among us after the Terror, had deemed themselves so happy in being alive that they had for many years demanded nothing more, and gladly repeated the line of the poet:

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

The peaceful and admired reign of Augustus is due to this

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 8; iv. 13: *Annus sumptus in alimenta ingenuorum . . . multis in locis . . . preceptores publice conducuntur.* They also enjoyed important privileges. All those *qui publice juvenibus prosunt* (*Digest*, xxvii. i. 6, § 5), philosophers, rhetoricians, grammarians, were exempt from trusteeships, from priestly offices, from municipal services, from the militia, and the obligation to act as judges in the tribunals or go on legations to the emperor. Physicians, *πεποικευται*, *id est circulatores*, had the same privileges. See chap. lxxxiii. § 4.

universal lassitude quite as much as to the wisdom of the prince; but in the long run, repose wearies, admiration palls, and *ennui* tires even of happiness. Since the reign of Tiberius there had been formed in Rome an opposition party, scantily endowed with ideas and political sense, rich in that piquant wit which delights in scandal, in empty and high-sounding words, the delight of the idle in the salons and under the porticoes. It was not a party with definite plans and ready to become a government, but isolated malcontents, incapable of action, and yet quite capable, as Seneca the Elder says, of risking their heads for a witticism. By their side were the cynic and Stoic philosophers, two sects quite indifferent to politics, but which furnished to weak brains fine themes for declamation against society and the State. "These men," said Mucianus, "are filled with a foolish pride. Let your beard grow, raise your eyebrows, wrap yourself in a ragged cloak and go without shoes—that is what constitutes a wise, courageous, and just man. The rest are worthy only of contempt. The nobles are fools, lesser men are small-minded, the handsome man is impure, the rich a robber, the poor a servant."¹ Juvenal, the echo of the popular antipathy against these fiery moralists who pretend to speak their mind to the crowd as they do to a prince, is harder yet about these "hypocrites." Vespasian, by his censorship, had furnished them with recruits, in expelling from the senate and from the equestrian order persons of bad character, who afterwards concealed their rancour beneath the philosopher's cloak. Such was that Palfurius Sura who, to please Nero, had contended in the arena against a young girl from Lacedæmon, and from whom Vespasian had taken his dishonoured consular toga. This disgrace made of him a Stoic and an austere person,² who clamoured for liberty and popular government up to the moment when, taken into favour again by Domitian, he became the most greedy of the delators, and then laboured, as juriconsult, to establish the theory of the absolute rights of the emperor. In the time of those princes who easily pronounced sentence of death, these men had said nothing, wrapped in their silence; a sad and resigned attitude had then been sufficient for their dignity; under the free and easy

¹ *Excerpta Vat.*, apud Dion, lxvi. 12.

² Juvenal, *Schol. ad Sat.*, iv. 53.

Vespasian they spoke, accused, and inveighed. At first the emperor paid no attention to these clamours; their virtue became indignant at this indifference, and as they incurred the risk of being forgotten they invited persecution, thinking that this would give them glory without martyrdom. Some even, intoxicated with pride and insolence at the imperturbable coolness of the prince, proceeded to brave every peril to obtain satisfaction for this harmful tranquillity. At last an old law of the Republic, which expelled strangers from the city, was invoked against them.¹ One of them who had been condemned to banishment because he publicly taught that the government of one was the worst government, was informed of the sentence in the midst of a harangue which he was at that moment making against monarchy; he continued his speech. Another, likewise punished by exile, sees the emperor coming. Instead of rising, or at least saluting the head of the Roman world, he insults him. Vespasian contented himself with saying: "You are doing your best to make me take away your life, but I do not kill a yelping cur." A third, Diogenes, constituting himself censor of the morals of the palace, openly inveighed against Titus in the theatre on account of his *liaison* with Queen Berenice; he was sentenced to be beaten with rods. Heras, his companion, at once recommenced, adding a mass of insults against the people; they cut off his head.²

These reformers, who go to the theatre to rail at the prince and the people, were ridiculous. Yet these public attacks upon the morals and ideas of the time are a grave symptom. At the same epoch other men also broke with the Roman society and its beliefs. The philosophic and religious reaction against a sensual paganism aroused apostles, and even martyrs, and the world entered upon a wholly new path, to be filled with dramatic incidents and generous sacrifices, but also where social ties will relax and the love for an earthly country grow feeble even to extinction.

† Vespasian put an end to these agitations by renewing against the Stoics and the cynics the *senatus-consulta* of the Republic,

¹ *Lex Junia de Peregrinis*, of the year 126 B.C.

² It is not known who this Heras was. Dion contents himself with saying (lxvi. 15): "Certain cynic philosophers having secretly entered (*παράκρυπτοντες*) Rome, went to the theatre and insulted the people." Perhaps this took place after the decree of banishment, which would explain the death of Heras.

which had debarred philosophers from residing at Rome. He made an exception for Musonius, the Roman knight previously proscribed by Nero, who seems to have followed the sect only in its good qualities. He would gladly have spared Helvidius also, the son-in-law of Thrasea and a man as honest as his father-in-law, but who was inopportunist republican and who thought liberty consisted in insulting power. What Demetrius and Diogenes did in the street Helvidius did at the senate-house and tribunal; he conspired in high office and at the heart of the government. During his prefecture he never mentioned Vespasian in his edicts, and when the prince returned to Rome he had saluted him by his family name, as if the emperor was in his eyes merely a private citizen. In the senate he argued vehemently against him; in the Forum, in the groups there assembled, his words were always eulogistic of popular government, and he never failed to celebrate by a festival the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius. It would have been difficult not to find this conduct seditious;¹ and as Helvidius was a senator, impunity would have been one of those indications of weakness which are shown by governments when approaching dissolution. Vespasian, urged by Mucianus, suffered him to be banished, and, some time afterwards, on the renewal of complaints, sent an order to put him to death. This order he immediately after wished to withdraw, but they deceived him by telling him it was too late. Did Helvidius take part in one of those numerous conspiracies spoken of by Suetonius?² We cannot answer, for we have knowledge of only one, that of Marcellus, a person of consular rank, and Cæcina, the old general under Vitellius. The latter had already won over a number of soldiers, when, on the eve of carrying it into effect, Titus, who had just seized a proclamation written by Cæcina's own hand, invited the general to a banquet, where he caused him to be assassinated—a just execution, doubtless, but very expeditious, and by its form worthy of the

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, v. 37. This is Dion's opinion, lxvi. 12.

² *Assiduus in se conjurationes* (*Vesp.*, 25). Aur. Victor (*de Cæs.*) says the same thing: *conjurationum multas*. The words do not contradict what we said on page 649. The happy effects to be produced by the renewal of the aristocratic body could not make themselves felt at once, and the ancient nobles retained among the knights and in the senate, or expelled from the two orders, preserved their character as malcontents and their habits of conspiracy.

worst days. Marcellus, condemned by the senate, cut his own throat.¹

No emperor since Tiberius bestowed so much attention on the affairs of allied or subject nations as Vespasian. He revived the system of colonies and worked it on a large scale, in order to increase the Roman element in the provinces. We may recognize in the name *Flavian*, borne by many cities, the towns to which he and his sons, but he especially, sent out veterans, and we certainly do not know all of them.² We have seen him everywhere undertaking useful public works, and enrolling the prominent persons of the provinces in the senate and in the equestrian order. During his sojourn in Egypt he had made strict reforms in that country, which had drawn upon him the ridicule of the turbulent Alexandrians. In Judæa he thought he had stifled a volcano, which, before it is extinguished, will yet shake the entire East. The Jews who had escaped the slaughter had fled in two directions: along the borders of the Tigris, whither they carried their impotent hatred, and into Africa, where 1,000,000 of their co-religionists had long before preceded them. On finding themselves so numerous there they wished to renew the war which had just closed with the ruin of Jerusalem. For a moment they succeeded in creating a disturbance at Alexandria, where they pulled down the statues of the emperor; but, betrayed by their brethren at Cyrene, at Thebes, and throughout all Egypt, they perished in the midst of tortures, and Vespasian shut up the temple which the high-priest Onias had built in the vicinity of Heliopolis.³ A few Greeks who had been drawn into these disturbances were spared; a sedition which broke out later at Antioch was punished with no greater severity: Vespasian paid little heed to these paroxysms of municipal turbulence in the populace of the large Greek cities, provided the general good order was not compromised.

He was more severe towards a prince of that vicinity. Antiochus, king of Commagene, had fought for Otho at Bedriacum

¹ This Marcellus, a man of obscure birth, was a sad fellow. Nero gave him 5,000,000 sesterces as a recompense for having procured the condemnation of Thrasea.

² Icosium, which was colonized by Vespasian, does not bear the added name of Flavian city (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 1). He seems also to have established veterans at Reate (Orelli, No. 3,685).

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 10, 37.

and for Titus under the walls of Jerusalem; but, suspected of being in communication with the Parthians, he was dispossessed, and Vespasian reduced his kingdom to the rank of a province. Tiberius had already once placed under the direction of the Empire this important point of the oriental frontier. The destiny of this



Antioch, on the Orontes (Statue also called the Genius of Antioch).¹

royal family marks the improvement in morals which we shall have occasion to notice later. Formerly captive kings were put to death and their children reduced to an abject condition; a son of this Antiochus received the ornaments of the prefecture, then rose to the consulate and was admitted to the high priesthood of the *Fratres Arvales*.² By joining Cappadocia to Galatia to form one

¹ Vatican, *Musæo Pio-Clem.*, iii. pl. 46.

² *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 552. It is by Trajan that he was *allectus inter prætorios*.

imperial consular province,¹ re-uniting Pontus to the senatorial province of Bithynia, but placing it under the supervision of a prefect of the Pontic coast,² and by the colonies of Sinope, Samosata, Neapolis, Emmaus, he fortified this line of oriental frontiers, which in an extent of 200 leagues everywhere bordered on the barbarians. So the peace was not disturbed during all this reign, and when Vologeses, irritated because he had not been assisted against the Alani, wrote to the emperor with disdain and reproach, a few preparations, or, as an ancient writer says, the mere apprehension of war, checked the barbarians.

Vespasian everywhere drew closer the bonds of the Empire, which Nero had so greatly relaxed. He withdrew from the Lycians the liberty which the successor of Claudius had doubtless restored to them, and re-united them to Pamphylia. Greece also lost the independence which her fawning flatteries had won her, and Rhodes became the capital of the new province of the Isles. But he always respected the concession of city rights made by his predecessors, since they tended to the end which he dimly saw to be necessary, the fusion of nations and the unity of the Empire. Thrace, that other barrier of the Roman world, was, since the time of Claudius, territory of the Empire and placed under the authority of the governor of Mœsia. In order that this officer might not be diverted from the rigorous supervision which he ought to exercise along the Danube, Vespasian formed, at the expense of Bithynia and Asia, a new province called the Hellespont, to which he attached Thrace; Byzantium, on this occasion, lost its liberty.

This manipulation of the provinces would indicate another scheme, that of dividing the governments, now of too much importance, which Augustus had gladly established in the East, to concentrate the forces and better insure resistance to the Parthians. Vespasian, who had proven in his own case how greatly these extensive commands favoured the projects of the ambitious, made a separate government of Palestine, and further diminished the importance and forces of the proconsul of Syria by constituting Commagene

¹ Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. v. p. 348.

² Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 18, 32. According to an inscription of the year 75 found in the suburbs of Tiflis, Vespasian aided the king of the Iberians to fortify his capital against the Parthians. (*Journal asiatique*, vol. ix. p. 93.)

and Cappadocia military provinces, as we have just seen. The same idea doubtless induced him to separate Thrace from Mœsia.

We know nothing about the borders of the Rhine and of the Danube. As to them, we must conclude that the firm discipline re-established by Vespasian maintained peace. We only see that Mœsia has so well cleared its valleys which but lately were in a wild state that she is in a position to send great quantities of grain to Rome.¹ This fact speaks much for the power of colonization which this Roman race possessed. Vespasian doubtless profited by one of the lessons which the civil war had taught, when he established in front of the Julian Alps a colony at *Flavium Solvense*, on the same road which Antonius Primus had followed, so that another would have less facility in crossing this barrier of Italy. Helvetia had suffered much during the Vitellian war; he furnished aid, for his name is found in several inscriptions of this country, unfortunately too defaced to furnish us any useful hints.² One of them reminds us that a triumphal arch had been erected in honour of his son Titus, near *Vindonissa* (Windisch), by the country inhabitants, *vicani*.³ In Gaul a rigorous search had been made for the fomentors of the last insurrection; we have seen that one of the principal chiefs, Sabinus, discovered after the lapse of nine years, was conducted to Rome and executed—an act of cruelty which is a stain on the life of Vespasian, unless he had some imperious reason for not showing this time his wonted clemency.

Galba had given the *jus Latii* to the greater part of Gaul; Vespasian extended it to the whole of Spain. As Italy was becoming enfeebled it was prudence and justice to interest the most Roman provinces in the Empire. A short time before a Gaul, Vindex, overthrew Nero, and another, Antonius Primus, opened Rome to Vespasian. In twenty years will begin the Hispano-Gallic dynasty of those who are styled the Antonines.

The affairs of Britain are better known to us, thanks to Tacitus, whom we find here with his *Life of Agricola*. Three

¹ *Magno tritici modo annonam P. R. adlevavit* (Orelli, No. 750). Another inscription, of the time of Marcus Aurelius (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 753), gives to the great town of Sirmium the surname of Colonia Flavia Sirmatum; one of the three Flavians had, therefore, established a colony there.

² Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.*, 18, 168, 249.

³ *Id.*, 245, in the year 79.

skilful generals were in command there under Vespasian: Cerialis, who reduced the Brigantes to submission; Julius Frontinus, the author of the book of *Stratagems*, who brought the Silurii into subjection; Agricola, whose administration belongs to the history of the following reigns. Vespasian, skilful in choosing men, which is an especially royal quality, also knew how to stimulate devotion by honouring merit. He one day delivered in the crowded senate a brilliant eulogium of that skilful governor of Moesia of whom we have already spoken, and he allowed his words to be engraved on a marble slab which we still possess, with the enumeration of all the services which Plautius had rendered to the State.¹

Vespasian was near the end of his laborious career. He was sixty-nine years old, and was at his little house in the territory of Reate when he felt the approach of death. "I feel that I am becoming a god," he said to those around him, laughing in advance at his apotheosis. He no longer had any respect for omens, at least not at this moment. He was told of the appearance of a comet as if it were an infallible augury: "That concerns the king of the Parthians, who is long-haired [*comatus*]," said he, "and not me who am bald;"² the words of a superstitious man who ended as a sceptic. Up to his last moment manly thoughts occupied his mind; he received deputations, gave orders, provided for all his affairs, and, feeling the approach of dissolution, "an emperor," he said, "ought to die standing." He attempted to rise and expired in this effort on the 23rd of June, 79.

The first plebeian emperor has had no historian, but a few words of his biographer suffice for his renown: *rem publicam stabilivit et ornavit*, "by him the State was strengthened and glorified." Pliny says also: "Greatness and majesty produced in him no other effect than to render his power of doing good equal to his desire." We may add that this soldier who was made emperor by the legions was wiser than Trajan, who was more highly extolled: he demanded everything from peace, nothing from war.

¹ Orelli, No. 750.

² Dion, lxxvi. 17.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

TITUS AND DOMITIAN (79-96 A.D.).

I.—TITUS (79-81).

VESPASIAN being dead, Titus¹ assumed the title of Augustus. Brought up at the court of Nero among the young companions of Britannicus, he was present near his friend, and perhaps tasted the poison.² He served with distinction as tribune in Germany and in Britain, and we have seen that he terminated the war in Judæa. The soldiers counted him among the bravest, the chiefs esteemed him the most skilful, and his agreeable manners made him a host of friends. Yet the fondness which he showed for banquets and spectacles, his severity in the administration of the prefecture of the prætorium, and the murder of Cæcina awakened anxiety. But he had profited by the lessons of his father. The government of 80,000,000 of men appeared to him a matter serious enough to require that he should attend only to public affairs. His father had prepared him for this by taking him as associate in the Empire;³ he had given to him the title of Cæsar, the censorship, the tribunitian power, the prefecture of the prætorium, and seven consulates. Coming into power at the age of maturity, rich in experience and satiated with pleasures by his very excesses, he had henceforth but one passion, that of the public welfare. At the outset he dismissed his boon companions; in his father's lifetime he had already sacrificed to Roman prejudices his tender sentiments for the Jewish queen Berenice, whom he had sent back

¹ Titus Flavius Vespasianus, born at Rome on the 30th of December, 41, the year of the birth of Agricola (Suet., *Tit.*, 2). He was accordingly thirty-eight and a half years old when he came to the throne.

² It was so thought, says Suetonius, and he was long and dangerously ill (*Tit.*, 2).

³ *Participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere* (Suet. *Tit.*, 6). He bore, even in the lifetime of Vespasian, the title of *imperator* (Orelli, No. 751), not as a first name, as did the reigning prince, but because he had triumphed with his father.

to the East.¹ In taking possession of the supreme pontificate he declared that he would keep his hands pure from blood, and he



Titus (Bust of the Gallery of the Uffizi).

kept his word: no one under his reign perished by his orders. Two young patricians had been condemned to death for conspiring

¹ She was the daughter of Agrippa, the last king of the Jews, sister of young Agrippa, the king of Ituria, and widow of her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, and of Polemon, king of Cilicia. She was thirteen years older than Titus, and consequently fifty-two years old at the death of

against his person; he pardoned them, made them sit by his side at the games of the circus, and handed them the swords of the gladiators which were presented to him: a mark of confidence attended with slight danger perhaps, but one which was greatly applauded. Vespasian, menaced by continual plots, had treated with consideration certain remains of the ancient tyranny, the delators and suborners of witnesses, without employing their services; Titus had them beaten with rods, sold, or transported. He ruined delation even, when he refused to receive accusations of high treason, when he forbade entering complaint of an act under several laws, and when he accorded the right of prescription to the dead, by prohibiting attacks upon their memory after the expiration of a certain limit which he fixed.

It was to be feared that this kindness might degenerate into weakness.

Thus Tiberius had wisely enacted that favours conferred by one prince, unless individually confirmed by his successor, should become void. Titus recognized by a single act the validity of all prior concessions.² This was

Vespasian. But it is probable that she left Rome five years earlier. She returned there at the accession of Titus, but without changing the resolution of the prince. Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 7; xx. 5, etc.; Suet. *Tit.*, 7; Dion, lxi. 15, 18.

¹ Statue of the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 56.

² *Quum ex instituto Tiberii omnes dehinc Cæsares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter rata non haberent, quam si eadem iisdem et ipsi dedissent, primus præterita omnia*



Clemency, under the features of Julia, daughter of Titus.¹

more monarchical, since the imperial will seemed then one and immutable, despite the diversity of princes; but it was depriving himself of a useful control and giving the rein to an avidity which no fear of the future now held in check. Accordingly applicants crowded forward; no one was repulsed; and when his counsellors became alarmed at these gifts, which were impoverishing

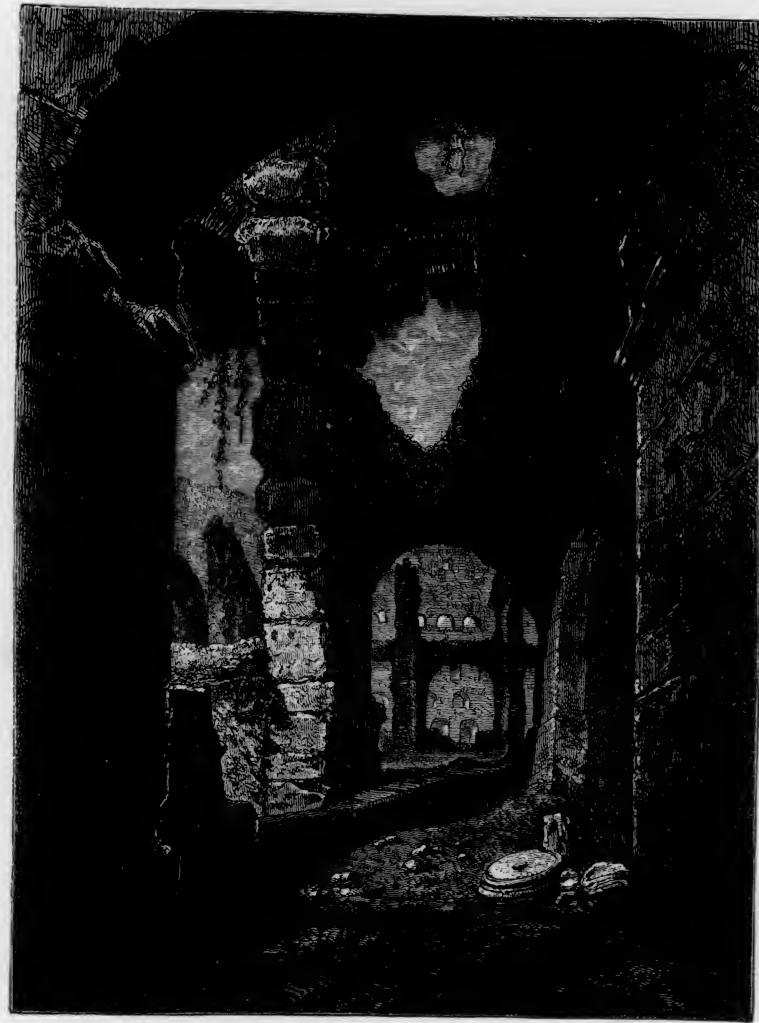


Portion of the Arena of the Coliseum.

the treasury, and at so many promises which he could not fulfil: "No one," said he, "ought to go away downcast from the presence of his prince." To the people, who solicited neither promotion nor office, he gave, at the dedication of the Coliseum, magnificent games which lasted a hundred days, a naval fight, gladiators, and 5,000 wild beasts. From a stage erected in the theatre he scattered among the crowd wooden balls, each containing an order for provisions or clothing, for vases of gold or silver, for

uno confirmavit edicto (Suet., *Tit.*, 8). Our kings, in the Middle Ages, made the principle of Tiberius a rule of law for the royal domain.

slaves, equipages, and entire flocks. He built new warm baths, to which he admitted the public while he was himself bathing in



A Corridor of the Coliseum.

them; and, in order that they might recover, in the festivities, at least, their lost sovereignty, he showed them great deference, joked with those present at the theatre, declaring that all should

proceed according to the wishes of the assembly and not his own; that the spectators had only to ask for what they desired to obtain it immediately. A greatly overrated saying illustrates this good-natured easy temper: "Oh, my friends!" he sighed, one evening when he had not made any gift since morning; "Oh, my friends, I have lost my day!"

The duties of an emperor are more austere, and popularity thus won at the expense of the State's resources is not the best; but that which Titus gained was of course immense after the



Remains of the Baths of Titus.

harsh administration of Vespasian. Let us hasten to state that communities suffering under any calamity found him as prompt to alleviate their miseries as the courtiers to satisfy their desires. An eruption of Vesuvius overwhelmed Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae; pestilence carried off thousands of people even in Rome; and at last a conflagration, which raged three days, consumed once more the Capitol, the library of Augustus, and Pompey's theatre. To Campania Titus sent men of consular rank with large sums of money, and he devoted to the relief of the survivors the property that had fallen to the treasury through the death of those who had perished in the disaster without leaving heirs. At Rome he



Titus (Statue in the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 26, found near the Church of S. John Lateran, 1828).

took upon himself the work of repairing everything, and to provide the requisite funds he sold the furniture of the imperial palace. This lavish expenditure, which was in some instances necessary, might possibly reduce Domitian to financial straits, and we shall see how Domitian escaped the difficulty.

This reign lasted only twenty-six months, from the 23rd of June, A.D. 79, to the 13th of September, A.D. 81. As Titus was about to visit his paternal estate in the Sabine territory he was seized by a violent fever, which soon left no hope of his recovery. There is a report that he partly opened the curtains of his litter and gazed at the sky with eyes full of tears and reproaches. "Why," he exclaimed, "must I die so soon? In all my life I have, however, but one thing to repent." What was this? No one knows. Let us not investigate,¹ nor state on the other hand that the shortness of this reign



Apotheosis of Titus.²

did not leave time for his love of the public good to expire, for popular praise to grow faint, and for obstacles to rise in his path.³ Good name among emperors is too rare for us to refuse Titus the appellation bestowed on him by his contemporaries: the *Delight of the human race*.

Some writers have alluded to poison which Domitian was reputed to have given him; but Suetonius, who is so prone to accept sinister rumours, does not believe this, and the physicians of Titus told Plutarch that this prince was killed by the injudicious use of warm baths. The Jews had much fuller information about this premature death, and the *Talmud* still relates that as Titus was returning to Italy with the sacred vessels which he had taken

¹ Was it the murder of Cæcina without form of trial?

² From a bas-relief on the triumphal arch of this prince.

³ This is the opinion of Dion, Zonaras, Ausonius, etc. *Felix brevitate regni.* Julian, *les Césars*, 7, reproaches him with lax morals.

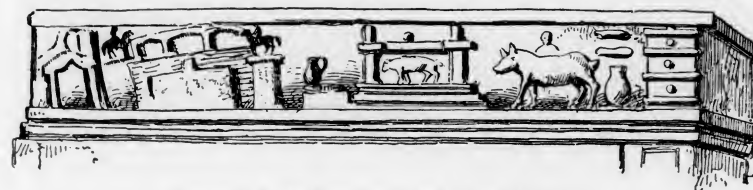
from the temple of Jehovah he was assailed by a furious tempest. "The god of the Jews," he exclaimed, "has power then only on the sea where he has already overwhelmed Pharaoh. If he is really God, let him fight with me on land." At these words a voice replied: "Wretch, thou child of a wretch, I have created an infinitely little creature; and it shall fight for me." The instant Titus had touched the shore of Italy a gnat crept into his nostrils and lodged in his brain, which it gnawed for seven years. One day the prince was passing by a blacksmith's forge and the noise of the hammer on the anvil stopped the insect and the excruciating torture. Titus thereupon gave four pieces of silver daily to a man who kept close to him and struck incessantly on an anvil. For a month the plan succeeded; but at the expiration of this time the insect became accustomed to the noise and resumed its ravages. When Titus was dead his head was opened, and a gnat was found as large as a swallow, armed with claws of iron and a brazen beak. With this anecdote, which they related to their children, the Jews pursued with their implacable hate the memory of the destroyer of Jerusalem.

The occasion for joining the history of the earth to that of man is rarely afforded, because changes in the outline of the globe, although great with reference to the whole of a geological epoch, take place in an imperceptible manner. For the time of Titus, however, the record of a sudden and terrible shock has been preserved: the eruption of Vesuvius after a repose of perhaps 2,000 years, and the destruction of several Campanian cities.

The ancients had perfectly realized the volcanic nature of this mountain; but none of those who have preserved for us the most remote traditions knew that it had poured forth fire. At the first century of our era there remained only one half of the original crater, which can still be recognized, the *Somma*; the other half, fronting the sea, had fallen in and the place of the actual crater was occupied by a broad plateau, whose sides were covered with vines, while its summit was full of bushes, the haunts of wild boars. To form an idea of the region as it then was we must suppress the cone of black cinders over 1,300 feet high, which rises above the old plateau and from which the traveller has an incomparable view of Naples, its bay, its islands, and the cities

that lie close together along those enchanted shores, while beneath his feet the mouth of the volcano is filled with threatening noises, smoke, and with sulphurous vapours, which leave here and there on the stones that have fallen on its rim brilliant tints of red, yellow, orange, and violet, as if to place upon the brow of the sombre mountain the remains of a shattered diadem.

An earthquake, which, on the 5th of February, A.D. 63, shook Campania and overthrew almost the entire city of Pompeii,¹ proclaimed that the subterranean fires were resuming their activity. Calm, however, returned and lasted sixteen years,² until the middle of summer, 79 A.D. Then the ground began to heave again; wells



Souvenir of the Earthquake of A.D. 63 at Pompeii.³

and springs dried up, the sea boiled, and dull rumblings were heard. Finally, on the 23rd of August, an immense cloud, resembling a gigantic pine, whose top rose nearly 10,000 feet high, appeared above Vesuvius, dark, and spreading night around it, but constantly rent by lightning. Pliny the naturalist, who was in command of the fleet at Misenum, was astonished by this strange phenomenon, and wished with scientific curiosity to study it near at hand. He had the galleys fitted out to take on board the marines stationed at Resina, and the dwellers on the coast, who were wild with terror. But a shoal had suddenly been formed,

¹ Sen., *Quæst. nat.*, vi. 1. Herculaneum was likewise partially destroyed. Nuceria, and even Naples, suffered from the shock.

² According to an inscription A.D. 76, Herculaneum was again disturbed by an earthquake in that year, unless Vespasian had restored in A.D. 76 the ruins made in A.D. 63, which is scarcely probable.

³ Frieze of a family altar discovered at Pompeii in 1875 in the house of the banker L. C. Jucundus, upon which is represented in relief the earthquake of A.D. 63. Here are the columns of the temple of Jupiter in a leaning position, and at the sides equestrian statues on the point of falling; at the right, a bull is being led, as an expiatory victim, to the altar of the Pompeian Venus. Troubled about the future, the banker had sought to spare his house the return of a like calamity by sacrifices to the tutelary deity of the city. (E. Pressuhn, *Pompeii, les dernières fouilles de 1874 à 1878.*)

and he could not reach the shore, where the waves were breaking with fury, while cinders and stones rained down upon the vessels. The position was becoming dangerous and of no use to any one, and he therefore moved a little further on and landed at Stabiae. There he beheld Vesuvius wrapped in flames, the lava rushing from the new crater which it had just opened and flowing down the lateral fissures, the combustible gases which burst into flames as they came in contact with the air, and last of all the cloud that continually hung over the mountain, and, in the midst of the darkness which shrouded the whole country, reflected the tremendous conflagration. Pliny observed all these phenomena tranquilly, took notes and dictated. Towards evening he retired to rest and slept soundly. But the court of the house became filled with cinders, and the very house threatened to sink in. His attendants roused him and he hurried out, after covering his head with a pillow on account of the falling stones. The party assembled on the shore, but the sea was very rough and no one could embark. Pliny, who was very stout and utterly exhausted by his hard walk, lay down at full length on the ground. At this moment flames seemed to draw near, preceded by a sulphurous smell. He arose once with the assistance of two slaves, but too late, and fell back again, doubtless suffocated by the carbonic acid which is freely disengaged in volcanic eruptions, and being heavier than air remains on the surface of the ground, where Pliny had inhaled it when he lay down.¹ He was only fifty-six years old.

While Pliny was dying at Stabiae, Pompeii, a small mercantile city of 12,000 inhabitants, built near the mouth of the Sarno upon an old overflow of lava, was buried under sixteen feet of pumice stone and cinders; Herculaneum, under sixty or eighty feet of liquid mud,² which has been solidified by time, and to-day supports the two cities of Portici and Resina. Upon a *tessera* or theatre

¹ All this, except the conclusion, of course, is taken from a letter of the younger Pliny, the adopted son of his uncle. A second letter, describing his mother's flight and his own, completes his interesting narrative.

² M. Fouqué has calculated that in 1865 Etna sent forth so much watery vapour that this vapour, after cooling in the upper regions of the atmosphere and descending in the form of rain upon the mountain, covered it with about 28,000 cubic yards of water. A similar fact occurs in all eruptions. In A.D. 79 this torrent fell upon Herculaneum, carrying with it enormous masses of cinders, which filled up the streets, covered the houses, and rose from 30 to 40 feet above the highest buildings.

token found at Pompeii were marked the place where its possessor was to sit and the title of a comedy of Plautus, *Casina*, which was perhaps given the evening before the city perished.

Two-fifths of Pompeii are now cleared, and the visitor has the



Street in Pompeii.¹

strange spectacle of a Roman city coming to light after eighteen centuries: a small city to be sure, with small houses, narrow streets, monuments devoid of grandeur, art without splendour though not without grace, and yet all this produces a profound impression.²

¹ We give a chromo-lithographic impression of the fresco of Orpheus discovered in 1874 at Pompeii, not on account of its value as a work of art, but because the early Christians adopted the myth of Orpheus to represent Christ subduing fiery passions, and because they reproduced it on their tombs.

² The greater part of the inhabitants of Pompeii succeeded in escaping with their riches, or returned to seek them by entering through the upper stories (houses with three stories were rare). Still, a certain number perished. Some 500 or 600 skeletons have already been found, although half of the city has not yet been searched. Cf. *Descrizione di Pompei*, by M. Fiorelli, who is so skilfully superintending the excavations. Not a single manuscript has

"If we wish," says M. Boissier, "to appreciate the fine houses of Pompeii as we ought, and to account for the attractions which they must have had for their owners, we must renounce certain prejudices. The inhabitants of this charming city seem



Remains of the Temple of Venus at Pompeii.

engrossed in seeking first of all their comfort, but they did not find it where we do. Every age, in this respect, has its own opinions and preferences, and there is a fashion in being happy as in everything else. If we allowed ourselves to be too much swayed by this tyranny of custom, which does not permit us to

been discovered at Pompeii except, in 1875, the account books of the banker Jucundus: but a bookseller's shop was found, though empty. Herculaneum, on the contrary, has already furnished 1,756, of which about 500 have been unrolled and read. Unfortunately they possess little interest. [They belong to the library of an Epicurean philosopher, and will certainly give us much important information, as they have already done, on that system. But who can tell that the philosopher did not possess a copy of Sappho or Menander among his serious books? The unrolled portions are printed in the *Volumina Herculensia*, in course of publication for many years at Naples.—*Ed.*] With regard to Pompeii, see the curious volume published by the royal government for the eighteenth centenary of the eruption, and Boissier, *Promenades archéologiques*, pp. 287-378.



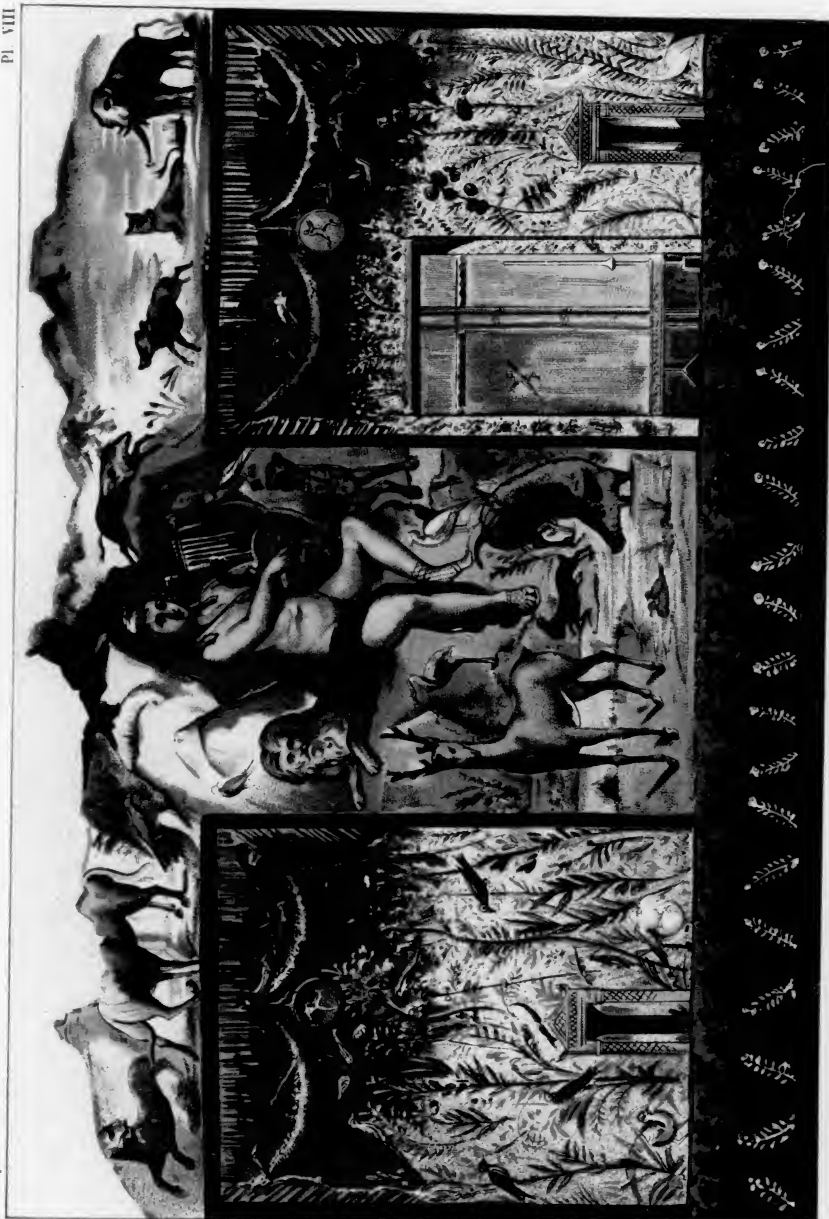
"If we wish," says M. Rossier, "to appreciate the fine houses of Pompeii as we must, and to account for the attractions which they must have had for their owners, we must renounce certain prejudices. The inhabitants of this charming city seem



Remains of the houses of Pompeii.

unaffected in manner, but of all their comfort, but they did not feel as what we do. Every age, in this respect, has its own spirit, and preferences, and there is a fashion in being happy as in everything else. We allowed ourselves to be too much swayed by the tyrants of custom, which does not permit us to

be dissatisfied at Pompeii except of some ancient books of the famous Justinian, but a scholar's shop has found, among many, a manuscript, on the contrary, has already been found (1796) of which there are two, one in the library and one in the museum. These books are in the hands of the famous philosopher, and will certainly give us most important information as to the life of the day, as they have. But who can tell that the philosopher did not possess a copy of the famous Menander among his serious books? The ancient person are printed in the *Epistolarum* of Menander, in course of publication for some years at Naples (Ed.). With regard to Pompeii, see the various volumes published by the royal government for the sixtieth anniversary of the eruption, and Rossier, *Pompeii* (Louvain) pp. 282-275.



Pompeii, chronolith.

ORPHEUS CHARMING THE ANIMALS

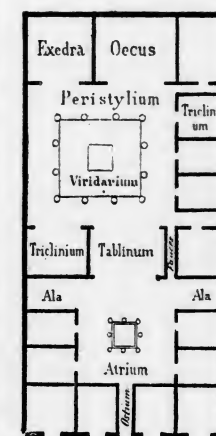
Fresco at Pompeii

think it possible to live otherwise than we live, the houses of Pompeii might perhaps seem to us small and inconvenient. But if we forget a moment our ideas and usages, if we try to become Romans in thought, we shall find that their inmates had admirably constructed them for their own use and that they were perfectly suited to all their tastes and needs. It is a difficult matter to-day in our large cities, even for the rich, to possess a separate mansion for themselves. Most of them take

lodgings in houses which they share with many other persons. Their apartments are made up of a series of capacious, well-ventilated rooms, with large windows through which air and light are admitted from streets and squares. There is nothing similar to this in Pompeii, where the number of houses occupied by a single family is very considerable. The principal rooms are all on the ground floor.¹ The richest inhabitants built themselves houses situated on four streets, thus occupying the whole block. If they were economical they cut off from this vast plot of ground some strips which they let for a good sum. Sometimes these shops occupy the whole exterior of the mansion. While with us the *façade*

of the house is carefully reserved for the finest apartments, in Pompeii it was given up to trade or else closed with thick walls in which there were no openings. The whole house, instead of looking towards the street, faces the interior. It only communicated with the outer world by the regular entrance door that was strictly closed and guarded; there were few windows, and these only in the upper stories. Families wished to live in private, far from the indifferent and from strangers. To-day what we call

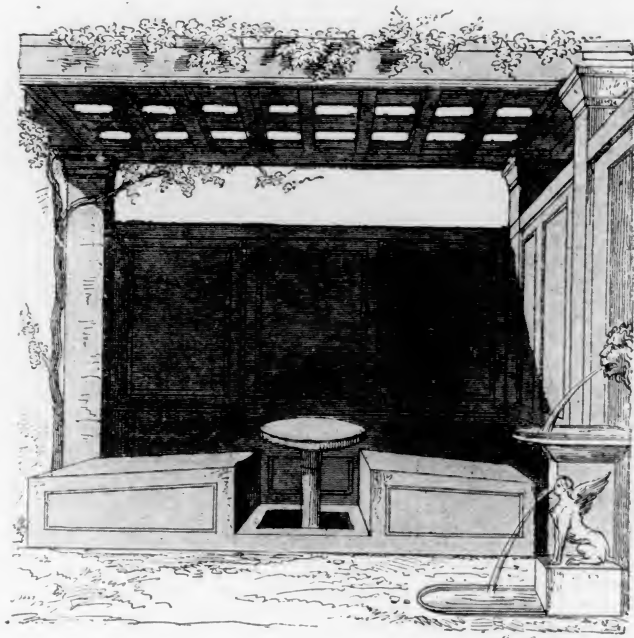
DOMVS POMPEIANA

Plan of Pompeian House.²

¹ The upper stories must have been reserved for the least important rooms. They are reached by steep and narrow flights of steps. There is nothing resembling the grand staircase of modern houses, which leads to all the stories at once and is common to all the apartments. In Nissen's writings (*Pompeian Stud.*, p. 602) will be found some very ingenious remarks about the part which this staircase plays in our dwellings and the character it has given them. Of all parts of the modern house it is what a Pompeian would least have understood.

² According to Steecher, *Les plus belles murailles de Pompéi*, cahier iii. pl. 1.

home life belongs largely to the public. People enter our houses with ease, and when they do not come we wish at least to see them through our spacious windows. With the ancients private life was more really secluded than with us. The head of the house did not care to look into the streets, and he was specially averse to having persons gaze into his abode from the street. Even within his house he had divisions and distinctions. The part



Grove or Pavilion of the House called Actæon's, at Pompeii.

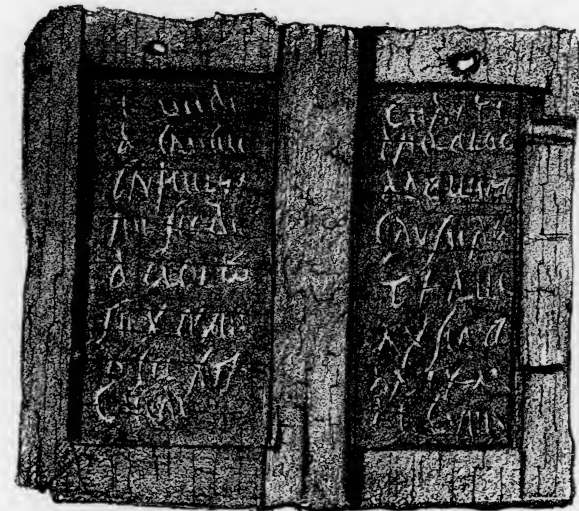
where he welcomed strangers was not that to which he retired with his family, and one could not easily penetrate into this sanctuary, which was separated from every other part by corridors, closed by doors or hangings, and guarded by porters. The owner received when he wished, he remained in seclusion when so inclined; and in case any client, more troublesome and obstinate than usual, lingered in the vestibule to meet him on his way out, he had a back door (*posticum*) on a narrow street, which permitted him to escape.

"Those who find the rooms of the Pompeian houses rather too



The Interior of Pansa's House at Pompeii, restored.

narrow to suit them have already been answered that the inmates



Tablets containing Receipts, found at Pompeii in 1875.¹

spent a large part of their days away from home, under the

¹ On the 3rd of July, 1875, there were discovered in the house of L. C. Jucundus several

porticoes of the Forum or the theatres. We must add that if the rooms are not large, they are numerous. The Roman used his residence as he did his slaves; he had different rooms for each event of the day as he had servants for every necessity of life. Each room in his house is made precisely for the use to which it is destined. He is not satisfied, as we are, with a single dining-room; but he has several of different sizes, and he changes them according to the season and the number of friends whom he desires to entertain. The chamber where he takes his siesta during the day, and that to which he retires for sleep at night, are very small; they only admit light and air through the door, which is not a disadvantage in the south, where coolness is promoted by darkness. Besides, he only remains there while he is sleeping. For the rest of the time he has a court that is closed, or nearly closed, called *atrium*, and an open court or *peristylum*.

"Here he prefers to stay when he is at home. He finds himself not only with his wife and children, but under the eyes of his servants and sometimes in their society. In spite of his fancy for seclusion and isolation, of which I have spoken, he does not shun their company, for the family of antiquity is more extended than ours. It embraces, to a lower degree, the slave and the freedman, so that the master, while living with them, always considers himself with his own household. These open and closed courts, where the family passes its life, are found in all Pompeian houses without exception; they are indispensable to furnish light for the rest of the dwelling. Consequently all persons, even the poorer classes, took pleasure in ornamenting them tastefully and sometimes with profusion. If the extent of ground permitted it, various shrubs were planted, a few flowers were made to grow. Moralists¹ and people of the world sneered at these miniature gardens between four walls; but it was very easy for them to talk thus, while they possessed magnificent villas with great trees and with vine-arbours hanging

hundred little wooden tablets, which had been deposited in a wooden chest that was partly recovered, and which are entirely carbonized. They were originally tied in twos or threes by means of strings passing through two holes. The two exterior faces are joined: the interior surfaces, slightly hollowed and protected from rubbing by a border, were covered with wax, on which letters were cut with a sharp instrument. Most of these tablets refer to auctions which Jucundus held as broker, and contain receipts made to the banker. (Pressuhn, *op. cit.* *Maison de L. Juc.*, pl. viii., Nos. 4 and 5.)

¹ See what Fabianus says on this subject (Sen., *Controv.*, ii., pref.).

from elegant columns. Every one does as well as he can, and I confess that I could not be harsh to these poor creatures who were so determined to place a little verdure before their eyes. I am more vexed with them on account of their love for those little streamlets which they pompously styled *curiæ*, for the grottoes of rock or shell which are simply pretentious baubles. Their excuse is the fact that this uncouth taste has been shared by the middle classes of all countries and in all ages. Those in Pompeii, at least, far surpassed others through the precautions which they took to keep their eyes from any unpleasant object. They possessed beautiful mosaics, brilliant stuccoes, incrustations of marble on which their eyes loved to rest. The dazzling brightness of the white stones was everywhere softened by agreeable tints; the walls were painted in grey or black, the columns, tinted with yellow or red, and along the cornices ran graceful arabesques, composed of interlacing flowers, where, at intervals, were blended birds that never existed and landscapes that have nowhere been seen. These whims of the imagination that signify nothing pleased the eye and did not try the mind. From time to time a mythological scene, painted without pretension and with bold strokes, recalled to the owner some masterpiece of antique art, and let him enjoy it through this souvenir. Sometimes this petty householder was fortunate enough to possess a bronze imitation of one of the most beautiful works of the Greek sculptors, a dancing satyr, an athlete in combat, a god, a goddess, a performer on the cithara, etc.¹ He knew its value, comprehended its beauty, and placed it on a pedestal in an *atrium* or his *peristyle*, so as to gaze fondly at it whenever he came in or went out. They were happy people, those rich Pompeians! They knew how to adorn their life with all the charms of comfort, to elevate it by the enjoyment of the arts, and I believe that many important persons in our largest cities would be tempted to envy the lot of the obscure citizens of this little town."

¹ From Pompeii and Herculaneum, that is to say, from two cities of the second order, come the beautiful bronzes in the Museum of Naples which are the admiration of foreigners. Among the middle classes of our provincial towns nothing similar would be found. We must add that the finest treasures in Pompeii were not left there. We know that the inhabitants made excavations after the catastrophe, and that they returned to take away their most precious possessions. We have then to-day only what could not be found at that time or what they neglected to take. (Boissier, *Promenades archéol.*, pp. 314-318.)

II.—DOMITIAN (81-96); WISE ADMINISTRATION OF HIS FIRST YEARS.

The youth of Domitian¹ had been worthy of the times of Nero, and he had wearied his father and brother by his intrigues. Nevertheless he was sober, to the extent of taking but one meal a day,² and he had a taste for military exercises,³ for study and poetry, especially since the elevation of his family. Vespasian had granted him honours, but no power, and, at the death of Titus, he had only the titles of Cæsar and Prince of the Youth. In his hurry to seize at last that Empire so long coveted he abandoned his dying brother to rush to Rome, to the camp of the prætorians. A *donativum* and the eagerness of the Romans to accept hereditary right whenever it appeared assured him a place which no one moreover was prepared to dispute.

On the day of their coronation there are few bad princes. Almost all begin well, but, in despotic monarchies, the majority end badly, particularly when the reigns are of long duration. Nero, if Britannicus is forgotten, was for five years a good emperor, but absolute power is a downward slope with a precipice at the end. The passions, if not subdued, and adverse circumstances, if not overcome, lead in time into the abyss. Domitian reigned fifteen years, one year longer than Nero, and his reign reproduced the same story: at first a wise government, then every excess. Happily the excesses did not come till late: his *quinquennium* lasted thirteen years.

The two tyrannies differed again in another respect: one had brilliant, sometimes joyous aspects; the other, notwithstanding the magnificence of the festivals, was sad and gloomy. The entire reign of the "bald⁴ Nero" was like that of Tiberius in his latter

¹ Titus Flavius Domitianus, born at Rome October 23rd, A.D. 51.

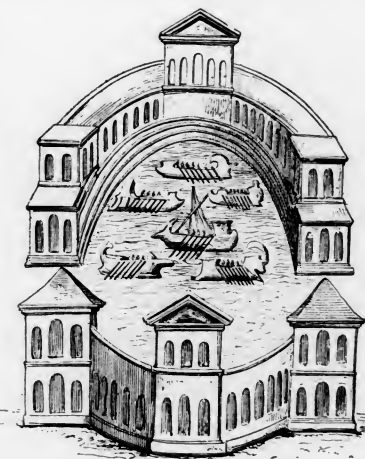
² Before and after this single repast he only took a little fruit and a glass of wine. Yet he gave magnificent banquets, but did not tolerate any excess at them, and obliged his guests to leave the table before sunset.

³ He was so skilful in drawing the bow that he made his arrows pass between the open fingers of a slave or drove two of them, from great distances, into the head of an animal running so as to represent two horns (?). Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, in *proem.*) and Quintilian (x. 1, 91) speak highly of his verses. Suetonius says that as soon as he became emperor he ceased to compose any.

⁴ Juvenal, *Sat.*, iv. 38.

years. Fully as vain as the son of Agrippina, Domitian heaped every title upon his own head and decreed deification to himself. His edicts stated: "Our lord and our god ordains . . ."¹ The new god did not scorn vulgar honours. At the close of an inglorious expedition he assumed twenty-four lictors and the right to sit in the senate in the garb of a conqueror.² He was consul seventeen times, and twenty-two times did he have himself proclaimed *imperator* for victories that had not always been gained. He recalled Nero too by his fond-

ness for shows and for building; he revived the Neronian games, gave *mock* sea-fights in which whole fleets were engaged, and celebrated the secular games, although hardly forty-one years had elapsed since their celebration by Claudius. A hundred races were witnessed on one day, each between four *quadrigæ* that whirled five times around the course. This was more than the people asked. To sustain their flag-



Sham Sea-fight, after a Coin of Domitian.

ging attention and to render the contests more animated, he supplemented the four factions or colours of the circus, green, blue, red, and white, by two new colours, gold and violet, *aurata et purpura*. Even races between young girls were seen in the stadium. The quæstors had long since abandoned the ruinous custom of exhibiting gladiatorial combats when they entered into office; Domitian forced them to resume it, and never failed to be present at all these shows. Martial praises him for having re-established a less dangerous kind of boxing.³ He distributed three gratuities among the people, each of 300 sesterces a head, and on one occasion he gave them a

¹ Caligula had already styled himself god, and before Domitian the words *Dominus noster* were employed in speaking of the emperor. (Labus, *Marm. antichi bresciani*, p. 96, No. 4.)

² Martial and Statius call him *Dacicus*, but this name is not found on the coins.

³ *Et pugnat virtus simpliciore manu* (*Epigr.*, VIII. lxxx.). [That is without the loaded cestus.—*Ed.*]

bountiful feast. Several times he had presents of all sorts thrown to the spectators, for which the knights and even the senators struggled as greedily as the ragged plebeians; and the son of the Sabine horse-dealer took pleasure in seeing the Roman people, their pontiffs, their men of consular rank, and their prætorians, rolling at his feet in the dust in order to fight for the master's alms.



Memorial of the Secular Games.²

Titus had been unable to repair all the disasters of the last conflagration; but Domitian widened several streets,¹ raised up again the public buildings that had fallen, and constructed a great many others with more magnificence than taste.³ The mere gilding of the Capitol, according to Plutarch, cost him over 12,000 talents,⁴ "more than all Olympus is worth," says Martial.⁵ Less irreverent than the poet, we will say that true art has no need of these showy adornments. The dwelling which he constructed for himself on the Palatine surpassed in magnificence everything that Rome had hitherto seen.⁶



Congiarium.⁷

The form given by Vespasian to the imperial government continued. Domitian administered justice zealously, and very often granted extra sessions in his court in the Forum. Carefully reviewing the judgments from which an appeal was made, he annulled several decisions of the centumviri that had

¹ Martial, *Epigr.*, VII. lxi.

² COS. XIII. LVD. SAEC. A. POP. FRVG. AC. SC. (*Ludos sæculares fecit, a populo fruges accepit*). The emperor seated upon a dais; before him two figures clothed with togas standing, holding pateræ. Reverse of a large bronze of Domitian. (Cohen, No. 83.)

³ Plutarch, who saw at Athens the columns of Pentelic marble which were to be used on the Capitol, says (*Public.*, 17) that they were ruined at Rome in the attempt to re-cut them.

⁴ Plutarch, *Public.*, 15. About £2,900,000.

⁵ *Epigr.*, IX. iv. 14:

Nam tibi quod solvat, non habet arca Jovis.

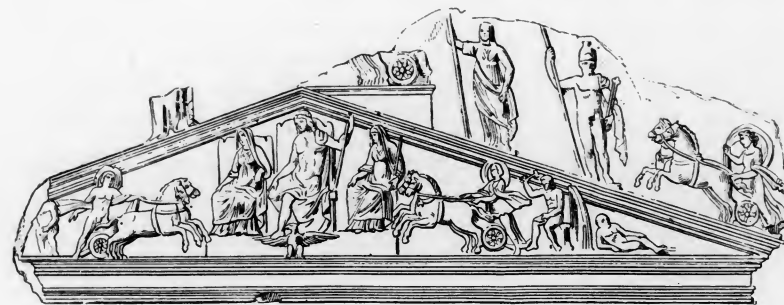
In Suetonius (*Dom.*, 4-5) the long and wearisome enumeration of his games and constructions may be seen.

⁶ M. Rosa has recently recovered the foundations of this palace and the courses of the ground floor, so that it has been easy to restore the general plan. See the description of it in M. Boissier's *Promenades archéologiques*.

⁷ CONG. II. COS. II. SC. Domitian seated and Liberty standing; below, a figure spreading out its garment to receive the gift. Reverse of a large bronze.

been prompted by favouritism, branded with infamy the corrupt judges, and banished the delators who had accused an innocent person.

Domitian proved himself the strictest prince since Augustus



Pediment of the Fourth Temple of the Capitol.¹

with respect to public order. He assumed the title of perpetual censor and rigorously maintained the distinction of the orders in solemnities. On one occasion he restored to the owner a slave who had fraudulently entered the army, where he had risen to the rank of centurion. He prosecuted the authors of libels, drove from the senate a quæstor of long standing who was too fond of pantomimes, and did two things that were very unpleasant to the common people, but one of which was very moral, and the other very necessary: he suppressed the scandalous public exhibitions of the mimes, which were the delight of the lower orders,² and abolished the stalls that blocked up the streets but gave these plebeians a livelihood.³ One of the freedmen of the palace had reared a monument to his son with stones destined for the Capitol.



Fourth Temple of the Capitol, restored by Domitian (Silver Coin of A.D. 82).

¹ From a sketch in the library of Coburg. At the apex of the pediment must have been Jupiter seated or standing in the triumphal chariot, accompanied by the two goddesses whose statues were also together within the temple. Mars with his helmet and Minerva holding a lance are still perfectly recognizable. The sun, the moon, the cyclops, a reclining river (the Tiber?) represent the Universe, in order that all creation may take part in the homage rendered to the three principal deities. (Cf. Saglio, p. 904.)

² He only authorized their exhibitions at private houses. Nerva set aside this interdict, which Trajan at first renewed and then repealed after his first Dacic triumph. (Pliny, *Pan.*, 46.)

³ Martial.

Domitian caused the tomb to be destroyed, as if it were a sacrilege.¹ His morals were not those of a censor. He seduced his brother's daughter, Julia, and the "new Juno," as the Greeks called her, perished in her attempt to destroy the proof of a criminal intercourse.² But if he made allowances for himself he made none for others. Vespasian and Titus had connived at the misconduct of the priestesses of Vesta; but under Domitian three received orders to put themselves to death, and the chief vestal, Cornelia, was entombed alive, according to the ancient custom. When the high-priests came to lead her to her doom, she raised her hands towards heaven, invoked Vesta and the other gods, nor did she cease repeating during the whole journey: "What! Cæsar declares me, whose

Julia, daughter of Titus.³A Vestal.⁴

sacrifices have made him triumph, guilty of incest!" As she was descending into the fatal vault one of her veils caught in the steps. She unfastened it, and when the executioner offered to assist her she refused with horror, as if the mere touch of that hand must have defiled her maiden purity. A Roman knight, the [supposed] partner of her crime, was scourged to death in the Comitium; another of senatorial rank was banished.⁵ These condemnations spread terror in the city, and Statius is truthful this time when, describing the colossal statue of Domitian, he points out the bronze eyes fixed upon the

¹ Suet., *Dom.*, 8: *Ne qua religio deum contaminaretur.*

² Νέα Ἡράκλ. *Bull. de corresp. hellénique*, vol. vi. p. 396.

³ From an engraved stone (*aqua marina*), with the name Evodus cut in it (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2089).

⁴ BELLICIAE MODESTE, Virgo Vestalis (*Bellicia Modesta, Vestal Virgin*). From a medallion in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁵ Pliny (*Epist.*, IV. xi.) has quite a desire to make her appear innocent, in order to leave one crime more on the memory of Domitian; but he himself hardly seems to believe in this innocence: and when, under Nerva, the exiles were recalled, Cornelia's paramour, who had

temple of Vesta as if to be assured that the Trojan fire is ceaselessly burning in the centre of the silent sanctuary, and that the goddess is at last satisfied with the virtue of her priestesses.¹ The *Lex Scantinia*, against a shameful vice, was rigidly applied, even to



Julia, daughter of Titus (Bust in the Uffizi Gallery).

knights and senators. A member of the equestrian order had taken back his wife after having repudiated her on the charge of adultery. Domitian struck his name off the list of judges. Women who had disgraced themselves were not allowed to go in a litter or even to receive a bequest or acquire an inheritance. He prohibited

been banished to Sicily, was excepted. She appeared then, even at that time, to have been guilty. Suetonius has no doubt of it (*Dom.*, 8), and Juvenal (*Sat.*, iv. 9 and 10) affirms it. Plutarch's narration (*Quest. Rom.*, 83) refers probably to the same persons. The city was in consternation, he says, and when the high-priests were consulted they had ordered that two Gauls and two Greeks should be buried alive in the Forum Boarium.

¹ *Silve*, I. i. 35.

mutilation.¹ He even strove, like Augustus, to render enfranchisement more difficult. Finally, to draw closer the ancient bonds of the clients, he suppressed the *sportula* that was paid by the patrons in silver to the amount of 25 asses, and re-established the custom of general repasts, *cœna recta*. The king, as the patron was called, once more made his client sit at his table, but before some refuse, while he himself supped magnificently.

Vespasian had begun war against effeminate customs and bad morals. Domitian continued it energetically, and Quintilian, therefore, calls him "the most religious censor."² The epithet is too strong, for the censorship was rigorous without succeeding, be it understood, in restoring "the temples to the gods and morals to the people," as Martial claims, or "in forcing modesty to return to families."³ Read the poet himself, and you will see the efficacy of such laws. No one could affirm, however, that these reforms were utterly useless, and when we again find virtuous society at Rome we shall remember the severities of Vespasian and his son.

Wine-growing was the principal form of what little agriculture still existed in Italy. Domitian forbade the planting of new vines, in order to leave room for corn, and to increase the price of the wines of the peninsula he ordered half of the old plantations in the provinces to be rooted up; an unwise measure, which, however, was not executed. His father and brother had made the husbandmen uneasy by seizing for the treasury the waste land of the colonies. Domitian left it to its former possessors, at the same time granting them the benefit of prescription, and "thus," says an old author, "he delivered all Italy from fear."⁴

In his early days he did not appear avaricious, and what was a virtue not common among Romans, he refused the inheritances of those who had children. He delivered from all prosecution debtors whose names had been posted in the treasury for more

¹ Dion, lvi. 2; Martial, *Epigr.*, IX. vii. and viii.

² *Sanctissimus censor*, iv., in *Proëm.*

³ Martial, *Epigr.*, VI. ii. and vii.: X. cii.; Statius, *Silv.*, III. iv. 74, and IV. iii. 13. Cf. Suet., *Dom.*, 7, and Amm. Marcellinus, xviii. 4.

⁴ Aggenus, *de Controv. agr.* ap. Goes., p. 68. Cf. Suet., *Dom.* 9; *Subseciva, que divisio per veteranos agris carptim superfuerant, ceteribus possessoribus ut usucapta concessit.* Cf. Orelli, No. 3,118.

than five years, and to repress the interested zeal of delators for the rights of the treasury, he condemned the accusers to exile when they did not gain their cause. "A prince," he used to say, "who does not punish informers, encourages them."

He increased the pay of the soldiers by one-third, a measure necessitated by the increased cost of everything since Cæsar. The dictator had fixed their annual pay at nine pieces of gold. It was still at this rate under Domitian, who raised it to twelve.¹ To prevent revolts, he forbade his officers to assemble two legions in the same camp, or to receive in the military coffer, from the savings of the soldiers, more than 1,000 sesterces in the name of each of them.² He wished likewise to diminish the army in order to reduce the expense; but the fear of the barbarians prevented it. Like his father also, Domitian, who affected to take Minerva for a patroness,³ encouraged arts and letters. His great works furnished occupation for artists, and we see him giving 600,000 sesterces at once to a philosopher to purchase an estate close to Prusa. In order to replace the libraries destroyed by the last conflagrations, he instituted a search for books in every quarter, and had copies of lost works made at Alexandria.⁴ A poet himself, he invited Statius and Martial to his palace, without, however, raising them by his presents to the fortune which they still solicited. He received the praises of Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and of Quintilian, to whom he intrusted the education of his youthful kinsmen,⁵ and he instituted at the Capitol a quinquennial contest in poetry, eloquence, and music, which was still solemnized in the fifth century (*agon Capitolinus*). Another took place every year in his Alban palace. Under him Juvenal composed his earliest satire, the seventh. Pliny the Elder had just died; but Tacitus, whom the emperor had appointed quincecemvir and prætor (A.D. 88), had not

¹ The pay was five asses at the time of Polybius (vi. 39), or eight, taking into account the reductions which caused sixteen asses to be reckoned to the denarius instead of ten. Cæsar doubled it, ten asses (Suet., *Cæs.*, 26). It was then under Domitian thirteen asses = $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of a denarius a day = twenty-five denarii a month, or 300 a year, instead of 225. [The denarius was nearly equal to a franc.—*Ed.*]

² Each legion had its chest for savings; Saturninus, of whom we shall speak further, had taken these deposits as a pledge to make sure of the fidelity of the soldiers.

³ *Familiale numen Minervæ* (Quintilian, *Inst. orat.*, x. 1). Cf. Suet., *Dom.*, 15.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.*, X. lxxvi.; Suet., *Dom.*, 20.

⁵ Silius Italicus, *Punic.*, iii. 618 sq.; Quintilian, *Inst. orat.*, ix., in *Proëm.*

as yet written his *Life of Agricola*,¹ and Pliny the Younger, who had also attained the prætorship in A.D. 93, was in possession of his full renown. Thus in this reign we meet with the most



Tomb of a Child victorious in the contest in Eloquence and Music.²

eminent poets of the second order, a famous prose-writer, and an author of genius who was already meditating his scathing works. We find also celebrated juriseconsults, Palfurius and Armillatus, whom Juvenal reproaches with unduly multiplying the royal

¹ After his prætorship Tacitus withdrew from Rome, and he was still absent in A.D. 93. Was it in consequence of banishment? This has been asserted, but everything is opposed to the supposition, and Borghesi (vii. 322) thinks that according to custom Tacitus, at the expiration of his prætorship, received the command of a legion or the government of an imperial province, probably Belgica, where his father had been procurator, and where he finished collecting materials for his work *de Moribus Germanicæ*.

² Discovered in 1871 in one of the towers of the *porta Salaria*. The young laureate had vanquished fifty-two competitors. Two inscriptions are carved on this tomb; one containing his history, the other his Greek verses.

prerogatives,¹ and especially the chief of the disciples of Proculus, Pegasus, who was appointed prefect of Rome, and whom the satirist is forced to call "a most conscientious interpreter of the laws."² Thanks to these grave personages who had succeeded one another uninterruptedly since the time of Augustus in the councils of the prince, civil society, by its subordinate position sheltered from the tempests that were agitating political society, became better organized every day. This long continued, and the worst reigns contained the most precious conquests of the spirit of civil law.

We have no details about the administration of Domitian in the provinces. Some inscriptions testify that he continued there the works of his father, and we may believe that his authority proved equitable and firm, when we read these words of a biographer by no means friendly to him: "He succeeded so well in curbing the magistrates of Rome and the governors of the provinces, that they were never more disinterested or just;"³ or when we recollect that one of the most active delators, Bæbius Massa, whom the inhabitants of Bætica accused, was convicted on the pleading of Senecio and Pliny the Younger. Suetonius adds these words, which furnish much occasion for thought: "The majority of those whom he forced to be just and upright we have seen accused after him of all sorts of crimes," which means that under the milder administration that replaced his they made up for their compulsory rectitude. The emperors who have been most decried—I am not speaking of madmen like Caligula and Nero, but of shrewd rulers such as Tiberius and Domitian—were a terror to the nobility, and when the dangers of their position had developed

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, iv. 53:

*Quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est æquore toto,
Res fisci est.*

For Palfurius, see above, p. 664.

*... optimus atque
Interpres legum sanctissimus.*

(Juvenal, *ibid.*, 78-79.)

² Suet., *Dom.*, 8. The selections of Domitian were often happy. He advanced Tacitus (*Hist.*, i. 1), Pliny, the father of Trajan, etc.: he appointed consuls: Nerva, Trajan, Verginius Rufus, Agricola, the grandfather of Antoninus; the father of Tacitus was probably governor of Belgium, which Tacitus ruled from A.D. 90 to A.D. 92. Borghesi, vii. pp. 199 and 321, etc. Valerius Homulus extolled the government of Domitian to Trajan: "He was a detestable prince," said he, "but one who knew whom to trust." He added: *Meliorē esse rem publicam et prope tutiorem in qua princeps malus est, ea in qua sunt amici principis mali* (Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, 65).

in them a cruelty natural to this people, whose keenest pleasure was to see blood, they struck all around them without pity. But, as we have already said, the sole question for 80,000,000 men was to have peace and order.

After having pointed out the absolute power of the emperors the provincial Appian adds: "This form of government has now stood nearly 200 years, and in that space of time the city has been adorned in a marvellous manner, the revenues of the Empire have increased, while, by the boon of a constant peace, the people have reached the highest pitch of prosperity." We see what importance the provincials set upon the tragedies occurring at Rome. At best they seemed to them lessons in equality given to people who scarcely comprehended it, and a sort of duel between the rich of yesterday and the rich of to-morrow. With the fabulist whom "standards and plumes" terrified, they drew from the spectacle of such terrible vicissitudes this moral: "The common people always escape, but the leaders fall.¹ Delation removes what delation had bestowed." Horace had already celebrated, in the time of Augustus, the *aurea mediocritas*; Martial extols it again in the days of Domitian: with princes who have the power to bestow, but also to take away everything, it is the prayer of the wise.

There were several wars under Domitian, all defensive excepting the expedition against the Catti, which was only a great civil measure to drive away the hostile marauders from the frontier.²

If Pliny the Younger and Tacitus are to be believed, these wars were like those which Caligula waged: Domitian's victories were defeats; his captives, purchased slaves; his triumphs, audacious falsehoods. Suetonius is not so severe, but he would not have failed to be so, seeing that he relates with so much complacency the disgraceful adventures of Caius on the Rhine and on the shore of the Channel, if Domitian had renewed the comedy of Caligula, procuring himself provincials "of triumphal stature." But Suetonius wrote neither the *Panegyric* of Trajan nor the *Life of Agricola*; he had no anxiety to eclipse, in behalf of his prince, all the imperial glories, nor to magnify the renown of a lieutenant by

¹ Phædrus, *Fab.*, iv. 6.

² The consul Frontinus, a contemporary, says of the Catti: *qui in armis erant . . . Nec ignoraret (Domitianus) majore bellum molitione inituros* (*Strat.*, i. 8).

letting us have a glimpse of the mighty deeds which he would have performed but for the jealousy of his chief. "Domitian," he says, "made several wars; some that he undertook of his own accord and others that he could not avoid, such as the expedition against the Sarmatians, who had massacred a legion, and the two campaigns against the Dacians to avenge two defeats sustained by his troops. After several battles of mingled success and failure, he celebrated a double triumph, and offered to Jupiter Capitolinus a laurel crown."¹

The Empire was constrained, for its own security, to make its power felt from time to time by the restless hordes that bordered its double frontier on the Rhine and the Danube, and Domitian, in setting about this himself, was only following the example of his most illustrious predecessors. During the revolt of Civilis, the Catti (Nassau, Hesse, and part of Westphalia) had attempted to surprise Mayence. Vespasian had not deemed it prudent to avenge this insult; but Domitian thought that after two emperors who had never left Rome since their accession it was necessary for the third, even in view of his security, to show himself to the legions and end their long leisure by expeditions of no danger. In A.D. 84 he placed himself at the head of the army on the Rhine, penetrated the territory of the Catti, who fell back into the depths of their forests, and on his return he assumed the title of Germanicus, which he did not merit for an expedition without battles or conquests. Nevertheless a military writer who perhaps took part in this campaign, Frontinus, speaks of it with praise,⁴ and it seems to have attained the desired



Domitian Germanicus.²



Germany captive.³

¹ *Dom.*, 6. Aurel. Victor (*de Cæs.*, ii.) says also: *Dacis et Cattorum manu devictis*, and (*Epist.*, ii.): *Cattos, Germanosque devicit*, which explains the words *victis parcentia fœdera Cattis* of Statius (*Silv.* iii. 3, 168).

² IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. V. (Silver medallion in the *Cabinet de France*.)

³ GERMANIA CAPTA. Trophy between a German seated upon a shield and a German standing: at the feet of the latter, helmet and shield. Great bronze. Cohen, No. 135.

⁴ *Strateg.*, i. 1, 8; ii. 11, 7.

end, since, on the Rhine, peace was not once disturbed during this reign.

The selection of Trajan for the government of Upper Germany shows that Domitian wished a serious supervision in that quarter.¹ The new general, in spite of his fighting temper, bent his energies to constructing powerful defensive works by covering the south-west of Germany with a line of fortified posts, earth embankments and entrenchments, traces of which are found here and there under the names of Devils' Walls, Heathens' Moats, and the like, from the Rhine, just below Mayence, to the Danube, near Ratisbon. Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus had commenced these works a century before, opposite Bonn, and had extended them in a line parallel to the Rhine through Westphalia, perhaps as far as the Taunus, whose numerous thermal springs early attracted the Romans.

The valley of the Upper Danube, in ancient times peopled by Celts, had been Germanized by the Teutons and the Suevi. But after the defeat of Ariovistus and the retreat of the Marcomanni upon Bohemia, especially when Augustus had taken possession of the right bank of the Danube and covered the left bank of the Rhine with camps and colonies, this corner of Germany, which the Rhine surrounds and where the Danube takes its rise, had no longer been tenable by the barbarians. Gauls had come back to these deserted fields, and, in return for Roman protection, paid the Empire the tithe of their harvests (*agri decumates*). To protect their farms and a territory which would have opened Gaul and Helvetia to the Germans, the works commenced on the Lower Rhine were continued to the Danube. Many rulers down to Probus applied themselves to this, although it would not be possible to give each his due. Domitian gave particular attention to it, for, according to Frontinus,² he had a line of defence

¹ According to the general opinion, from Tillemont to M. des Vergers (*Chron. du règne de Trajan*), it was Domitian who gave this province to Trajan; according to Mommsen (*Étude sur Plin.*, in the *Bibl. de l'École des hautes études*, p. 10, n. 2), and Dierauer (*Gesch. Traj.*, p. 15), it would be Nerva; but their strongest proof is an antithesis of Pliny which even Burnouf has been unable to take literally. Another passage shows that, in the last year of Domitian, Trajan occupied a very prominent position, *omnibus excelsior* (*Pan.*, 94); and if this nomination had been made by Nerva, Pliny would not have failed to extract some oratorical effect from this prudent choice.

² *Strateg.*, i. 3, 10: . . . *limitibus per centum viginti millia passuum actis* . . .



Domitian (Statue in the Vatican, Braccio Nuovó, No. 129).

constructed 120 miles long. During the revolt of a legate, of which we shall speak further, the Germans had penetrated as far as the Rhine and threatened Gaul; and Trajan was without doubt charged to prevent a like danger. There is a difference of opinion respecting the plan of fortifications which, crossing the Taunus and the Suabian Alps, seems to have enveloped the lower valley of the Main, where is found the highway for penetrating into the heart of Germany and the whole basin of the Neckar. Under cover of these defences, which threw the Germans back upon the centre of their country, the number of people increased in the tithe-lands (*agri decumates*). They had their religious and political centre at Arae Flaviae (Rothweil on the Neckar), where they assembled and adored the divinity of Rome and its emperors. It was, as it were, a new province forming at the expense of barbarism firmly held in check, just as a new territory is formed by driving back with dikes the roving waters.¹

In the interior of Germany Domitian formed useful alliances without compromising his armies. He sent money to a chief of the Cherusci, but refused to support him with troops, and he persuaded the king of the Semnones to come to Rome with the virgin



The Goddess Rome (Statue of the Capitol,
Mus. Cap., vol. i. p. 10.)

¹ Tacitus, *Germ.*, 29; Martial, *Epigr.*, X. vii.

Ganna, who had succeeded Velleda as prophetess of the Germans. These two persons went back loaded with presents, and returned to their country with an idea of Roman might that was worth more for the tranquillity of the frontiers than a victory of the legions.¹

In Britain the same policy was pursued and the same works were executed. Since the heavy blows struck by Plautius under Claudius, and by Suetonius Paulinus under Nero, war had been almost stopped and civilization had begun its work. We have seen (pp. 498-9) with what rapidity Roman manners, commerce, and usury had spread throughout the island. Vespasian, who had distinguished himself in the first campaign of the conquest, wished



Coin representing Britain.²

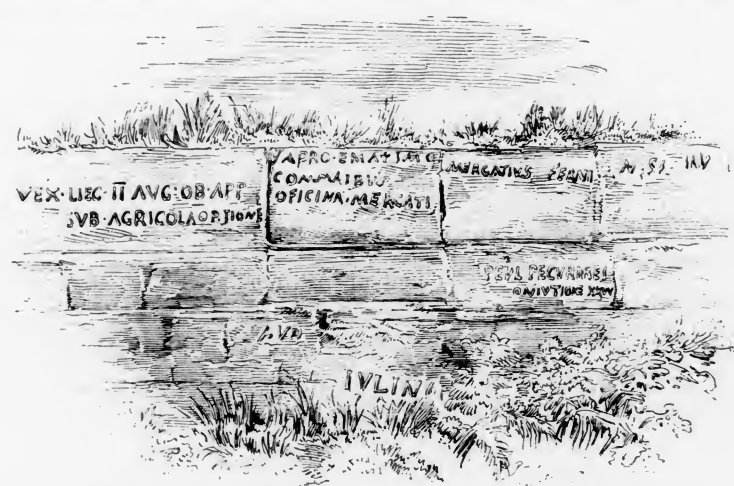
to finish the undertaking of Claudius, and had sent to Britain three skilful generals in succession; at first, Cerialis and Frontinus, who quelled the Brigantes and the Silures, two dreaded nations in the north and south-west; then, in A.D. 78, Agricola, who subdued the Ordovices in the centre of Wales and the Isle of Man. The whole of Britain was then conquered and pacified as far as the Highlands of Scotland. Agricola approached these mountains, but halted at the isthmus, thirty miles in breadth, which extends between the two seas, from the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, and covered this space with strongholds connected by an intrenchment, so as to secure the province against the incursions of the mountaineers. These Highlanders came bravely to the attack; but he defeated them at the foot of the Grampians, notwithstanding the bravery of their chief, Galgac, to whom Tacitus ascribes a speech which no Roman ear heard and which not one Latin could have understood. The legions, after this success, retired behind their line of defence; but the fleet reconnoitred the northerly parts of the island, the Orkneys, and perhaps the Shetlands.

Tacitus insists that Domitian became alarmed at Agricola's glory. But no very far-echoing fame could be gained in these combats, which were almost without peril, against tribes few in numbers, badly armed, and so poor that, in his scanty booty, the

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 5.

² Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, p. 15.

conqueror did not find a trophy to display before the people of Rome. Agricola, a methodical and slow captain, had not the great qualities which render generals formidable to a suspicious government; an honest man, a good citizen, submissive to law and the ruler, he could not have caused anxiety to an emperor who did not fear to give the consulate and his best army to Trajan. Agricola has been overrated [owing to the panegyric of Tacitus]; he neither conquered nor civilized Britain, as his son-in-law would



Fragment of Roman Wall containing the name of Agricola (Great Britain).¹

lead us to believe, but by two successes and by useful works he worthily employed a mission whose duration was greater than that of ordinary commands:² seven years (A.D. 78-84). Tacitus is forced to say that Domitian proposed his recall in the senate "with lofty praises, at the same time decreeing to him the triumphal decorations, a statue crowned with laurel, and the other honours which supply the place of the ancient triumph." But he takes care to add that Agricola returned modestly to Rome by night, without display; that the prince received him coldly, though offering him the government of Syria, and finally that Agricola had the wisdom

¹ Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, p. 82. [The name here belongs to an inferior officer, *optio*.—Ed.]

² Borghesi (*Œuvres*, iii. p. 188) prolongs to the end of the year 85 Agricola's command in Britain. The usual duration of the legateship in Britain, according to Hübner (*Rhein. Mus.*, xii. 57) was three years.

to refuse what it was hoped he would decline. The suspicious tyrant and the great general in disgrace make one of those gloomy pictures in which Tacitus excels; but on thinking of the signal honours bestowed upon his father-in-law and of the favour which he himself enjoyed with Domitian,¹ we reflect that it was useful, under Nerva, to appear a victim of his predecessor. Agricola lived nine years longer,² "without seeking, by vain display, fame and some fatal destiny. Let those who admire every imprudent word, every audacious and guilty act, learn by this example, that, even under a bad prince, there may be great citizens; that moderation and obedience, if ability and firmness are there, give glory as well as those ambitious deaths which do not help the State." By these words Tacitus justifies the wise reserve of his father-in-law, and, in the same breath, condemns those useless acts of temerity which he has so often glorified in his *Annals* and *Histories*.

In recalling Agricola Domitian had doubtless wished to inaugurate a peace policy in Britain which would permit him to reduce his military expenses. We have seen that he imposed the same conduct upon Trajan, who, but a few steps from magnificent battle-fields where so many generals had gained glory, was obliged to restrain his ardour. When the Lygii, at war with Selavonic tribes, tried by a demand for aid to entangle the Empire in their quarrels, Domitian sent them a hundred knights, some money, and promises. At another point of Germany a terrible struggle broke out: one tribe, the Bructeri, suffered a great disaster "by special favour of the gods towards us. Heaven did not even refuse us the spectacle of this combat in which 60,000 barbarians fell, not by the sword of the Romans, but under their eyes and for their diversion. May the nations persevere in this hatred of one another!"³ From the days of Tiberius this homicidal prayer was the basis of the imperial policy towards the barbarians.

The Dacians established in the vast steppes to-day inhabited

¹ *Dignitas nostra . . . a Domitiano longius provecta* (*Hist.*, i., 1). The *Life of Agricola* was written A.D. 97, after the assassination of Domitian.

² When he died there was a rumour of poison. "We had no proof," says Tacitus, "which authorizes me to affirm it." This reserve on the part of Tacitus is an acquittal for Domitian.

³ Tac., *Germ.*, 33.

by the Hungarians, Transylvanians, and Roumanians, from the Tanais to the Black Sea, with lofty mountains for refuge, had for a century past singularly increased in numbers. Life is easy, indeed, in these fertile plains, where the same field yields corn ten years in succession without being exhausted and which nourish with



Dacian King (Bust in the Museum of Naples, No. 223 in the Catalogue).

their flocks a large part of western Europe, while the mountainous region is one of the richest on the continent in mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, and rock salt. Up to the epoch which we have reached the Dacians had not been troublesome neighbours. We hear of several incursions during the reign of Tiberius, but there was no serious invasion except at the time of the Vitellian War, when Antonius had left Mœsia exposed by drawing towards the Alps the troops intrusted with its defence. Even this invasion cannot have been very formidable, since it only required one

legion to stop it and a few reinforcements sent later to restore quiet along the Danube.¹

As long as these tribes remained isolated they were not to be feared; but we have seen that, at the time of Julius Cæsar, one of their chiefs, Byrebistas, had united the Dacians to the Getæ and raised a formidable empire, comprising once the whole valley of the Danube from Noricum to the Euxine.² It appears that a similar revolution was accomplished among the hordes settled on the north of the river in the Flavian era, and that they had rallied about a skilful and determined chief, who employed admirably well the methods of war common among barbarians, audacious incursions and rapid flight, but capable of using the tactics of regular warfare. Like Marbodius in the days of Augustus, the Decebalus³ dreamed of establishing for himself a great empire, and knowing that Roman tactics would double the strength of his warlike bands and that civilization would enable him to profit by immense resources lying useless in the hands of his people, he attracted the deserters from the legions and artisans from the provinces, while at the same time he formed friendly relations with all his neighbours and sent emissaries to the Parthians.⁴ When he considered himself prepared, he crossed the Danube, overthrew one legion, killed the governor of Lower Mœsia, Oppius Sabinus, and laid waste all the right bank of the river as far as the foot of the mountains. Domitian had to avenge this insult. In the summer of A.D. 86 he proceeded to Mœsia, where an army was assembling under command of the prefect of the prætorians, Cornelius Fuscus, and after the first operations, which drove the barbarians back upon the left bank, he returned to Italy. The following year (A.D. 87) Fuscus passed the river, ventured imprudently away from its shores, and then had to retreat disastrously, losing an eagle, a legion, and his life. This check was repaired in the following year by Calpurnius Julianus, governor of Upper Mœsia, who conquered the Dacians in a great battle, laid waste their country, and induced them to beg for peace.

¹ Tac., *Hist.* iii. 46.

² Vol. iii. p. 636 sq.

³ This word, which would signify according to Sanscrit etymology, *Dhivakabala*, the strength of the Dacians, seems not to be a proper name, but a title.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 16.

In spite of his defeat the Decebalus seems to have retained his pride, and Domitian, notwithstanding his victory, exercised moderation. This war wearied him; he desired to end it without disputing over the conditions (December, A.D. 89), and since the Dacians had delivered up the Roman arms, the prisoners in their possession, and hostages, he withdrew his legions from their territory, on condition that they in turn would respect that which belonged to the Empire. The ambassadors of the Decebalus went to Rome and carried to the senate a letter from their prince, which without doubt contained a pledge, and his brother (?) Diegis proceeded to the Roman camp to receive a crown from the hand of Domitian, as if the barbarian chief was reduced to the rank of princes who owed their royalty to Rome. In order to ratify the



Domitian with Crown of Laurel and Breast-plate (Bust from the Museum of the Louvre).

friendship with his new ally, Domitian sent him as a present money, curious objects taken from the imperial palace, and artisans skilled in all kinds of work.

This peace did not extend the frontiers of the Empire.¹ But Augustus and Tiberius had not wished Roman dominion to cross the Rhine and the Euphrates; and like them, Domitian thought that it was not prudent to extend it over the Danube. This, too,

¹ Dion, lxxviii. 6, 10. Eckhel (*Doctr. num.*, iv. p. 381) says that there does not exist a single coin that can furnish the least indication about this war.

came to be Hadrian's opinion, when he abandoned the conquests of Trajan beyond the Euphrates. This prudent policy obtained for Domitian the shame of being called the tributary of barbarians by his second successor's courtiers, who glorified the conqueror of Dacia as the avenger of Roman honour.

The words of Suetonius quoted above, and the facts which we know, conflict with the idea of a tribute paid to the Dacians. Pliny himself who, with his warlike emperor, returned to the principle that Rome does not treat, but commands—Pliny in his *Panegyric of Trajan* alludes only to a peace debated between the Romans and the barbarians, just as all agreements are effected, and to hostages obtained, he says, in exchange for presents, as if the very name of hostages, *obsides*, whom the emperor received were not the avowal of the defeat of his enemies.¹ But these presents were an old usage of the imperial policy. In this way Nero treated Tiridates of Armenia, and we have seen Augustus treating still better the kings of the Parthians.² Already even the emperors were taking into their service entire bands of barbarians, such as that cohort of Usipii whose strange history is related by Tacitus;³ and Vespasian's generals had granted some money to the Sarmatians and Dacians along the banks of the Danube to guard the passages of the stream, as the English, the Russians, and even the Americans have pensioned so many rajahs, sultans, and chiefs living on their frontiers. Domitian renewed this military pay under form of presents. Trajan himself and Hadrian did not act otherwise. This policy which armed barbarians against barbarians was excellent with a powerful Empire and valiant armies; but it will become a

¹ *Ne inducias quidem nisi æquis conditionibus inibant . . . obsides non emimus . . . nec immensis muneribus paciscimur* (*Pan.*, 11 and 12). Dion says expressly that Domitian paid an annual tribute; but Suetonius and Pliny, both contemporaries, do not say so, and they would not have failed to insist upon this disgrace. We have seen the words of Suetonius and Pliny's reasons. As to Dion, we no longer possess his text for his last books, and it is difficult to extricate ourselves from the contradictions of Xiphilius. Thus, § 7 of book lxvii. is unintelligible, and the account of the great victory of Julianus is placed in § 10, after the peace had been concluded. Moreover, even if he speaks of the tribute in book lxviii. 6, he does not allude to it in book lxvii. 7, where he affirms, on the contrary, that Decebalus *ἐνὶ τῷ ἱεταλαπύρῳ*. Eutropius (vii. 15) says also, without comment, that Domitian triumphed over the Dacians.

² Nero had given Tiridates architects and workmen to rebuild his capital, Artaxata. (Suet., *Nero*.) Trajan will also give a pension to the king of the Roxolani. (Spartian, *Hadrian*, 6.)

³ *Agric.*, 28.

danger and disgrace when military virtues have been lost, and when the pickets and scouts paid by the Empire to guard the country in front of the line of *castra stativa*, no longer feeling behind them the mighty reserve of legions, conduct to the pillage of the provinces those whom they were at first charged to watch and keep in check.

The Marcomanni, the Quadi, whom Tiberius had established on the left of the Danube, and the Sarmatian Iazyges (between the Tanais and the Danube) had refused to aid the Empire during the Dacian war. Threatened with an attack by the army in Pannonia, they sent deputies to the emperor, who were put to death. We do not know how this affair terminated, which was serious, since one legion perished in it,¹ and Dion shows Domitian flying before these tribes. Nevertheless, during the last six years of this reign we hear nothing of any trouble on this frontier, which leads us to think that, by force or money, everything had ended happily.

About the year 89, when the Dacian war was not fully ended,² a pretended Nero appeared in the East. The Parthians prepared to support him; but a threatening letter from Domitian forced them to surrender the impostor.

In Africa the Nasamones, already rebellious under Vespasian, rose in revolt again. They were almost exterminated, and Cyrenaica and the region of Tripoli were at last delivered from the continual depredations of these nomads.³

The Empire preserved then its strong military position: the provinces did not stir, the frontiers were well guarded, and notwithstanding some momentary successes, the barbarians felt its powerful hand upon them. One thing alone is sad to see, Rome,

¹ Tacitus says (*Hist.*, i. 2): *Coortæ in nos Sarmatarum et Suevorum gentes*. Statius naturally enlarges upon it: *horrida bella* (*Silv.*, iii. 3, 170). During Nerva's reign there were several outbreaks in Pannonia, which terminated favourably for the Romans. (Pliny, *Paneg.*, 8.) The chronology of Domitian's reign is very difficult to settle. Henzen (*Scavi nel bosco sacro de' fratelli Areali*, p. 107) shows that in the year 89 Domitian was absent from Rome, perhaps for the war in Pannonia.

² The triumph for the Dacian war was celebrated, according to Eusebius, in the tenth year of Domitian's reign, and according to Martial, in the month of January, consequently in January, A.D. 91.

³ This revolt, Zonaras and Eusebius affirm, was caused by Domitian's extortions. But what could he take from these nomads whom Herodotus shows us living on locusts? The remnant of this tribe settled in the south of Marmarica.

and especially the palace. Instead of the wise administrator whom we have hitherto found there, we shall meet a tyrant whose memory has been justly dishonoured.

III.—CRUELITIES DURING THE LAST YEARS OF DOMITIAN.

Domitian did not rush into crime through fondness for blood and brutal caprice. He often used to say that the number of punishments does not depend upon princes, and that those who punish least are not the good princes, but those who have been fortunate enough to find small occasion for harsh measures.¹ The



Coin with legend:
FISCI IUDÆICI
CALUMNIA SUBLATA.

words do not come from a monster of cruelty, only he should have added that there are governments capable of reducing chastisements, because they know how to prevent their necessity. Domitian, on the contrary, suspicious and anxious, multiplied them by the very terror which he felt and by that which he inspired.

Suetonius explains his tyranny in a few words: "His conduct was at first a mixture of good and evil; but little by little his virtues became vices; need rendered him avaricious, fear made him cruel, *inopia rapax, metu severus*." Vespasian had certainly left his sons an ample treasury. Titus impaired it by his prodigality, and Domitian exhausted it by the enormous cost of his constructions and shows, especially by the increase in the soldiers' pay, which must have raised the annual expenditure by 50,000,000 sesterces. He at once proved very strict about the receipt of taxes. "There is one," says Suetonius, "the collection of which was prosecuted with great harshness, the tax of the double drachma, which the Jews had to pay. From every quarter information was laid in the treasury against those who were living in the Jewish religion without making public profession of it, or who dissimulated their origin so as to escape the tribute imposed upon their nation."² An empty treasury

¹ Dion, lxxvii. 2.

² Suet., *Dom.*, 12. *Interfuisse me, he adds, adolescentulum memini, cum a procuratore*

speedily caused, with unscrupulous rulers, a detestable policy. Domitian again put himself on the track of wills. To effect the seizure of an estate it was enough for any person to affirm he had heard the deceased say before his death that Cæsar was his heir. The law of *Majestas* became again a resource: a word, an imprudent act, entailed the loss of all possessions.

Domitian's cruelty appeared especially, and perhaps we should say only,¹ after the revolt of a person of high rank, Antonius Saturninus, who pretended to be a descendant of the triumvir and of that factious tribune whom the Italians had wished to proclaim king.² He was in command of two legions in Germany whom he incited to revolt, and he called the Germans to his aid. An unexpected thaw stopped this tribe on the right bank of the Rhine, while Appius Norbanus Maximus, governor of Aquitania,³ crushed Antonius on the opposite shore. This rebel surely counted on others besides the savage allies to whom he so patriotically opened the Empire. To threaten his emperor with two legions he had accomplices elsewhere, at Rome especially. Consequently Norbanus was careful to burn with all haste the correspondence of the vanquished leader. Domitian in terror sought after these conspirators, and pursued them with fury. This revolt must belong to the year 93, which, as Pliny says,⁴ is that in which Domitian's great cruelties began. Thus three contemporary authors show us tyranny following upon provocation, the latter not justifying the former, but certainly explaining it. "Many senators," Suetonius goes on

frequentissimoque concilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. The medal given on p. 716 with the legend: *fisci judæici calumnia sublata*, recalls the efforts of the treasury frustrating the frauds, *calumnia*, contrived by the Jews and Judaisers to escape the impost. The palm-tree is one of the symbols of Judæa.

¹ . . . *aliquanto post civilis belli victoriam sævior* (*ibid.*, 10). Suetonius says that the civil war increased his cruelty, but he enumerates *before* the revolt executions which we learn from Tacitus did not occur until *after*.

² See vol. ii. pp. 516 sq.

³ See L. Renier, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1872, pp. 423 sq.

⁴ Pliny was prætor in A.D. 93 (Mommson, *op. cit.*, p. 79), and he had obtained this office before the emperor *profiteretur odium bonorum* (*Pan.*, 95). Tacitus, for his part, says (*Agric.*, 44-45) that at the death of his father-in-law, August 23rd, A.D. 93, the delations of Metius Carus had as yet gained but one victory, *et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat et Massa Bæbius jam tum reus erat*. Since, according to Suetonius and to probability, the *civile nefas* of Antonius and the excesses of the tyranny are in the relation of cause to effect, the certain date of the effect gives as the probable date of the cause the year 93, probably its latter half.

to say, "some of whom had been consuls, were put to death as instigators of plots."¹ Nor were these plots in all cases imaginary. In republics new political questions arise daily; under a despotic government, where men are not as yet moulded to a servile



The Young Domitian (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 24).

obedience, there is but one question: a change of masters. Out of eleven emperors, including Julius Cæsar, seven, up to this time, had perished by the sword or by poison, a proof of the frightful condition of public affairs; withal, "among the nobles, old age is a miracle."² The poet spoke truly: the old families were dying out with extreme rapidity; to secure certain religious functions, Augustus, and later Claudius, had been obliged to create patricians; and now Vespasian had just done the same. That among these victims of the emperors there were many innocent men, that many were slain on the most trivial pretexts, is in the highest degree probable. But

¹ *Molitores rerum novarum* (Dom. 10). Dion (lxvii. 13) speaks of one Juventius Celsus in the year 95 . . . *συνομόσας ἀνὰ πρῶτους μετὰ τινων ἐπ' ἀβρίῳ*.

² *Prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus* (Juv., Sat., iv. 97).

³ *Assiduas conjurationes* (Suet., Vesp. 25). Juvenal also says that Brutus would not have been able to deceive these new kings, and adds: *Quis enim jam non intelligat artes patricias?* (Sat., iv. 101.) This is not in contradiction to what has been said on page 649; time was required before the effects of the reform instituted by Vespasian could be produced, and it has already been explained that while this reform diminished the number of conspiracies it did not, certainly, suppress them altogether, for the reason that they were, even under the best of rulers, of the very essence of the government itself.

himself by punishments. It was a hard condition, imposed alike upon the emperor and the nobles; upon the former, by the right of self-defence and the natural disposition to revenge; upon the latter, by the deceitful memories of republican times, and by the too great temptation to overthrow a government whose existence was at the mercy of an assassin's blow. In the early days of a new reign, in the outburst of joy and hope, there was always an effort to come to an understanding, hence peaceful beginnings; but the sad, implacable necessities of an unfortunate situation were not slow in developing, and hatred growing constantly more bitter,¹ each new victim called for a new avenger or a new punishment.

One thing only could have terminated this fearful strife. Between these inveterate enemies the law should have been interposed, protecting the ruler against his own excesses, the nobles against their ambition. But the law of the Empire had not as yet been written.

War also, the occupation of camps, the fame of martial deeds, would have brought a truce to these domestic strifes. A poet of this reign, the matron Sulpicia, laments the peace which leaves these two exasperated adversaries in each other's presence. Like Cato, she calls for reverses which will re-awaken patriotism. "Yes, reverses, to make Rome strong again, to arouse her from the soft and enervating languor of a fatal peace."² Juvenal, also a contemporary, repeats this war-cry. But in this degenerate age it met no response.³ Later, Trajan will hear it, and his military exploits and the fame of them will give his reign its spotless and glorious internal tranquillity. But Parthia was now at peace, Dacia had been pacified, the Germans were held in check, and Britain was conquered. Domitian, who owed nothing to war, and had, indeed, been unsuccessful, as a rule, in military affairs, remained at Rome, in the presence of the senate, like Tiberius without an heir or any support, and, like Tiberius, constantly in danger. "A ruler is never believed," he said, and two great emperors, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, will repeat his words in their turn: "A

¹ Domitian had made the fortune of Tacitus; by the hatred shown this emperor by the man whom he had raised to honour we may judge what were the sentiments of others.

² *Somno moriuntur obeso.*

Romularum igitur longa et gravis exitium par (vv. 56-57).

³ *Nunc patimur longe pacis mala* (Sat., vi. 293).

ruler is never believed in what he says of the plots formed against his life until he has fallen a victim to them."¹ Believing himself surrounded by assassins, Domitian had no longer a moment of tranquillity. He constantly changed his prætorian prefects, lest



Domitilla, mother of Domitian.²

they should gain the confidence of the soldiers; and he divided the duties of the urban prefect among a dozen magistrates, fearing to intrust so much authority to any one man.² He at last withdrew almost completely from all intercourse with men, and lived, sad and idle, with no other employment than the reading of the *Memoirs of Tiberius*. But Tiberius at least had friends; the son of Vespasian and Domitilla was alone. The imperial palace at Rome was his island of Capri, and this solitude harbouring infamies which Capri had not known, was

peopled with like terrors. With a strange weakness, which however was general at that time, Domitian believed in Destiny, and yet hoped to outwit it by the aid of his executioners. The astrologers had terrified him with predictions of evil; to discover and kill the successor, whom no man can kill, he caused the horoscope

¹ Suet., *Dom.*, 20; Vulc. Gallicanus, *Avid. Cass.*, 2.

² Lydus, *de Magistratibus*, ii. 19. Alexander Severus did nearly the same thing by adding to the *præfectus Urbi* fourteen *curatores*. (Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 32.)

³ Only known likeness of Domitilla. Colossal marble head, found near Puteoli, at the same time with a head of Domitian. (Campana Museum, d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 79.)

of persons of importance to be cast, and struck wherever his suspicions rested. Thus perished an ex-consul, to whom the Chaldæans had promised brilliant fortune; and Sabinus, the emperor's cousin, for the reason that the herald, who was to proclaim him consul, had by accident used the word *imperator* instead, in the eyes of many Romans

an infallible presage. Informers, who had been proscribed, now re-appeared. Their trade had hitherto been lucrative, as we know, but never before had they assumed such arrogance and cynicism of cruelty. Metius Carus was wont to say: "Do not interfere with my dead men," speaking of those whom he had caused to be proscribed; he would let no one speak ill of them: they were his property, a source of pride to him; he chose to have them honoured, that he himself might thereby be made more formidable—the pride of an assassin boasting that his victims were all men of rank. In those days men saw dragged to the Gemonian steps the real



Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian.¹

or supposed accomplices of Antonius Saturninus, those whom the stars denounced, those whom wealth or birth, or the independence of their opinions, seemed to render dangerous. In this last list were the Stoic philosophers: Herennius Senecio, who had written a life of Helvidius, and Junius Rusticus, who had eulogized Thræsea. "Tyranny," says Tacitus, "extended its rage even to their works, and caused to be burned, by the triumvirs' hands, the writings of these great men in the place where once a free people assembled.

¹ Bust found upon the Cælian hill. (Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 25.)

A strange madness which thought itself able to stifle in flames the voice of the Roman people, the senate's liberty, and the conscience of the human race."¹

The son of Helvidius bore a dangerous name, and in an interlude which he composed, under the title of Paris and Oenone, was believed to refer to the emperor's conjugal misfortunes;² Maternus declaimed against tyrants; Salvius celebrated the birthday of his uncle, the emperor Otho: and all three of them were put to death. A woman having undressed in the presence of the emperor's statue paid for this disrespect with her life. In the room of Metius Pomposianus was found a map of the world and some of Livy's discourses; Lucullus in Britain had allowed the troops to call by his name a new kind of lances: both were condemned. The case of Epaphroditus was brought up, that freedman of Nero who, by the latter's order, had aided that emperor in taking his own life. Thus to have obeyed was criminal; a man who, even at Cæsar's command, had shed the blood of Cæsar could not be allowed to live; Domitian caused him to be put to death.

As in the reign of Nero, and for the same causes, free thought was reputed seditious; all philosophers were expelled from Rome; "he would have been glad to drive out all virtues and all sciences," says Tacitus.³ But Domitian was not insane to that degree, and his decree of exile was, considering the harshness of the times, only a measure analogous to modern European laws in respect to the press. Certain of these sages, like Artemidorus, whom Pliny ventured to visit, remained in the suburbs of Rome; others established themselves in Italy, but Epictetus fled to Epirus, and Dion Chrysostom took refuge among the Getæ, where he lived by

¹ *Agric.*, 2.

² The intrigue of the empress with Paris, the actor, was well known. The emperor had caused Paris to be murdered in the open street and had repudiated Domitia. Being much attached to her, he had, however, received her again, on pretext of yielding to the public entreaty. (Suet., *Dom.*, 3; Dion, *lxxii.* 3.)

³ *Expulsis insuper sapientie professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.* In these last words we see the habitual method of Tacitus, vague declamation being substituted for reasons, which may have been good or bad ones, but were at least serious; the motive in this case being the desire too often felt by governments to rid themselves of an opposition which hampered them. Eusebius places in 89 an edict of banishment against philosophers and mathematicians. Dion (*lxxii.* 13) speaks of them only in the year 93-94, and the word *ἀσθῆς*, which he employs, may merely refer to the edicts of Nero and Vespasian.

the work of his hands, clad as a slave, digging the ground, and carrying wood and water to the camp of the legions of Mæsia. Of all that belonged to him he had saved and carried with him nothing but a copy of Plato's *Phædon* and one of the orations of Demosthenes. According to Philostratus, Apollonius, on the contrary, returned to Rome in the midst of this whirlwind, where he abused his credit with many persons of importance to form a conspiracy. Nerva is said to have shared in this plot, but to have received no severer punishment than an exile to Tarentum, the astrologers having predicted his approaching death. Another plot, that of Juventius Celsus, brought other punishments, and persecution gradually extending spread from the aristocracy to the common people. Thus went on widening the sanguinary and gloomy circle wherein Domitian struck his blows from day to day.

The instrument of all these executions, which were inevitably followed by confiscations, was the senate, held, as it were, besieged by the emperor's soldiers. But this was a precaution which the timidity of these noble persons rendered quite useless. Where one among them, like the younger Pliny, ventured gently to face the agents of tyranny, there were many who made themselves denouncers, judges, and even executioners. Tacitus cries out in horror: "We have covered ourselves with the innocent blood of Senecio, and our own hands have dragged Helvidius to prison."¹ When the latter was accused, one of the judges in the open senate had laid hands upon him, and with the aid of some colleagues had dragged him out of the Curia; and this encroachment upon the lictors' duty had given the senator the consulship. "We have exhibited to the world a memorable example of *patience*." Tacitus again says: "Our fathers saw the last excesses of liberty; we, of servitude. The practice of informing being destructive to all society, men feared to speak or to listen; and we should be without memory as we are without speech, could we have imposed upon ourselves forgetfulness as well as silence."²

The tyrant was perhaps the most unfortunate of all, and it was right that he should be so. Domitian lived in a state of constant alarm; every sound terrified him, every man seemed to him

¹ *Agric.*, 2.

² *Ibid.*, 45.

an assassin, every occurrence was an omen of evil. He would walk nowhere save under a portico whose polished walls served as a mirror in which he could see what went on behind him. He questioned his prisoners alone, but holding in his hand the end of the chain which bound them. He, once so fond of games and spectacles, forgot his terrors for a moment in gloomy amusements and cruel buffooneries. On one occasion he invited the most



A Fisherman.¹

eminent senators and knights to the palace. They are shown into a hall hung with black; by the light of funeral lamps they distinguish biers, and at the head of each a low column, as at a sepulchre, whereon each reads his name. When they have placed themselves on these couches a train of unclad youths enter, representing spectres; they execute a mysterious dance, then seat themselves in the attitude of the Genius of Death, one at each man's bier, and a funeral repast is served, amidst profound silence, only broken by the emperor, who recounts stories of murders and massacres to his guests. The latter feel that their last hour has come; but the fearful entertainment is over at last, the gates are opened, and they are at liberty to depart; each man, however, is accompanied by a slave. On reaching home a messenger from the emperor comes to them. They believe it to be the lictor with a sentence of death. But Domitian only sends to each man his funeral column, which is of silver, and the dishes used in the repast, of

¹ Bronze found at Pompeii, on the edge of a pond. (Museum of Naples.)

great value and exquisite workmanship; and lastly, the funeral Genius himself, who is only a handsome young slave.¹

Another scene is more famous, that of Domitian causing to be discussed by the senate the question what sauce was most suited to a turbot. The story is true, *res vera agitur*, says Juvenal; but we must regard it in a different aspect from that which the satirist takes. A fisherman has the good luck to find in his net a turbot of extraordinary size. In the hope of getting a good price for it he carries it to the emperor at his villa. At the same moment eight or ten senators arrive at the imperial residence, coming out from Rome, as was the custom daily, to pay their respects to Domitian. The emperor, astonished at the great size of the fish, exhibits it to his guests, and each one has a word to say about it. The same thing has happened a thousand times, on a return from hunting or fishing. But the poet has transformed this social scene into a grave deliberation where the cynicism of senatorial servility is paraded; he had the right to do this, since eighteen centuries have taken his word for the story; but a little less art and a little more good sense reduce "his biting hyperbole" to its just proportions.

Meanwhile, even in these terrible years, we find the tyrant occupied with works of public utility. In Spain, he completes a highway which his father has begun; in Italy, he repairs the Latin Road, and opens another between Sinuessa and Puteoli, notwithstanding great difficulties. By the condemnation of Bæbius Massa, whom the inhabitants of Bætica accuse, he guarantees to the provincials their protection against rapacity; and his appointment of Pliny to the prætorship, about this time, shows that there was still place for honest men in his government.

Ecclesiastical writers place a persecution of the Christians in the last months of this reign. No trace of it is found in pagan authors, and the facts which we know can be explained without the necessity of supposing any general measure, then not likely. In the reign of Domitian public anxiety had not been awakened in respect to the new religious society, and it was rather despised than feared, so far as it was known at all. We have seen that

¹ Dion, lxxvii.

under Nero the punishment of the Christians was merely a measure of unjust and cruel local police. Six years later the Romans burned the city of David and the temple, but this was an act of destruction imposed by the necessities of war. Accordingly, after the victory of Titus, the legal toleration was continued which the senate and, later, the emperors, had accorded to the Mosaic faith; and Vespasian confirmed it, subject to the regular tax of the didrachm for the Jews and "all those who, without making public confession of this faith, lived after the Jewish manner."¹ The Christians, to whom this clause especially applied, profited by this toleration. The Jewish communities scattered throughout the Empire had always maintained relations with one another, both for the sake of sending the temple money to Jerusalem, and of assisting each other in their business journeys and their obligatory pilgrimages to the Holy Land. They thus formed a sort of immense semi-secret society, and in every place a word or a sign was enough to make the stranger known to his brethren, and in case of need assisted by them. The Christians carefully preserved these habits, thanks to which S. Paul was able to go over so many countries, in every city aided by the disciples whom he found there, or whom he converted from the Jewish or Gentile community. In the end the imperial government became anxious on the subject of the numerous conversions made at Rome, and resolved to put a stop to them.

A senatus-consultum, issued in the reign of Tiberius,² had permitted Claudius to put to death a Roman senator affiliated into the Druidic sect—that is to say, guilty of deserting the national religion; a fragment of one promulgated under Vespasian remains to us by which Judaism was limited to the Jewish nation.³ In

¹ . . . qui vel improfessi judaicam vicerent vitam (Suet., Dom., 12). Dion says, to the same effect: ἐν τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἶδη ἐκκρίνοντες (lxxvii. 14). Cf. Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 331. In pagan eyes Christianity was never anything more than a Jewish sect denying the god of its fathers. Galerius says the same in his edict of 311. (Lact., *de Morte persec.*, 36.)

² Vol. iv. pp. 324-5.

³ Paulus, *Sent.*, v. 22, §§ 3 and 4. We have not the date of this law *de seditionis*; it probably belongs to the time when Vespasian, after the destruction of Jerusalem, regulated the condition of the Jews, and subjected them to the tax of the didrachm. It was not until after this period that the new crime of *judaizing* appears. Similar prohibitions were made later by Hadrian, Antoninus, and Septimius Severus. (*Digest*, xlviii. 8, 11.)

virtue of this law the Roman citizen who had submitted to the Jewish rite of circumcision, or had caused his slaves to undergo it, was condemned to perpetual exile with loss of all his property; and whoso performed the rite was punished with death. Similar penalties were denounced in cases where Jewish masters caused their Gentile slaves to be circumcised. Thus the imperial government had the wisdom, which our own time has with difficulty regained, never to undertake a religious persecution in the design of compelling the Jews or the Gauls to abandon their hereditary faith; but it believed itself justified in hindering its own people from going over to a foreign religion, which, to the Roman mind, meant the same as abandoning one's native country. It prohibited the Jews, under pain of death, from proselytizing, as, not long since, the Czar of Russia forbade his subjects to travel in foreign lands, or Sweden forbade Protestants to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, or Spain forbade its Roman Catholic subjects to read a Protestant bible.

Thus Rome stands defending herself, but making no attack; leaving to each race its own faith, on condition that hers in turn be respected. With the new spirit of proselytism which, since the earthly country was lost, had animated the synagogue no less than it did the Church, the Jewish colony at Rome had reconstructed itself and had been increased by enfranchisements, which were numerous since the war. Intelligent, active, and insinuating, the Jews had taken up or had created industries which the idleness of the Roman populace left free to them, and, both orthodox or dissident, had made their way into many households. Jews of all the different sects, with their Greek and Roman proselytes, were therefore becoming numerous in the city. But those who, like Tacitus, ought to have seen clearly, since to them was given the right of judging, were quite careless about distinguishing Jews from Christians, considering only that the latter were given over "to contrary superstitions, though of kindred origin." The government understood the subject no better, and was but little concerned with it, caring only that all, whether Jews by birth or by religion, should pay the capitation tax of two drachmas. A passage of Suetonius, quoted above, shows how rigorously this tribute was levied, and how the tax-gatherer settled disputed questions of

Jewish nationality. The emperors had no other feelings than contempt towards what Tacitus and Suetonius call a "shameful superstition;" and, so long as public order was not disturbed, permitted the believers in it to preach among themselves and even to make converts, unless when, as in the case of Nero, they had need of obscure victims to tranquillize a popular excitement, or, as in the case of Domitian, of illustrious criminals to suffer for real or supposed conspiracies. During fourteen years Domitian asked nothing more of Jews or Christians than the payment of the particular tax laid upon their race; but, eight months before his death, at the period of his greatest terrors, he bethought himself that imperial policy had united to the crime of treason a new offence, to wit, that of druidizing or of judaizing. The censor, the pontifex maximus, who in this reign had put to death four vestals, appeared to be fulfilling his duty of zealous defender of the national religion when he prosecuted senators who, abandoning the faith of their fathers, no longer paid homage to the protecting divinities of the Empire. This was the accusation under which perished, at the expiration of his term of office as consul, Flavius Clemens, Vespasian's nephew through his father Sabinus, a man who had defended the Capitol against the partisans of Vitellius; nephew, moreover, to Domitian himself, through the emperor's wife Domitilla, and the father of sons whom the emperor had selected as heirs to the imperial dignity. Men at this time were extremely weary of the tyrant; a low, incessant murmur of hopes and of threats surrounded him; conspiracy was in the air. Possibly Clemens or friends of his may have used imprudent language; of this, we have no knowledge; but being accused of impiety,¹ he

¹ Suetonius says (*Dom.*, 15) that this Clemens, a man of notorious incapacity, *contemptissimæ inertie*, perished upon the most frivolous charges, *ex tenuissima suspitione*. He was put to death as an atheist, Dion Cassius says (lxvii. 13), an accusation convenient to serve the anger of Domitian, but one which, while indicating clearly that the confidence of Clemens in the gods of the Capitol was shaken, gives us no light upon his new faith. It is not easy to believe that he was a declared Christian. He was killed at the expiration of his term of office, *tantum non in ipso ejus consulatu interemit*; now consuls had to offer sacrifices and fulfil religious functions, which Clemens could not certainly have declined without public scandal of apostasy, which would have caused his death during his consulship. According to the Chevalier Rossi (*Roma sotterranea*, i. 265-267, 319-321, and *Bull. di Arch. Christ.*, May and June, 1865), Clemens was a Christian. In respect to Flavia Domitilla, the virgin martyr mentioned in the *Acts of Nereus and Achilleus*, I share the negative opinion of Aubé, *Hist. des persécutions*, pp. 427 sq. It is possible that at the close of the first century Christianity

perished by the sword; his wife, who was probably a Christian, was banished to the island of Pandataria; near Rome, upon the Via Ardeatina, is to be seen a tomb adorned with Christian symbols and bearing his name; his children's fate is not known. Acilius Glabrio, former colleague of Trajan in the consular office, seems to have been the victim of two contradictory accusations: the one, of becoming a Jew, the other, of having fought in the arena and killed an enormous lion. Many more, under the same pretext, were despoiled of their goods.¹ Authentic proofs of a general edict of persecution in the reign of Domitian are not found, any more than of a similar edict in the time of Nero. But, as we have already said, the proconsuls had no need of any such authorization, being sufficiently armed against religious innovations and illegal associations; and we are thus at liberty to admit that there were acts of violence done by them² of which the report did not reach Rome, Roman citizens alone having the right to stay the hand of the governors and arrest their *jus necis*³ by an appeal to the emperor. But these acts certainly were not numerous, and Tertullian reduces the persecutions to a few sentences of exile which were soon repealed.⁴ According to the official documents

had made here and there a conquest in the high society of Rome; but I cannot believe that so many of the Flavian house had been won over so few years after S. Paul had said: "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called" (1 *Corinth.*, i. 26); and it was especially among the lower classes that the new religion was received. More than a century after Domitian, Tertullian (*ad Uxor.*, ii. 8) wrote: "There are few rich men among us;" and Minucius Felix (*Octav.*, 36): "*Plerique pauperes dicimur.*" Later still S. Jerome says: "*Ecclesia de vili plebecula congregata est.*" See Leblant, *Rev. arch.* of 1880, p. 323. This point is of great importance, for there is a school which, in contradiction to the opinion of the early Fathers, seeks to explain, by secret infiltrations of Christianity into heathen thought, the admirable moral outburst in philosophy and in law during the first and second centuries of the Christian era. We shall later show that Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, Paulus, Ulpian and Papinian are Romans, and nothing else. The writings of the former and the commentaries of the latter are the logical development of ideas that preceded them, and the necessary result of historic circumstances, among which, in the first and second centuries, Christianity cannot be included, not having at that time any influence whatever upon heathen thought.

¹ Dion, lxvii. 14.

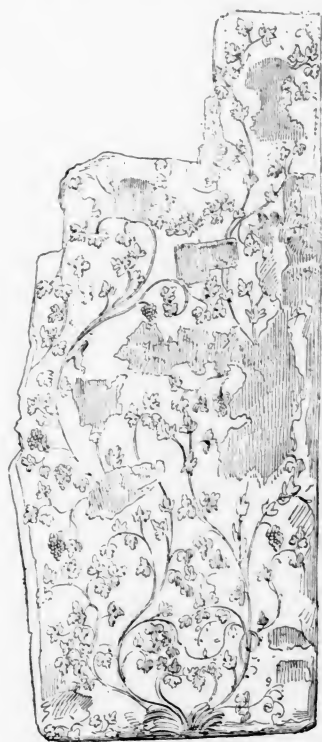
² In an apology for Christianity presented to Hadrian in the year 126 by Quadratus, bishop of Athens, and Aristides, it is said: . . . ὅτι οἱ τινες πονηροὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἰνοχλεῖν ἐπειρώτο. (Euseb., *Eccles. Hist.*, iv. 3.)

³ Dion, liii. 14.

⁴ *Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate; sed qua et homo, facile captum repressit, restituit etiam quos relegaverat* (*Apol.*, 5). If Tertullian had believed that the highest person in the State, after the emperor, a nephew of Domitian and a consul, had been

which have come down to us Trajan was the first to legalize the condemnation of the Christians.

Meanwhile, say subsequent authors, all nature foreboded the tyrant's approaching end. Lightning tore off the inscription from his triumphal statue and struck the temple of the Flavians. A tree with which the emperor's destiny was in some way connected fell to the ground with a great noise. The Fortune of Præneste made alarming responses and spoke of blood. A soothsayer in the army of Germany predicted a revolution for the 14th before the Calends of October, and Domitian himself announced that on that day the moon would be the colour of blood. It is singular to remark the connection of frivolous causes and terrible events. Let the public mind become excited and immediately credulity and alarm multiply omens of evil. These omens in turn, appearing to reveal the future, excite to action those who hesitate, and who are helped to decide by the conviction that heaven is their accomplice. The day, so much dreaded by Domitian, was looked forward to by



Symbolic Vine, painted upon a Vault in the Tomb of Domitilla.¹

conspirators in the palace and at the very door of the emperor's apartment.

"The tyrant," says Juvenal, "who had with impunity robbed the State of so many illustrious citizens, whom no man ventured

put to death for the Christian faith he would not have used language like this. Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 18) does not know about the martyrdom of Clemens, although he mentions the banishment of Domitilla. However, the crime of "judaizing" must date from Domitian's reign, for the *cognitiones de christianis* mentioned by Pliny in his letter to Trajan can only refer to prosecutions under that emperor.

¹ Vines loaded with clusters of grapes represent the Church, "the Lord's vine." It was a symbol much employed by the early Christians.

to avenge, perished when he became dreaded by the cobbler. Upon this shoal was shipwrecked the monster dripping with the blood of the Lamias."¹ A servant of Domitilla, who had lately been proscribed, undertook to kill the emperor. To turn away suspicion, Stephanus² feigned to have a wound in the left hand and wore a bandage about it for several days. The moment having come, he concealed a dagger in the wrappings, and sought an audience of the emperor to reveal to him a conspiracy. While the emperor was reading the letter which contained details, Stephanus plunged a dagger into his abdomen. The emperor, but slightly wounded, struggled with Stephanus, but some of the imperial attendants rushing in, despatched their master, who received seven dagger thrusts.

"The young slave who had charge of the altar of the Lares in the imperial bed-room happened to be there at the moment when the murder was committed. From him we have the story of the scene: on receiving the first wound, Domitian had called out to him to bring the dagger hidden under his pillow and to summon the guards; but the blade of the weapon had been removed, and all the doors were locked. Domitian, however, had thrown Stephanus upon the ground, and though his hands were cut, was striving to tear his weapon from him, or to put out his eyes, when the other assassins coming in, finished him. The emperor was in the forty-fifth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign. His body, wrapped in a common shroud, was removed during the night by the persons who had charge of burying the lower classes. But Phyllis, his nurse, recovering his body, paid it the last honours in his villa on the Via Latina, and secretly carried the ashes to the Flavian temple" (18th September, 96 A.D.). His statues and trophies were thrown down; his name was effaced on the public buildings,³ and the senate did not send him to join the Flavian deities already in the skies.

¹ *Postquam cerdonibus esse timendus cœperat* (*Sat.*, iv. *ad finem*).

² *Suet.*, *Dom.*, 17.

³ Upon the copper table which bears, in five columns, the 350 lines of the *lex Malacitana*—or at least on what remains of it—and was engraved under Domitian, that emperor's name has been scratched out, as also upon many others. *In plerisque Domitiani titulis*, says Orelli, *ad No. 767, ejus nomen erasum est*: it was, however, retained upon the table of Salpensa. A few statues escaped also. The extent of the Empire, the indifference of the remote towns in respect

In forming a judgment of Domitian, as in the case of Tiberius, if we take our position in Rome among the nobles, we must call him, in his later years, an execrable tyrant. But if we look only at the Empire, he may pass for a firm and vigilant ruler. Like their god Janus, the Roman emperors have a double face, and we must consider them in both aspects. It has been usual to show but one; that one we do not conceal, but we desire to exhibit the other also. The prince of the senate remains, with his informers and his executioners, his hands red with blood; the emperor appears with the traditions of that peace and order which Augustus commenced and Tiberius, Claudius, and Vespasian continued. Domitian remained true to these traditions, but as administrator and as prince he was far behind the gloomy and formidable grandeur of the second Augustus.

to the tragedies which went on at Rome, a grateful recollection of some particular favour, prevented the universal and invariable execution of the decrees proscribing the name and images of emperors declared to be tyrants. The empress Domitia seemed to have survived her husband many years, for an inscription of the year 140 shows one of her freedmen who, after building a temple to her, offers the decuriones of Gabii 15,000 sesterces, of which the income is to be employed in keeping the little building in repair and in celebrating the birthday of his mistress (Orelli, No. 775). In the time of the Thirty Tyrants a general in the service of Aureolus claimed to descend from Domitian, whose name he bore. (Trebellius Pollio, *The Thirty Tyrants*, ii.)

¹ IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XVII. CENS. PERP. P., around the laurelled head of the emperor Domitian.



Large Bronze of Domitian.¹

TENTH PERIOD.

THE ANTONINES (96-180 A.D.).¹

THE ROMAN PEACE.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

NERVA AND TRAJAN (96-117 A.D.).

I.—NERVA (19TH SEPTEMBER, 96, TO 28TH JANUARY, 98).²

THE eighty-two years which lie between the accession of Tiberius and that of Nerva are divided among ten emperors. Of these five were supplied by the law of hereditary succession, and five by the soldiers' election: to the former, belong Caligula and Nero; to the latter, Claudius and Vitellius; and by their results we may judge the two systems.

In reality they were only superficially different. Whether Otho bought the Empire from the prætorians, or Domitian inherited it from his brother, was of little consequence. The emperor, however created, was sole master, in a country which nevertheless had not suppressed all traces of its free institutions, and in a time when men yet remembered the senate, the people, the comitia,

¹ To the Antonine family we add the Italian, Nerva, who adopted Trajan, and we exclude from it Commodus, who was unworthy of his race.

² For the history of Nerva and Trajan we have not even Suetonius, who ends with Domitian's reign, and our principal source is Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator, Xiphilinus. We have unfortunately lost the work of a writer who was much esteemed, for the *Script. Hist. Aug.* quotes him twenty-eight times, Marius Maximus, who composed a *Life of Trajan*. He seems to have designed to continue the *Biographies* of Suetonius, as Amm. Marcellinus proposed to continue the *Histories* of Tacitus.

with their annual and responsible magistrates. Thus the form of authority was contrary to manners and traditions, two great forces which cannot be disregarded; but it appeared to be in accordance with another great force which it was essential to consider, namely, the interests of the people; for in every direction prevailed a vast necessity for peace and public order.

The Roman world, therefore, was occupied with two very different questions: one, the political question, which was agitated in the city, and, unfortunately, also in the camps, most frequently amid bloodshed and violence—that of the accession, maintenance, or dethronement of the master; the other, the economic question, which was the only one in which the provincials interested themselves—the preservation of peace without acts of extortion or violence, the security of the highways and the activity of commerce without insupportably heavy taxes.

Augustus and Vespasian had satisfied this two-fold need; during their reigns Rome had been tranquil, the law of treason had been forgotten, the licitor had been without occupation; and in the army there had been discipline; in the provinces, prosperity; in the State, the exterior forms of liberty. But all these advantages resulted from the wisdom of the two men, and not from institutions, and ended with their lives.

With Nerva an entirely different period begins. Five emperors will reign with honour for eighty-five years, and not one fall by the assassin's dagger. Is it to be inferred that at last those institutions are to be established which we indicated, in Chapter LXXI., as the means of harmonizing that unity of command indispensable to the Empire with the regular participation of the provinces in the government of the State, which alone could prevent the violent shocks of revolutions? Or rather is it only that, by virtue of a first fortunate selection, an unexpected succession of superior men is to take place? Commodus and Caracalla will re-enact Nero and Domitian, as though the Antonines had not for nearly 100 years held the world in their hands. The emperors of that family were, however, the last who could have saved the Empire, harmonizing its present and its past, its needs and its institutions. But while their intentions were honest, and they had a conviction of their duty as chiefs of the State, we find in them no more than in their



Nerva (Statue found at Rome. Museum of the Vatican, Rotunda, No. 548).

predecessors any real political wisdom, for they accelerated that movement of concentration which was to end in destroying all municipal liberties, and, under the best forms, perpetuated that power, unlimited as well as irresponsible, which was to destroy the Empire and bury the civilization of the world under its ruins.

At the same time we shall have occasion to recognize in the Antonines a general plan of conduct, Trajan being its most complete expression. Enlightened by so many disasters, the Antonines will show the greatest consideration for the new aristocracy formed by Vespasian, whose members at this moment fill all the high offices of the State. Without really restoring their power to the nobles, these emperors will seem to govern with and for them.¹ They will make new patricians for the purpose of keeping the ranks full, and in order to have done with the republican Brutus, Marcus Aurelius, instead of proscribing his memory, will extol the nephew of Cato as the most perfect model of Roman virtue. To the modest ambition of the

Public Liberty.²

men of that time this will suffice; the aristocracy, which was in a state of permanent conspiracy against the Cæsars, and even against the Flavians, will seldom form plots, and of these not one will succeed; and the senate, believing itself to have finally recovered its right of appointing the chief magistrate, will strike coins bearing the legend: *Libertas restituta*, and Pliny will celebrate "the restoration of liberty."³

The plot to which Domitian had fallen a victim had numerous ramifications. This appeared as soon as the blow had been struck; all preparations had been made: the Conscript Fathers at once proclaimed an old man of a family which had three or four times enjoyed the consular dignity, Marcus Cocceius Nerva, who had himself received the honours of the triumph.⁴

¹ The younger Pliny bitterly reproaches Domitian with his neglect of the senate: *De ampliando numero gladiatorum aut de instituendo collegio fabrorum consulebamur* (Paneg., 54); and *cum senatus aut ad otium summum aut ad summum nefas vocaretur* (Epist., viii. 14).

² *Libertate ab imp. Nerva . . . restituta*, Wilmanns, 64 LIBERTAS PVBICA SC. Liberty standing, holding a cap and sceptre. Large bronze.

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, ix. 13.

⁴ A Nerva had been consul in the time of the triumvirs and another in 22 A.D., and the

The choice was a singular one. A man of integrity, of good education, of gentle manners, Nerva, notwithstanding his two consulships, had signalized himself neither by great talents nor by



Nerva wearing the Consular Toga (Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 20).

eminent services, and there seemed nothing which could have drawn upon him this preference save his sixty-five years,¹ his bad digestion, and his feeble health, which gave ambitious men time to make ready their schemes, secure that they should not have to wait too long a time.

The prætorians murmured, not being sure how this revolution, in which they had had no share, might result, and especially since it had overthrown an emperor to whom they owed a large increase of pay. Nerva went out to the camp, and the promise of a *donativum* pacified them. In the case of the legions on the frontiers, who were entirely indifferent as to the choice of a master, but very responsive to the ruler's liberality, there seems to have been no difficulty whatever, their fidelity being

in no way tempted.² In the senate a demand was made that all exiles should be allowed to return, and their property, where it was possible, restored to them. This was readily granted; and

new emperor had been twice consul, an honour which one only of his colleagues then living, L. Verginius Rufus, shared with him; but the latter had already refused the imperial power.

¹ Dion says sixty-five; Aurelius Victor sixty-one; Eusebius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus, seventy-one.

² The story of Dion Chrysostomus of a sedition among the legions of the Danube is worthy of no credit.

further, the chastisement of informers was called for, a violent reaction setting in against them.¹ Many were put to death, among others the philosopher Sura; these were insignificant persons, but others, more formidable, were in the senate. We have a letter in which Pliny relates how he attacked a consul-elect, the man who had laid hands upon Helvidius, to pluck him from the Curia and throw him to the lictors. The timid and gentle Nerva moderated this reaction, contenting himself with the removal of the guilty person from the consular office, and the emperor swore publicly that, so long as he should live no senator should be punished with death, an oath which was repeated by all the Antonines in turn. He prohibited accusations of treason and of judaizing,² and threatened with severe punishment all informers who should not succeed in proving the charges which they alleged.³ Despotism relaxes social ties, violating, in its own interests, the discipline of orders and families; Nerva, to restore this discipline, punished with death the slaves who, in Domitian's time, had betrayed their masters and freedmen who had betrayed their patrons; and he renewed the prohibition in respect to their testimony against those to whom they owed respectful fidelity or obedience.

These edicts did not, however, re-assure the father of Herodes Atticus, who found a rich treasure in an old house in Athens. Alarmed by his dread of informers, he hastened to reveal to the emperor what he had found, and to ask what he should do with this gold. "Use it," Nerva replied; but Atticus, who could not believe in the straightforward meaning of words so contrary to imperial usage, again wrote, saying it was too much for him. "Very well, waste it, then," was the response. The good-natured emperor who, in his own elevation, recognized a stroke of fortune, respected in the case of others the decrees of that goddess who had been so favourable to himself.⁴

¹ Pliny, *Epist.*, ix. 13.

² Dion, lxxviii. 1.

³ It must not be forgotten that in the absence of any public prosecutor the informer was a social necessity, securing the execution of the laws by accusing those who violated them. The political informer is the person who merits all the odium which is attached to this name. The other informers were recompensed by the law, and were respectable citizens. (*Dig.*, xlviii. 2. 4.)

⁴ Later, Hadrian established a rule on the subject of treasure trove, securing half of it to the owner of the property where the treasure was found, and if the proprietor himself found it he was to receive the whole. (*Spart., Hadr.*, 17.)

Domitian had so exhausted the public treasury that Nerva at first suspended the games and the distributions; but the measure proving a dangerous one, before the end of the year he re-established the *frumentationes*.¹ He allowed the return of the buffoons,



Souvenir of Nerva's *frumentationes*.¹

while diminishing the expense of the games, and he made an attempt to render the combats of the amphitheatre less sanguinary.² The founding of colonies for the poorer classes of citizens was a relief for some forms of destitution;³ and an idea at once charitable and political is revealed in an institution of the year 97, which Trajan and his successors developed, namely, public assistance granted to the children of indigent families.⁴ One of his coins shows him seated in the curule chair, and holding out his hand as if in charity to a boy and girl, near whom stands their mother, with this legend: *Tutela Italiae*.⁵ Another commemorates his removal from the Italian cities of their obligation to meet the expenses of the imperial post.



Coin commemorative of a Reform in the Postal Service.⁷

Dion (lxxviii. 2) well understood the policy of the emperor, and what he says is notable: "Nerva did nothing without the participation of the nobles." Was this, as has been believed, a new form of government? Rather it was the tradition of Augustus which these rulers sought to take up, and there was really no change in the general condition of the Empire.

One Crassus, who asserted himself to be a descendant of the

¹ Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 407: *Plebei urbanae frumento constituto*.

² Augustus had already forbidden gladiatorial exhibitions in which the death of one combatant was required.

³ It is doubtless to this that Dion refers (lxxviii. 2): "Nerva gave to the poor citizens of Rome lands to the value of 15,000,000 drachmas, intrusting to the senators the acquisition and distribution of these estates."

⁴ *PLEBEI VRBANÆ FRUMENTO CONSTITVTO S. C.* Modius, with six ears of corn and a poppy. Great bronze.

⁵ *Puellas puerosque natos parentibus egentibus sumptu publico per Italiae oppida ali jussit* (Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*, 12). Henzen (*Tabula alimentaria*, p. 11) relates that Nerva also established a fund to be employed for the funeral expenses of the poor.

⁶ Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, vi. 407.

⁷ *Vehiculazione Italiae remissa*. Two mules feeding. Large bronze.

triumvir, conspired, nevertheless, against this ruler who only sought to be the chief senator, and rather the father than the master of the Empire. Nerva was satisfied to exile him to Tarentum. A praetorian prefect incited the soldiery to demand the death of Domitian's murderers. Nerva, extremely alarmed, trembled and dared not act; he implored the pardon of those whom the praetorians condemned, offered himself in their place as a victim, but was unable to save them, and, the murder being committed, excused the soldiery, imputing the act of violence to an excess of respect for the military oath taken to the son of Vespasian. He even went so far as to humiliate himself before the people by publicly thanking the praetorians for having punished the most wicked of men.

This act of insubordination was of bad omen; Nerva evidently had not a hand strong enough to govern. History



Bust of Nerva.¹

is too apt to ask of a ruler and to admire in him that trivial kindness which yields to every supplication. May it not be possible that with Titus and Nerva it was the same as in the regency of Anne of Austria in France? At that period every man sought his own advantage and acted in accordance with his own wishes; one word was in all men's mouths: "The queen is so good!" Let us beware of over-praising some of those so-called

¹ Marble bust found in Rome, near Trajan's Forum. (Muséo Campana. H. d'Escamps, *op. cit.*, No. 83.)

the Capitol, and taking gods and men to witness, adopted Trajan as his son.¹

II.—TRAJAN (98-117); DACIAN WAR.

Spain had already sent to Rome a whole colony of literary and scientific men, of poets and philosophers;² she was now about to furnish the State with its first provincial emperor.³ Trajan (M. Ulpius Trajanus) was born September 18th, 52 A.D., at Italica, on the Bætis, one of the earliest transmarine colonies of Rome, founded by Scipio Africanus during the second Punic War. He had made his first campaigns under his father, a meritorious officer who had obtained all the military and civil honours: the consulship, the government of Syria, the *triumphalia ornamenta*, and lastly, in 79, the proconsular office in the province of Asia. Trajan himself served ten years as military tribune in Syria and upon the Rhine, was prætor about the year 85, had command of a legion in Spain, was consul in 91, and then governor of Upper Germany; he was brave, skilful, and popular with the army, notwithstanding his firmness, for the reason that his discipline, though severe, was always just. In camp he lived with great simplicity, sharing in the soldiers' hardships, and taking part in all their exercises; on a campaign he gave up his horses to be used for transport and marched with the troops, bearing the same fatigues, and ever the last man to come under shelter. Finally, he had that faculty of great generals, so fascinating to the soldier, of being able to call by name his officers to the very humblest, and all who had been wounded or had received decorations. Accordingly, on news of his elevation all the armies sent to congratulate him, a compliment

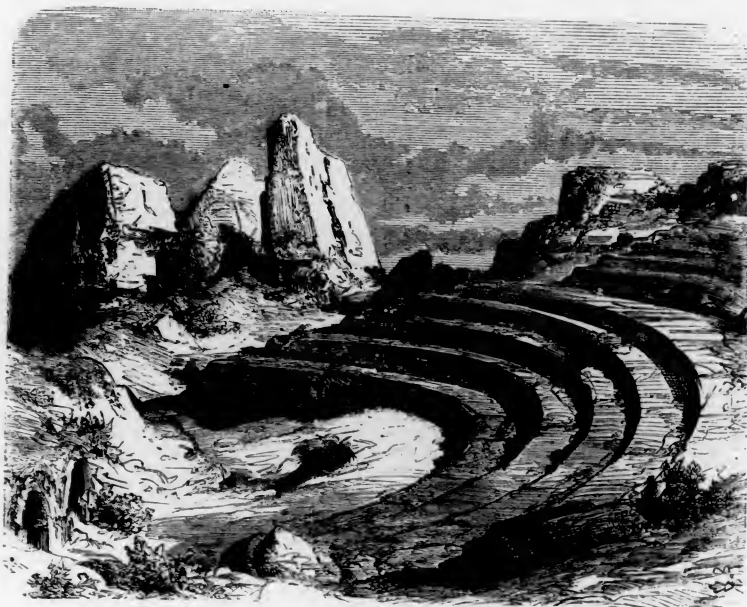
¹ 28th January, 98 A.D. He had reigned six months and nine days. There was an irregularity in this adoption, namely, the absence of the person adopted, whose consent was necessary. We may observe that the first year of Trajan's *tribunicia potestas* dates from the 27th of October, 97, the day of his adoption, and the second begins January 1st, 98. The usage of dating the second tribuneship from the first new year's day following the accession of the emperor was observed by his successors—a detail of importance in establishing the imperial chronology.

² See above, pp. 488-9. Herennius Senecio, the friend of Pliny, and one of Domitian's victims, was born in Bætica; Licinius Sura was also of Spanish birth.

³ Dion says (lxviii. 4) that Nerva adopted Trajan, although the latter was a Spaniard: *ἡπειρὸς μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν ἀλλοθνήσκει τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχίκεν*. Italica was situated on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, at Santiponce, six miles from Seville. (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. p. 145.)

whose sincerity cannot in this case be doubted, for this unexpected choice was both an honour to themselves and a hope to all military leaders.

Three months later Trajan received at Cologne the senate's envoys, who brought him news of the emperor's death; he replied in a letter at once modest and dignified, in which he renewed the pledge given by Nerva that he would never subject a senator to



Ruins at Italica.

the capital penalty:¹ a singular promise, but explicable by the history of preceding reigns; furthermore indicating that, like the late emperor, Trajan would transfer the government from the palace to the Curia. He was at this time forty-six years of age.

As a proof of his confidence in the senate, he left that assembly and the consuls in charge of the government while he himself remained upon the Rhine, occupied in completing the great works begun by Domitian. It would seem that, already seized with the desire to restore the splendour of the Roman arms,

¹ ὡς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάζει ἢ ἀτιμίζει (Dion, lxxiii. 5).

and seeing nothing important to do upon this frontier, he conceived the idea of establishing there an impregnable line of defence, so that he might not fear a diversion from this quarter while occupied elsewhere.¹ We have no details as regards these works, but we are assured that Trajan had made good use of the three years spent by him in that country as governor, and that he employed still more profitably a fourth year, that in which he was adopted, and that it was his successors' task rather to maintain than to continue the vast entrenchments in the *'agri decumates'*. Behind this line of defence he had established numerous military posts to augment its strength;² on the north to replace the ruined camp, Vetera Castra, on the left bank of the river, Colonia Trajana (Kelln or Cleves), the garrison of which commanded the Lower Rhine; on the south he founded Aquæ (Baden-Baden), within reach of the defiles of the Black Forest; in the centre, at Mayence, facing the great entrance way from Gaul into Germany, he threw a permanent bridge over the Rhine, which a good road of 10,000 paces connected with a fortress constructed near Höchst at the junction of the Main and the Nidda, which fortress Julian was so fortunate as to find available 300 years later for purposes of defence against the Alemanni.³ Possibly we ought to place at this period the expedition of Vestritius Spurinna, legate in Lower Germany, who peacefully established a king of the Bructeri in his possessions.⁴ Tacitus, with his customary exaggeration, had represented this people as annihilated.⁵ After their defeat the Chamavi and Angrivarii having established themselves in great force in the territory of the Bructeri, the Romans considered them dangerous neighbours,



Trajan.

¹ The *Germania* of Tacitus, composed in the year 98, shows that the Roman people were much interested at that time in those nations, and that their strength and character were well understood. The elder Pliny had already published on this subject a work in twenty books, under the title, *Wars in Germany*.

² *Urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit* (Eutropius, viii. 2). See above, pp. 704 sq.

³ *Munimentum Trajani*, ten miles from Mayence (Amm. Marcellinus, xvii. 1). In respect to the bridge, it is probable that remains of piles still existing were the work of Charlemagne rather than of Trajan. Cf. the *Trajan* of Dierauer, p. 32, No. 1, in the *Untersuchungen* of Budinger, 1868.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.*, ii. 17.

⁵ *Penitus excisis*. Possibly the two events related, one by Tacitus, the defeat of the Bructeri, the other by Pliny, the restoration of their king, may have been contemporaneous.

and aided the latter in reconstituting their national existence under a native king, relying upon their feebleness to retain them in



Trajan (Bust of the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, No. 48).

a state of dependence. Thus, upon the Lower Rhine, peace was secured, and the influence of Rome reached as far as the Weser.¹

From the banks of the Rhine Trajan had announced to all the Empire by an act of firmness the commencement of a strong

¹ The fortifications established by Domitian and Trajan upon this frontier made it possible to diminish the force which guarded it. Augustus had had eight legions there (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5); in the second century there were but four. (Borghesi, iv. 217 and 265.)

administration. Nerva had sent him his ring and this line of Homer:

Τίθειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.¹

"May thy arrows, O Apollo, cause the Danaï to expiate my tears." These Danaï were to the feeble old man the authors of the late sedition. Trajan sent for them, degraded some, banished others, and punished the rest with death. All men perceived that henceforth obedience was necessary; but it soon became evident that it was obedience to law, and not to the single will of a cruel or capricious master.

To remain so long upon the frontier was a manifestation of great indifference in respect to the pomps of Rome. But, in a military monarchy, this conduct was extremely politic, and it completed Trajan's conquest of the soldiers' good will. When he finally set out for the capital, in the latter half of the year 99, the soldiers who composed his escort gave cause for no complaints along the route; it was like the modest suite of a general. This moderation was in good taste and of good omen; when, however, he caused to be set up, side by side, the statement of his expenses in this journey, and that of one of Domitian's journeys, he seems ungenerous towards a dead emperor who, by the bestowal of honours and military commands, had prepared the way for his present fortune.² At Rome, for his arrival, there was no pomp or show, but only the immense concourse of people, contemplating with delighted surprise this emperor who made his first entry into his capital on foot, this veteran of the camps who was affable towards citizens, this valiant captain of lofty stature and martial air, who testified respect for civil merit and for age. The Empress Plotina, a woman of austere



PLOTINA AVG. IMP. TRAIANI
(Large Bronze).

¹ *Iliad*, i. 42.

² I should not criticize this act of self-laudation, which was, after all, legitimate, had not Trajan thereby given the tone to the court society, showing that he did not design to protect the memory of Domitian. In an hereditary monarchy, the son-upon the throne is the natural defender of his father's memory. In the Roman Empire it happened rarely that he who inherited the crown had any interest in protecting his predecessor against partisan calumny, or even the customary court scandals.

virtues,¹ of whom the Greeks, quite inappropriately, made a new Venus,² was unwilling to have the state of courts continued about her. As she ascended the steps of the palace she turned to the multitude to say: "Such I enter here, and such I desire to come out;" and she kept her word. Nerva had inscribed over the

Bust of Plotina.⁴

imperial residence: "Public Palace," and, as in the time of Augustus, all the citizens were admitted to it. Trajan did the same; besides, an old custom required that the door of the sovereign pontiff should never be closed. He gave orders to have the jewels and rarities which decorated the palace carried into the temples, which at that time served as museums. "Whatever was brilliant in the dwelling of the prince," says Martial,³ "has been given to the gods; every one will behold it." He was blamed for diminishing the respect due to princes by permitting too great familiarity. His answer was: "I shall be towards others as I should have wished, when I was a mere private citizen, that emperors should be towards me." In the prayer annually addressed to the gods that his reign might be prolonged he caused this clause to be inserted: "So long as he shall deserve it;" and in the public acts he placed his own

¹ Plotina, *incredibile dictu est, quanto auxerit gloriam Trajani* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xiv.). Cf. Pliny, *Panegy.*, 83, and *Epist.*, ix. 28.

² Ἀφροδίτη θεὰ νεωτέρων. *Bull. de corr. hell.*, vol. vi. p. 398.

³ *Epigr.*, xii. 15.

⁴ Found on Mount Caelius (Vatican Museum).

name after the senate and the people.¹ Following the example of Augustus, he visited his old friends familiarly, attended their family festivals and joined in their pleasures, supping, walking out or joining in the chase with them. One day they sought to awaken his suspicions against a senator; he went, without a guard,



Remains of the Public Palace.

and dined with him, and the next day said to the accusers: "If he had wished to kill me he would have done so yesterday."

The Cæsars and the Flavii, with exception of the head of the second family, were all men of letters, orators or poets, more or less successful—at least, all had attempted to write. Trajan, who made his first campaign at fourteen, had been able to escape from the baleful education of the period, from those rhetoricians who corrupted the taste of their pupils and sometimes their good sense. He had that experience of affairs and of life which is so needful

¹ Pliny, *Panegy.*, 67 and 72.

to train men of command; and as he had a straightforward mind and an honest heart, he did not manifest any base jealousy against those who possessed the gifts which nature or circumstances had denied him.¹ In the deference shown by this valiant man of war to the senate there was of course a political purpose; there may also be seen in it, as it appears to me, the involuntary respect of the rough soldier to the charm of patrician elegance.

This conduct of a prince who seemed "to conciliate two things hitherto contrary, power and liberty,"² won for him the Fathers as much as did his oath, renewed at Rome, to put no one to death.



Senatorial Coin.³

As guarantee of this promise he had the corrupt delators who still survived seized and delivered over, in the amphitheatre, to insult and mockery, and then transported them to the islands. Several measures of public utility, to be mentioned further on, an ardent zeal for the welfare of the people and respect for the old families,⁴ favours which he granted to the young nobility,⁵ and especially the custom he assumed and maintained of letting the senate talk much⁶ and act but little, assured to him the affection of the upper assembly, which, near the end of his reign, testified its gratitude by decreeing to him the title of *Optimus*, which they had hitherto bestowed only upon Jupiter.

¹ Παιδείας μὲν ἀκριβοῦς, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μερίσσει (Dion, lxxviii. 7). *Quamvis ipse parca esset scientia, moderateque eloquens* (Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xlii.).

² *Res olim dissociabiles miscuerat, principatum et libertatem* (Tac., *Agric.*, 3). The words of Tacitus were applied to Nerva, but are more applicable to Trajan.

³ The title of *optimus princeps* is seen on the coins from the year 106, but only in 116 the word *Optimus* as a surname. The coin given represents the column of Trajan, and has for its legend: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI; great bronze.

⁴ He made a re-issue of coins (Dion, lxxviii. 15), but at the same time preserving many of ancient type to flatter the pride of the old houses. Among the medals recast at that time we have those of forty-three families of the epoch of the Republic; it was as if the aristocracy of ancient Rome were again brought to light. (Cf. Borghesi, *Œuvres compl.*, i. 215). Eckhel thinks that he also had all the consular denarii recast, *per renovare la memoria dell' antiche famiglie romane*, says L. Pizzamiglia (*Storia della mon. rom.*, p. 203, 1867). There was also in this re-issue a consideration of economy, the new pieces having more alloy than the old. The alloy, which from Nero to Nerva had been, for silver denarii, from five to ten per cent., was increased to twenty per cent. Cf. Mommsen, *Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens*, pp. 754-758.

⁵ *Festinat honoribus* . . . (Pliny, *Panegy.*, 69).

⁶ Pliny speaks of discourses of five and even of seven hours' length which he pronounced there, and of three entire days occupied with a single suit.

As to the people, they were carried away with the novelty of this citizen prince, who went on foot in the streets amid the crowd, sometimes in a litter with his friends, and not always in the first place. Besides, behind Trajan they saw the devoted legions; these, indeed, not displeased at perceiving that a firm hand was leading them, had accepted without a murmur at the hands of the new emperor one-half of the ordinary *donativum*, and from this general now in the prime of life they anticipated campaigns, victories, and spoils.

"In fact," exclaims Pliny, "instead of being eclipsed by the prince, the nobility gained new lustre from him: Cæsar neither fears nor dismays the descendants of the heroes, these last sons of liberty. If there is anywhere a remnant of an ancient lineage, a fragment of an old illustrious family, he seeks it out, and infuses new life into it; it is an additional force which he gives to the Republic. Great names are held in honour."¹

Trajan only made a sojourn of less than two years at Rome, from which place he set out for the Dacian war. The Empire might then on the Danube, as many times on the Rhine, have profited by its last success to renounce an embarrassing war which led to adventures and not to security; but Trajan was not the man to be content with this reserved attitude. Bred in camps he had their customs: he was fond of military exercises, the chase, wine, boon companions.² He was especially fond of war, even with its hardest privations: he made war successfully, and consequently took delight in making it. He did not ask whether the policy of Augustus for the frontiers was the best; whether a strong defensive position was not better than the gigantic plan of penetrating to the Indies and returning to Italy through the midst of subjugated barbarians. This soldier felt bored at Rome.³ While the senate was wearying him with its adulations and Pliny by his

¹ *Panegy.*, 69. [This discourse should not be accepted as historical evidence without caution.—Ed.]

² . . . Περὶ μεράκια καὶ περὶ οἶνον ἰσχυρότατοι (Dion, lxxviii. 7). Aurel. Victor assures us that he was obliged to give orders that the commands which he gave after his protracted banquets should not be put into execution. Yet we have seen above (p. 743) that he had, in case of need, the sobriety of a true soldier. There is still visible, on the Arch of Constantine, at Rome, a wild-boar hunt by Trajan (Rossini, *Gli Archi trionfali*, tav. 69).

³ Out of twenty years of reigning he passed eight or nine away from Rome.

verbose elegance,¹ he was dreaming of Cæsar and Alexander, and seeking a pretext for war; and as it was an easy thing to find, he caused his orators to say that the disgrace inflicted upon the Empire under Domitian, on the borders of the Danube, ought to be wiped out.²

We may conclude from some words of Pliny that during the winter of the first year of his principate, which he passed away from Rome,³ Trajan visited the legions of Pannonia and Mœsia, to respond to their felicitations, to inspect this frontier and the camps on the banks of the Danube, to gain some account of the power of the peoples on the opposite bank, and perhaps to begin the great works which were executed in that quarter during his reign. Under Domitian and under Nerva there had been a great deal of disturbance there.⁴ Disastrous engagements and doubtful victories had been witnessed there. Since the Rhine and the Upper Danube had been pacified, Trajan considered that he ought to pacify the Lower Danube also. He was right in turning his arms in this direction, for it is there that the greatest danger in the future will be and there that invasions will commence.

The deep valley of the Danube is inclosed between two parallel chains of mountains—the Balkans and the Carpathians. But while the first fall away to the Black Sea, the second turn abruptly between Cronstadt and Fokchany towards the west, forming the great bend in which Transylvania is to-day included, and then descend again southerly to the Danube, which they overlook with their steep masses for an extent of more than thirty leagues. In front of these masses which separate the plain of Banat (valley

¹ Every phrase of the *Panegyric* is carefully wrought out and may be taken, apart from the bad taste of some of it, for what constitutes Latin *elegance*; but there are few literary works so tedious as this long and chilling amplification. Trajan was perhaps condemned to read it; happily he did not understand it. Pliny developed into a volume the senatorial harangue which he addressed to the emperor on accepting the consulate in the autumn of the year 100, that is to say, at a time when Trajan had as yet done nothing. When one sees what eulogiums an exceedingly honest man like Pliny is able to lavish upon a prince so soon after his accession, one can comprehend what others did, and can say that it must have required pretty strong heads to have resisted the intoxication which these flatterers poured forth.

² Dion well says: *τοῖς τε χοήμασιν, ἃ καὶ ἔτος ἑλάμβανον βαρυνόμενος* (lxviii. 6), but we have seen (p. 713) to what it was necessary to reduce this tribute.

³ *Panegyric*, 12 and 16, or at least before the autumn of the year 100, the time of the compilation of the *panegyric*.

⁴ See on this point p. 703.



Reefs of the Danube.

of the Temes) from the immense Wallachian plain, the Balkans send out on the right bank mighty undulations of land which rise on the bank of the river to the height of 2,000 or 3,000 feet, and by their lower strata cross the bed of the Danube, which they fill with dangerous reefs. This is the celebrated pass called the Iron Gate, which begins at Drenkova and terminates near Orsova. The majestic river, confined in this narrow gorge, which does not measure at Cazan 650 feet in width, rushes angrily along, white with foam; a violent wind raises in that defile such waves as are unknown to rivers generally, and in the shallow waters it requires the most skilful pilot and the firmest hand at the wheel to keep in the channels formed by the ledges at the bottom.¹ Nature is there magnificent, imposing, and bold. Man, too, was great there, for Trajan chained this river by a bridge which the moderns have not yet dared to reconstruct,² and this mountain, which on the left bank descends perpendicularly into the angry waves, he cut into to hollow out in its flank a road which his soldiers could follow at all times. One may read still, cut in the cliff, these words of an inscription: "He opened a way across the vanquished river and mountain."³

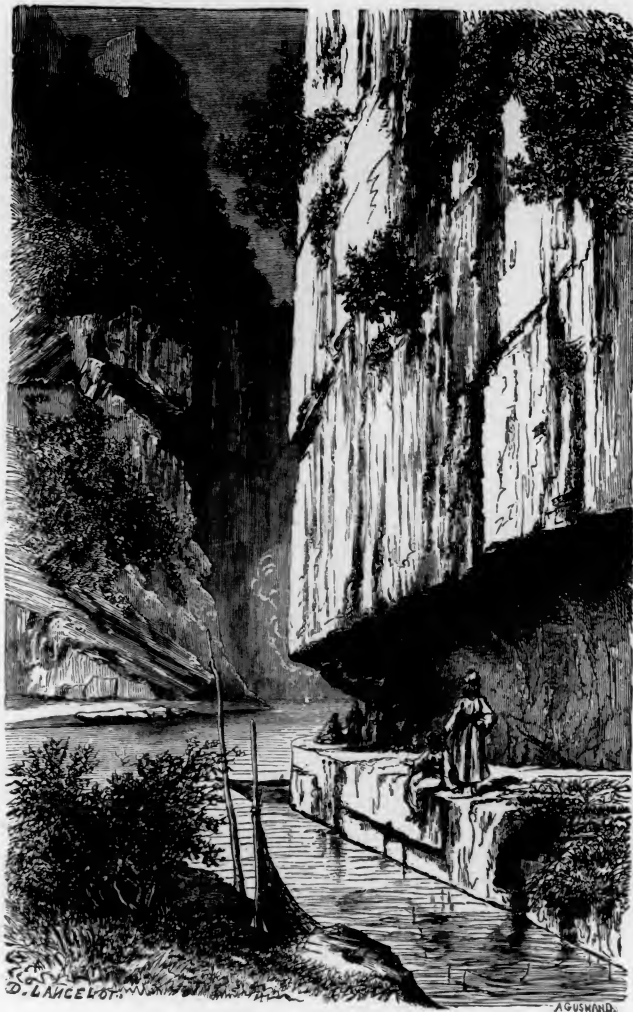
The inscription is of the year 100. We may, therefore, infer that a part of the work was commenced before the first Dacian war. Aurelius Victor even attributes to Trajan the opening of a military road leading from the Euxine to Gaul. The Romans, those grand builders, certainly did not wait more than a century before recognizing the necessity of passing by a safe route along

¹ At Drenkova a special pilot comes on board with three or four men to hold the wheel. I must say, however, that no peril attends this passage. I have made it, and though I found much to admire, I had, in truth, nothing to fear. We in France are only acquainted with the valley of the Rhine; that of the Danube is far superior to it in picturesque beauty or grandeur, the Falls of Schaffhausen excepted. [This is quite true, and applies even to the upper Danube from Passau onward.—*Ed.*]

² The last bridge which one meets in descending the Danube is that which was built between Buda and Pesth thirty or forty years ago.

³ *Montis et fluvii anfractibus superatis, viam patefecit*; several words being partly effaced, Mommsen reads the last part of the inscription thus: *montibus excisis, amnibus superatis, viam fecit* (*C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,699). The road cut in the cliff still exists. In descending the Danube one follows it for several miles. From the middle of the river it appears like a line drawn on the side of the mountain; it is, in fact, but a groove made, a few feet above the deep waters, only five feet wide at the base. Its width was, however, doubled by a wooden platform which projected over the water. There are also to be seen, on the right bank of the Alouta, remains of a Roman road which the Wallachians call *Calea Trajanului*.

the border of the great river which protected their Empire over an extent of 600 leagues, and, as has frequently been the case,



Trajan's Road at Orsova.

the work of several generations has been placed to the account of the prince who had left upon this frontier the most glorious memory.¹

¹ Near the Servian village of Horum, opposite Kozlamare, in the province of Banat, one reads an inscription on a cliff of the right bank of the Danube, belonging to the year 33 or 34,

The importance of the military preparations corresponded to the greatness of the works undertaken to furnish to the army a solid base of operations. From Vienna, at the foot of the Kahlenberg, to Troësmis, in Dobrutcha, eight legions guarded the country of the Pannonians and Mœsia. Five left their cantonments and were united, in the year 101, on the borders of the Save, which carried the heavy baggage down to the Danube, near the places we have just described, towards Viminacium (Costolatz). Trajan came and joined them with the ten prætorian cohorts and the Batavian and Moorish cavalry. It was not too great a force to combat a brave people and a skilful chief, of whom history would have made a hero had it known him better.¹

The Dacians occupied the two sides of the huge promontory which the Carpathians project upon the Danube: to the west, the valley of the Temes or the province of Banat; on the east, the Wallachian plain; but the centre of their power, their capital and their fortresses, were more to the north, in the upper valley of the Marosch (Transylvania).² It was there that decisive blows must be struck. The locality could be



Mars Gradivus.³

reached by three routes: one to the west, across Banat, going over the secondary chain which separates the basins of the Temes and the Marosch by the pass also called the Iron Gate; the others, to the east, by Little Wallachia, ascending the two valleys which lead to two open gorges in the principal chain, that of Jiul (Schyl), ending at the pass of Volcan, and that of Alouta, which, starting in Transylvania, traverses the great chain at the famous defile of the Red Tower (*Rother Thurm*), to the south of Hermannstadt. These openings both lead to the neighbourhood of *Sarmizegethusa* (Varhely).

In the first war, Trajan followed, at least with his main army,

and consequently to the reign of Tiberius, which proves that at this epoch two legions were occupied in constructing a military road along the river. (Griselini, *Gesch. des Temesw. Banat*, i. p. 287, and *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,598.)

¹ See pp. 711-12.

² *Montibus suis inhaerent* (Florus, iv. 12).

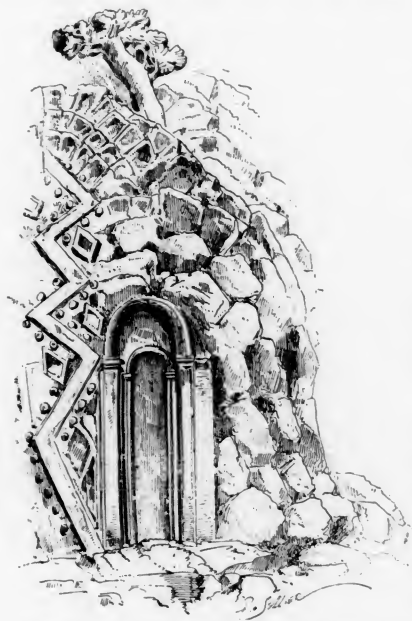
³ Cohen, No. 135. According to the highly probable opinion of M. de Longpérier, the coins which bear on the reverse the image of Mars Gradivus marked the departure of a military expedition. (*Rev. Num.*, 1865, p. 402.)

the route to Banat, which least separated him from his reserves which were in Pannonia; for the second, he seems to have preferred the other routes; in

both cases he marched with one of his flanks covered by the mountains, and hence always near strong positions to hold against a sudden attack.

A bridge of boats, thrown across near the present hamlet of Grodichte, allows him to march out into the plains of the Temes. The army advanced right on by the route which is yet traced on the map of Peutinger, crossed the *Eiserne Thor* (Iron Gate), and turning to the east arrived before the principal stronghold of the Dacians, *Sarmizegethusa* (Varhely). This place was

captured with the spoils which several generations had collected there. The Burri, a people who had settled in the upper valley of the Theiss, attempted to interpose in favour of the Dacians; their message was written in Latin characters on a huge mushroom, or rather on a buckler. Trajan paid no heed to a menace which came from a people of so little account; he pushed the enemy vigorously beyond the Marosch and crushed them in a great battle. The Dacians acknowledged their defeat; they gave up their arms, the deserters, the eagle captured from Fuscus, levelled their fortresses, and agreed to regard the friends of the Roman people as allies and their adversaries as



The Iron Gate (after the Column of Trajan).¹



Coin commemorative of the Destruction of the Bridge of Boats.²

¹ Fröhner, *la Col. Traj.*, pl. 42, and Bartoli, *Col. Trajana* (Roma, 1672), pl. 35.

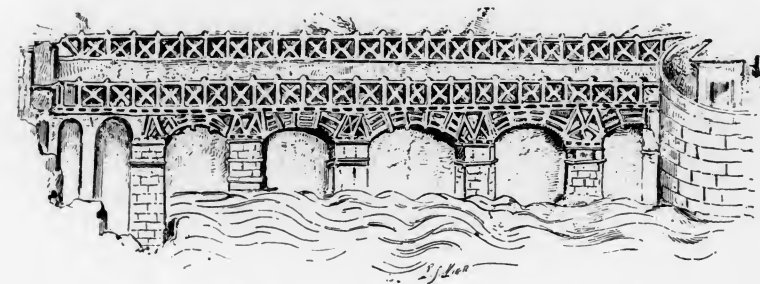
² DANVVIVS COS. V. PP. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINC. The Danube crowned with reeds, the right arm extended, the left arm resting on an urn. Silver coin.

enemies. Decebalus himself came forward and accepted these hard conditions. His capital received a Roman garrison, which was connected by a line of fortified posts with the camps on the Danube. The expedition had required two campaigns (101-102), and three serious engagements, for Trajan was three times saluted *imperator* by his soldiers.

He re-entered Rome in triumph, with the surname of Dacicus, and paid for his welcome by two favours about equally agreeable to the people; a *congiarium* and the recall of the mimes, against whom he had at first revived the law of Domitian. But the festivities which followed the solemn entry were scarcely ended when ill news arrived from the Danube.¹



The Bridge of the Danube (Great Bronze; Cohen, No. 419).



The Bridge of Trajan over the Danube (after the Column of Trajan).

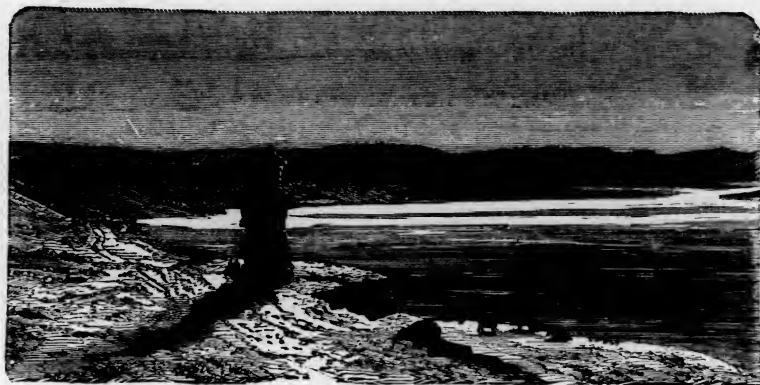
The Dacians had again plucked up courage. They rebuilt their forts, collected arms, formed relations with all the enemies of Rome, and attacked, beyond the Temes, their allies the Iazyges. Trajan returned to the midst of his soldiers in 105,² resolved to have done with this people.

The principal attack took place on the east, by the valleys of the Jiul and the Alouta. To move his army easily to this side he ordered the completion, by his architect Apollodorus, of a

¹ At those of the second Dacian triumph in 106 or 107 he gave the people, during 123 days, games in which 10,000 gladiators fought and 11,000 wild beasts were slain. (Dion, lxxviii. 15.)

² M. des Vergers places the second declaration of war at the end of the year 104. Mommsen and Dierauer make the resumption of hostilities in 105.

bridge begun at the time of the former war,¹ near Turn-Severin, the remains of which still exist at the bottom of the river, where



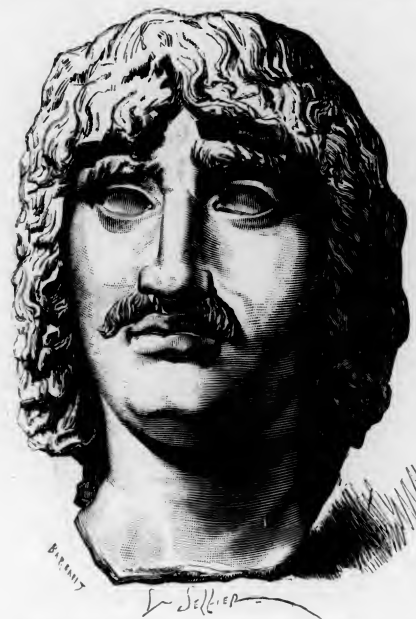
The Danube at the Bridge of Trajan.

have been seen at low water sixteen of the twenty stone piers which had sustained the wooden trusses.² The work would be

¹ In our day the construction of a bridge across the Seine requires two seasons; it must have taken much longer for the bridge of Trajan. What are pointed out as the remains of the bridge of Trajan at Gieli are the ruins of fortresses built in the Middle Ages.

² In 1858 an Austrian commission made a careful study of these remains. The Roman army was employed in this work; great tiles bearing the names of cohorts have been dredged near the piers. "The ruins of the bridge of Trajan still exist, and during low water the lower courses of the piers, now carried away, are quite visible about six miles below the last cataract of the Iron Gates, thirteen miles down the river from Orsova, and nearly opposite Turno-Severino. In this part of its course, where the river is reduced to a single branch, rose a bridge of timber-work, whose semi-circular trusses, composed of three courses of arches superposed and fastened with cross-pieces, had nearly 120 feet span, and rested on two abutments and twenty piers of masonry, 177 feet distant from axis to axis, which gave for the span of the bridge, the open and filled spaces included, 3,720 feet. Fortresses guarded each entrance to the bridge. The place of crossing was chosen with rare sagacity away from the cataracts, where the current is tranquil, and where the extent of the plain allows the river to expand in breadth without deepening its channel too much. The greatest depth there is, in low water, only about twenty feet. The bottom is a gravelly sand, solid enough to bear the weight of masonry. The description which Dion Cassius has made of the work bears marks of evident exaggeration. The height of the piers would have been 150 Roman feet, or 156½ feet English, for which there was no occasion; and the arches, in semi-circular masonry, connected, according to his account, piers distant 170 feet from axis to axis, which would be, even in our day, a marvel of construction. The bas-reliefs of the column of Trajan and several bronze medals struck under the reign of Trajan give a complete denial to this description. The arches which are there figured are of timber-work, composed of a triple course of pieces of concentric curve, and whose equidistance is preserved by braces converging towards the arch, an ingenious plan often employed by the moderns, and of which the work of art which gives us the image of it shows the apt dispositions, except in certain details, where the artist has probably altered the forms which the celebrated Apollodorus of Damascus, the architect of

exceedingly difficult even to day: in the time of Trajan it was far more so; hence one cannot too greatly admire the resources of the Empire which undertook it and the genius of the architect who executed it. In this locality the distance between the banks is 1,200 yards;¹ in low water a depth of 20 feet is still found in the channel, and twice as much at the season of high water, and the mean flow exceeds 9,800 yards per second. To build the Pyramids or the Coliseum was a less difficult undertaking.



Decebalus conquered by Trajan (British Museum).²

Before the Roman army crossed the bridge Decebalus, feeling apprehensive, attempted to avert the tempest by causing the emperor to be assassinated. This stroke failing, he asked for peace and reimbursement of his war expenses, promising in exchange to give up Cassius, one of Trajan's best generals, who had been treacherously captured. To leave his prince entirely at liberty Cassius took poison. The news of this noble act of devotion heightened the ardour of the Romans; the most difficult obstacles were surmounted, and the enemy, vanquished at every encounter, was dislodged from every stronghold. Decebalus ended his career bravely: at the taking of his last fortress he threw himself upon his sword and his chiefs put themselves to death after him. He had buried his treasure in the bed of the river, the course of which had been turned aside, and put

the column, had given to the bridge of which he was the engineer." (Official report of M. L. Lalanne, president of the European Technical Commission for the Construction of a Bridge over the Danube; December, 1879.)

¹ 3,570 Grecian feet. (Dion, lxxviii. 13.) It appears that Apollodorus constructed an artificial island on a shallow in the middle of the river. (Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. v. 67 sq.)

² *Description of the British Museum*, vol. iii. pl. 6.

to death the captives who had been employed in that work;¹ one of his intimates revealed the secret. This was towards the end of the year 106. Still another brave people, which, after a desperate resistance, has disappeared from history; but it is not utterly dead: Dacian blood yet remains in the inhabitants of Roumania.

The conquest had been achieved. To render it durable Trajan summoned into the region comprised between the Temes and the Alouta (Banat, Transylvania, and Little Wallachia), settlers drawn from all the provinces of the Empire² and veterans from all the



Dacia, Roman Province.³

legions. He there organized two powerful colonies: *Ulpia Trajana* at *Sarmizegetusa*, in the centre of the country, the better to keep it under restraint, and *Tsierna*, in the vicinity of the great bridge, that his legions might always have free entry into the province. He founded two others on the right bank of the Danube: *Æscus* (Gicen) and *Ratiaria*, near Brsa-Palanca; finally, he built, opposite the mouth of the Alouta, the city of Victory, *Nicopolis*, which is still so-called.⁴ To these names might be added, if their ruins had yielded them up to us, those of municipia, fortresses and entrenched camps,⁵ which were established in order to bring under cultivation this fruitful soil, to work the mines in the Carpathians, and to assure at the same time the obedience of its subjects and their security. In the smiling valley

¹ The Goths did the same for the burial of Alaric.

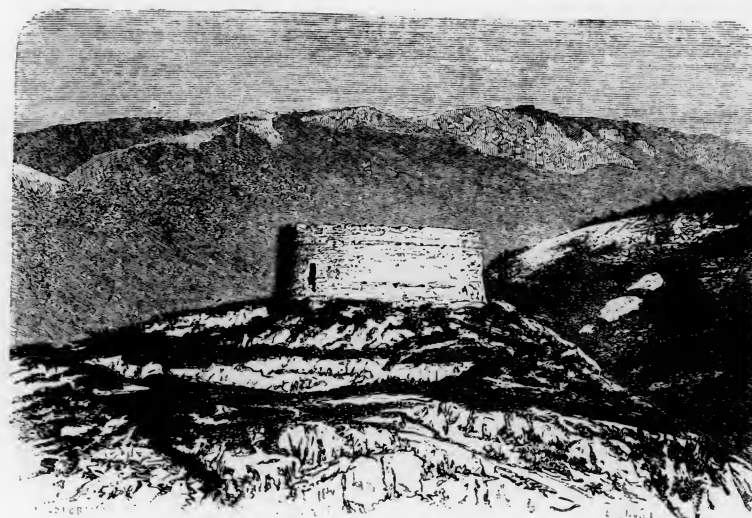
² *Ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas* (Eutropius, viii. 3). The colonists of Latin origin must have been far the most numerous, since their language has remained in the country, and because *Augustales* are to be met there, which are only found in the western provinces. But the inscriptions show Asiatics, Galatians, Carians, etc., at Napoca, Sarmizegetusa, etc. (cf. *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. p. 160, Nos. 859, 860, 870, 882), and Dalmatians at *Alburnus major* (Verespatak), etc. These must have been veterans who were compelled to learn Latin in the service, without renouncing their religious beliefs.

³ Dacia holding an ensign, and seated on a rock (the Carpathians). The bunch of grapes which one of the children holds is proof that Transylvania had vineyards before the conquest. (Cohen, No. 332.)

⁴ *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. Nos. 753, 1,641, and p. 141, and Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 4, 12.

⁵ See Francke, pp. 158-178, the province of Dacia in the *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. pp. 161-261, and the *Carte de Peutinger*, édit. Desjardins. The municipalities of Dacia were afterwards raised to the rank of colonies: *Napoca* (Kolosvar or Klausenburg), under Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius; *Apulum* (Karlsburg, in the upper valley of the Marosch), perhaps under Marcus Aurelius; *Putavisensium vicus* (Thorda), under Septimius Severus. In Transylvania alone remains of twenty-three camps have been found; Sarmizegetusa, Tsierna, Napoca, and Apulum had at that time or later the *jus italicum*, that is to say, exemption from taxes. (*Digest*, l. 15, i. §§ 8 and 9.)

of the Czerna, where Trajan certainly tarried when he came to look after the work on the bridge, flow two springs, one sulphurous, the other ferruginous. The Romans made haste to construct at that place the baths of Mehadia, which speedily became famous and are so yet. They consecrated them to Hercules, because these waters restored the strength, and there has been found there an



Roman Tower in Transylvania.

inscription *Hygie et Veneri*, the two goddesses of whom, in all times, at watering places, health and pleasure have been implored.

Between these towns the two legions left by Trajan in Dacia¹ built roads measured to the line, like those of the rest of the Empire, and in the interior of cities erected altars, temples, and amphitheatres, some of which date from the first days of the conquest, since at the end of scarcely half a century Antoninus was obliged to rebuild one which was falling from antiquity.² Mines of gold were found in the mountains of Transylvania. Trajan organized the working of them by skilled miners summoned from Dalmatia,³ where they were accustomed to these works,⁴ and who

¹ The *XIIIa Gemina* and the *Ia Adjutrix* (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,628).

² *Vetustate dilapsam*, at Porolissum (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 836, in the year 157).

³ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 213-14: some inscriptions mention guilds of *auroriorum* and *salariorum*.

⁴ Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 21) speaks of an auriferous vein discovered in Dalmatia in the time of Nero, which yielded fifty pounds of gold per day.

have left us numerous inscriptions mentioning some of their usages or their contracts.¹

A brisk commerce soon united to the ancient provinces this barbarian land, where were seen, as in the oldest cities of the Empire, guilds formed by mechanics, societies of foreign tradesmen established in Dacian towns, and even tombs of men from Palmyra² or Iturea. None of the Dacian inscriptions which furnish these details mentions any ancient divinities of the country, but there is a great deal concerning oriental gods, Mithra, Isis, Serapis, Jupiter of Tavium (Galatia), that of Heliopolis (Syria), of the *Bonus Puer* (Phosphorus or the Egyptian Horus), of the Gallic Nehalennia, of the Virgin of Carthage, etc.³ The current of colonization determined by Trajan and his successors had been so strong that the indigenous population was submerged, and had no power to pierce through the new society which enveloped it and to make it accept some of its gods, as had happened in Gaul after Cæsar's conquest.

It must then be recognized that the Romans, if we leave out of account the populace of Rome, the scum of the universe, had in their decline retained some of their ancient qualities. The colonists of Trajan have assimilated to themselves the ancient population found in all the Wallachian villages, where it may be recognized by the lofty stature, clear complexion, blond hair, and by the calm and leisurely movements of the men of the north, while the descendants of the colonists have preserved the low stature, keen glance, black hair, and the vivacity of the men of the south. Under the Latin influence these elements so diverse blended into a harmonious whole. Dacia became a new Italy, *Tzarea Roumanesca*. In spite of the invasions it has suffered it is still called Roumania: its people are Roman people, and from the banks of the Marosch to those of the Pruth, from the Danube to the summit of the Carpathians, they speak a Latin tongue.⁴

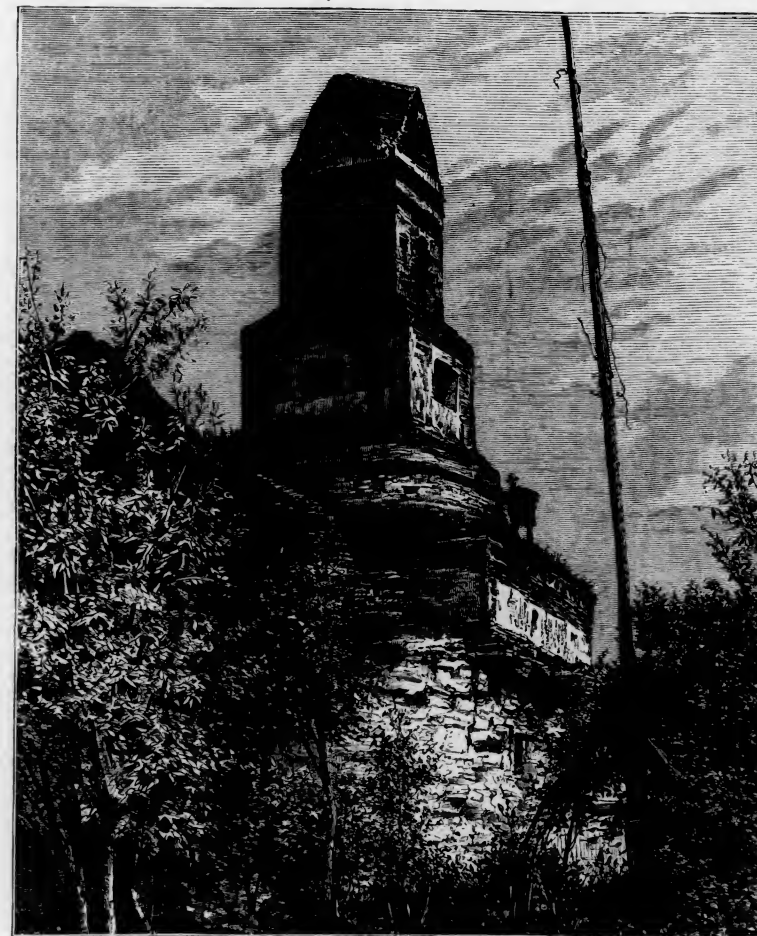
¹ Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. pp. 921-966: *Instrumenta Dacia in tabulis ceratis conscripta*.

² There are also funeral inscriptions of natives of Palmyra in the oases of Algeria. Cf. L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Algérie*, Nos. 1,637, 1,639, etc.

³ *C. I. L.*, *ibid.*, *passim*. At Aquincum, in Pannonia, an inscription has been found in honour of Baal. (*Musée Epigr. de Pesth*, by M. E. Desjardins.)

⁴ A language, at least, of which the foundation is Latin. Thus the Latin has given to the Roumanian only about 1,200 simple words against 2,800 Slavic; but the Latin words are

Bearing in mind the short period which was required to bring about this transformation, one is led to consider this Latinization



Roman Mausoleum in Transylvania.

of Dacia as the greatest achievement in colonization of which history has any knowledge.

We have related nearly all that ancient writers report concerning

generally the essential ones and have more derivatives than the Slavic words. (*Dict. d'étymol. daco-romane*, de Cihac, 1879.)

this war. One may learn far more from Trajan's column, which is for the military life of the Romans what Pompeii is for their civil life: the faithful representation of things which disappeared 1,800 years ago. The bas-reliefs which unroll in graceful spirals around its white marble shaft reveal to us the arms and costumes of the legionaries and the barbarians, their military engines, their camps, the assaults of strongholds, the passages of rivers, Trajan himself haranguing his troops or bandaging the wounded, and the king of the Dacians throwing himself upon his sword that he might not outlive his people.¹

This monument of the military glory of Rome, more durable than its Empire, still rears its head aloft in the midst of the *débris* of the Forum which Trajan created by obliterating a slope which descended from the Quirinal towards the Capitol. From an inscription engraved on the pedestal, it was necessary to remove a mass of earth the height of which was equal to that of the column, 128 feet.² We cannot give a complete description of this monument, but the

¹ M. Fröhner (*la Colonne Trajane*) has undertaken to reconstruct the history of the Dacian wars with the bas-reliefs of this monument. But, though they are a precious mine for the archaeologist, two elements indispensable to the historian are wanting: the indications of time and place which only an inscription could give. As many as 2,500 figures are there enumerated.

² *Ad declarandum quantæ altitudinis mons et locus tantis operibus sit egestus* (Orelli, 29).



The Trajan Column.

nature of this book requires that we should at least reproduce its principal scenes.

The first combat is an infantry engagement at the passage of



Jupiter hurling the Thunderbolt. (Fröhner, pl. 15; Bartoli, pl. 17 and 18.)

a river which the Dacians are defending; they are giving way,



Cavalry delivering the Troops. (Fröhner, 27 and 28; Bartoli, *ibid.*)

terrified by a storm which is indicated by Jupiter casting his thunderbolt.

The following bas-reliefs show the emperor embarking to

succour his troops besieged in their camp and bringing them deliverance. This time the cavalry has the honour of the victory,



Wounded brought in. (Fröh., pl. 31; Bart., 28.)

notwithstanding the assistance furnished to the Dacians by the Sarmatians, who are recognized by the absence of the buckler.

But the success is dearly bought, for many soldiers are brought into the field-hospital, where surgeons dress their wounds.



Trajan fortifies his Camps. (Fröh., 29; Bart., 29.)

Trajan advances cautiously, marking his route by camps which the legionaries construct, making them strong like fortresses.

By his words and gifts he supports the soldiers' courage.



Trajan bestowing Largesses. (Fröh., 35, 36, 37; Bart., 32.)

A Moorish chief, Lusius Quietus, with his swift horsemen, whose small horses with bushy manes suggest those of Numidia,



Lusius Quietus reconnoitring. (Fröh., 50; Bart., 47.)

pushes his reconnoissances into the forests surrounding the Dacian capital, Sarmizegetusa.

He opens the way for the emperor, who besieges and reduces



Trajan gives orders to besiege Sarmizegetusa. (Fröh., 56; Bart., 50.)

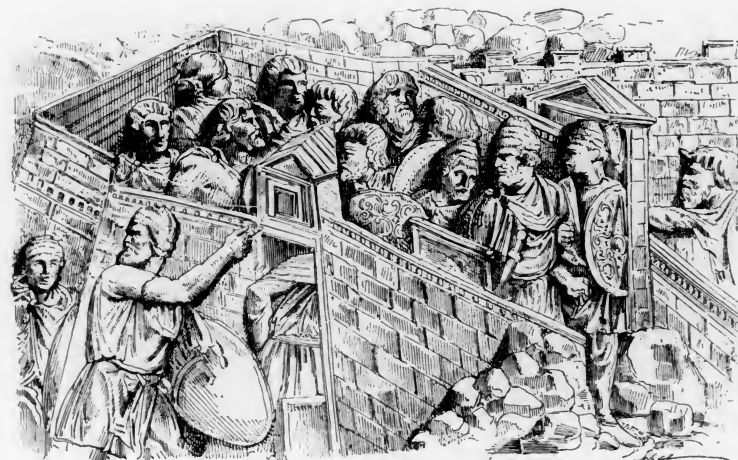
the city. The conquered Decebalus comes to tender his submission.



The Decebalus makes his Submission. (Fröh., 51; Bart., 54, 55.)

Trajan, upon quitting Dacia, leaves garrisons in fortified

camps; on the breaking out of the second war these camps are besieged; he hastens to deliver them.



Trajan comes to deliver the Camps. (Fröh., 96; Bart., 71.)

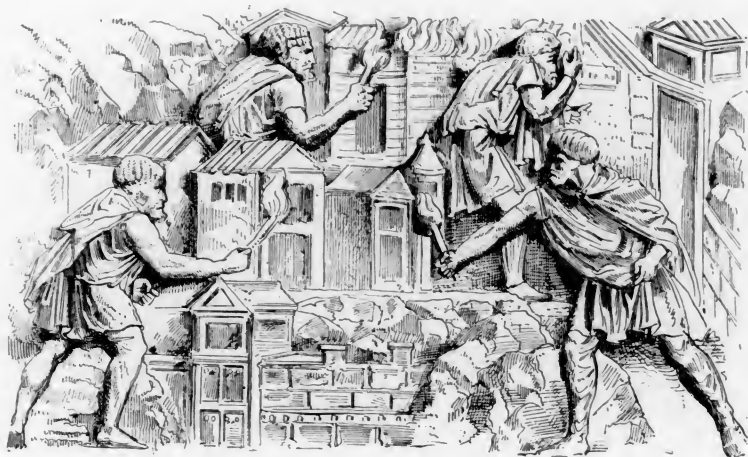
He encounters fierce resistance; a severe battle under the



Battle. (Fröh., 94; Bart., 89.)

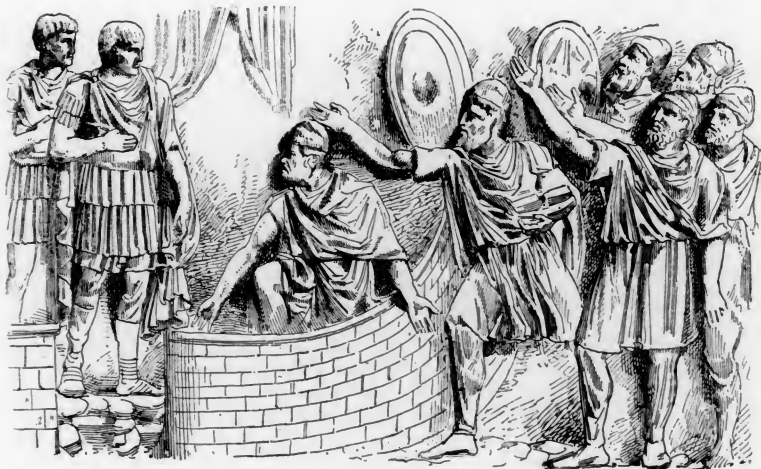
walls of the new Dacian capital gives it into his power.

But the Decebalus sets it on fire before surrendering it, while



The Decebalus sets his Capital on Fire. (Fröh., 97, 98; Bart., 92, 93.)

his principal chiefs assembled at a banquet drink of a poisoned cup



Dacian Chiefs making their Submission. (Fröh., 100; Bart., 95.)

to escape the disgrace of captivity. Others, less proud, come and make their submission to the Romans.

The Decebalus, however, did not despair; he again tried the



Suicide of the Decebalus. (Fröh., 116; Bart., 108.)

fortunes of battle; a last defeat decided him to take his own life.



Head of the Decebalus brought to Trajan. (Fröh., 116; Bart., 109.)

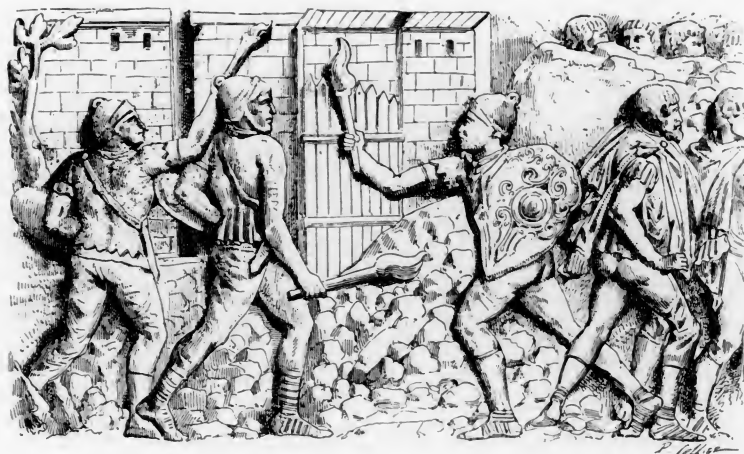
His head brought to Trajan and afterwards sent to Rome announced the close of the war.

He leaves behind him some brave comrades, who sell their



Last Combats. (Fröh., 121; Bart., 111.)

lives dearly. They were only destroyed by burning the villages in which they had taken shelter.



Burning of the Villages. (Fröh., 123; Bart., 112.)

The war had been waged on both sides without mercy. The

report had been circulated in the legions that the Dacians delivered over the Roman captives to their women, that they might put them to death by torture. Trajan's architect had also, upon the column, represented them in the act of slaying the prisoners. In rearing this monument, which has served as a model for all triumphal columns, the Greek Apollodorus has renounced the genius of his race, which would have required idealized art; but he has obeyed that genius of Rome which finds gratification in reality and utility. He has reproduced all the incidents of these two campaigns: the field-works of the soldiers, their weapons, their costume, and that of their adversaries; one beholds there even the medical service of the legion in operation. But let us not complain at this: in this severe marble epic one may read, not only the Dacian war, but all those which the Romans carried on beyond the Danube and the Rhine.

During the conquests of the prince in the north one of his lieutenants, Cornelius Palma, went forth by the eastern frontier, beyond the ancient limits of the Empire. The great desert which stretches from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, envelopes Syria and Palestine in its billows of sand and with its nomad marauders. On the border of the cultivated lands, and almost under the same meridian, are found the great city of Damascus which the Romans had for some time held in partial dependence, and the four towns of Bostra, Gerasa, Rabbath-Ammon (Philadelphia), and Petra; the latter in the open desert, equally distant from the Red Sea and from the Dead Sea, and on the route of the caravans which went



Dacian Women torturing Roman Prisoners. (Fröh., pl. 36; Bart., 33.)

from the valley of the Euphrates to that of the Nile. It was the residence of the king of the Nabataeans, Zabel, who held command as far as Damascus, but also the haunt of bandits who desolated the rich countries of the Jordan and harassed the caravans. Cornelius Palma took possession of these places in the year 105,¹



A Camel,
on a Coin
of Bostra.

reduced the country to a province

(*Arabia*), and made of Bostra a colony which served as quarters to the legion IIIa Cyrenaica. Roads

were at once laid out and conduits of water established to utilize the

mountain torrents and give life to the arid plain. An inscription recently discovered is a complimentary address of the inhabitants of Kanata to the imperial legate who, directly after the capture, had conducted a fountain within their walls.³

With rulers of such foresight the towns gained life, wealth, and a numerous population; Petra became the centre of a considerable commerce, and we find the nomads, seized with a taste for the arts, decorating their cities with monuments, whose ruins, in the midst of solitudes, astonish and delight the traveller; while many, won by the attraction of the soldier's pay, entered the service of the Empire; the old road-makers undertook to keep them.⁵



Coin of Zabel.²



Arabia.⁴

III.—ADMINISTRATION.

These conquests, the first especially, produced a great effect at Rome.⁶ Since the reign of Augustus the Empire had been augmented

¹ The era of the new province commences on the 22nd of March, 106. (Waddington, *Mel. de num.*, 2e série, p. 162.)

² Heads of Zabel and his mother Sequialath, placed one upon the other. On the reverse, their names and two cornucopias. Bronze coin.

³ 'Εκ ποροίας of Corn. Balbus. (Waddington, *Inscr. de Syrie*, No. 2,296.)

⁴ ARAB. ADQ. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S. C. Arabia standing; at her feet an ostrich. Great bronze.

⁵ One inscription mentions a *cohors quinta Ulpia Petraeorum*. (*Bull. de l'Inst. arch.*, 1870, p. 22.) In others is cited the *IIIa coh. Ituraeorum*. (Wilmanms, 1,630, 1864.)

⁶ We possess many coins with the legend: *Dacia captive* and the image of a woman with



Ruins of Gensara, after Rey, *Voyage dans le Hauran*.

only by Britain, under Claudius, and the unhappy prince had won neither glory nor popularity by the success of his lieutenants. But the double expedition led by Trajan himself into an uncivilized country, the submission of a formidable people, the multitudes of colonists who were seen making their way from the heart of the provinces toward these fruitful lands, and the Roman eagles soaring above the Carpathian Mountains in the midst of a world of barbarians, all this produced what is called glory, and stirred men's imaginations. The senate decreed for the generals triumphal statues, for the prince his column, and the poets dreamed of epic songs in honour of the new Rome. "How can you find," wrote Pliny to his friend Caninius, "a subject so fruitful, and although all truth, more like a fable? You will show us vast rivers turned into arid plains,¹ new bridges thrown across rivers, camps established upon steep mountains, and a resolute king driven from his capital and deprived of life."² But, as the Latin spirit was already on the decline, in letters at least, it is in the metre and idiom of Homer that Caninius purposed to write his national poem; and Pliny, feeling the same solicitude as Boileau did, found only one difficulty in the task, that of introducing barbarous names into Greek verse.

Trajan's Return to Rome.²

However, when the conqueror of Dacia was back again in the city, one might have thought, looking at things from without, that there was only one senator more at Rome. This is the epigram of Martial. That impure poet, who styled Domitian a god, does not

her hands bound behind her back, seated or thrown down upon shields. (Cohen, ii., *Traj.*, No. 74.) One other (No. 332), later than the conquest, bears for legend: *Dacia Aug. prov. s. c.*, and shows Dacia seated upon a rock holding an ensign surmounted by an eagle; on the left a child holding ears of corn; before her, another child holding a bunch of grapes. It is the medal of the colonization.

¹ Allusion to some river which Trajan had turned from its course for some military operation.

² Bronze medallion, struck in 106, on the return from the campaign in Dacia. The emperor, mounted, head bare, with cuirass and holding a spear, is preceded by Plenty and followed by three soldiers.

³ *Epist.*, viii. 4.

even accord to Trajan the name of lord. "We no longer behold a master here," he cries, "but the most just of senators."¹ He, in fact, discussed with his colleagues, legislated or occupied the judge's seat with them;² he suffered them to fulfil, with entire freedom, their innocent functions, and even to dispose as they saw fit of the magistracies, those gilded idols still held in great veneration, but from which political life had withdrawn.³ To promote a greater number of senators to the consulate, Trajan appointed twelve consuls each year, and only five times during his reign assumed the fasces himself, submitting to all the customary formalities, even to the oath taken while standing before the consul in charge, who remained seated and dictated the words.

For the elections he established the secret ballot, which furnished a safeguard to the dignity of the senators, since the eye of the prince could not note the opposers. Pliny applauds this reform and at the same time fears it, with good reason. This mode of balloting, good for the inferior class whose freedom requires protection, is bad for the great, who by this means escape the responsibility of their vote. It is true that the great were at that time very inferior persons. The first time that the senators made use of this new mode of voting, jests and even improper language were found upon several of the ballots; one of them bore the names of the supporters in place of the names of the candidates. At these unexpected revelations the senate resounded with indignant outcries, and all the wrath of the emperor was invoked upon the guilty. They remained unknown. These malicious jesters were doubtless witty fellows who, in public, played their part with great gravity, but laughed under the mask at the comedy they had just acted. Pliny is not one of these; a

¹ *Epigr.*, x. 12.

² For instance, in the case of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, prosecuted for malversation, Pliny and Tacitus were directed by the senate to conduct the accusation. The arguments lasted three days, and Trajan was present at all the sittings, which were protracted, as on one occasion Pliny spoke four hours. Priscus was condemned to banishment (December, 99, and January, 100). Pliny was also charged by the senate to sustain the complaint brought by the whole province against Cæcilius Classicus, proconsul of Bætica (101?). Under Domitian he had obtained the condemnation of another proconsul of this province, Bæbius Massa. (*Epist.*, iii. 4 and 9.) In 103 or 104 he defended Julius Bassus, proconsul of Bithynia.

³ Exception must, of course, be made in the case of the civil magistracies (*prætor urbanus*, *peregr.*, *de fidei commissis*) and the administrative or military functions of the provincial governors and commanders of legions, which were necessarily very active.

man so pre-occupied with public opinion maintained etiquette and ceremony even in his bed-chamber, where, that very evening, he related the scene to a friend, demanding whether such persons were not capable of anything.

Why then does he disturb his serenity by discordant words? He conscientiously admires his prince and with good reason; he even comes little short of believing himself back in the times of the Republic. "You have commanded us to be free," cries he, "and we shall be free."¹ They allowed themselves to be deceived by his words, and some thought themselves transported back to the ancient Republic. A secretary of the emperor, Titinius Capito, erected in his house, in the place of honour, statues of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, which had ceased to be seditious. He wrote the history of these eminent citizens immolated by tyranny, and gave public

readings upon them, at which all the highest society of Rome congregated.² But men who require to be commanded to be free, never will be. Liberty is "taken by violence," or better, public opinion imposes it. The people who would receive it by order would neither be worthy nor capable of preserving it. In reality, the authority of Trajan was as absolute as that of any of his predecessors.



Cassius.²

¹ *Panegy.*, 56.

² Statue, beautiful in style and well preserved. The plinth bears the name of *Cassius*. (Villa Massimi. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 912b, No. 2,303.)

³ Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 17; viii. 12.

Pliny in his *Letters*, where he is no longer hampered by official eloquence, clearly shows that Rome had not ceased to have a master. "It is true," says he, "that all is done according to the will of one man, who, in the common interest, himself alone undertakes the cares and labours of all."¹ He so far forgets himself, in the *Panegyric*, as to make this prince the universal proprietor, "who may at his will dispose of all that others possess."²

Trajan is one of the most sympathetic characters in history. If he lacks the lofty intelligence and political audacity of the reconstructive reformer, he possesses the wisdom and power which consolidate and preserve. With the miracle of a succession of emperors such as he, Rome would have been saved, because in countries of absolute government the power of the prince for good is equal to that for evil. We always discern in his decisions the spirit of justice, in his administrative correspondence perfect good sense, in his private life moderation and discretion, with exception of certain vices of the time;³ at the palace economy, in the public works magnificence; in all, and for all, discipline, order, and absolute respect arising from law.

Thus he opposed pronouncing condemnation against a person involuntarily absent, or upon an anonymous denunciation. "It is better," he writes to Severus, "to let a guilty person escape than punish an innocent one."⁴ It was the simplest equity, and there would have been no occasion to praise him for it if others had not so often done the opposite. For suits with the treasury he established a tribunal whose judge was designated by lot, and in which the parties had the right of challenge. "Power and liberty," says Pliny, "plead at the same forum, and most frequently it is not the treasury that wins—the treasury whose case is never a poor one except under a good prince."⁵

¹ *Sunt quidem cuncta sub unius arbitrio, qui pro utilitate communi solus omnium curas laboresque suscepit* (iv. 20).

² . . . *Cujus est quicquid est omnium, tantum ipse quantum omnes habet* (27).

³ Fronto (*ad M. Anton. de Fer. Als.*, 3) says of him: *Summus bellator tam histrionibus interdum sese delectavit et præterea potavit satis strenue*, and Aurel. Victor is obliged (*de Cæs.*, 13) to say: *Curari vetans jussa post longiores epulas*. He had another vice of the time. When Julian makes him enter the assembly of the gods, Silenus, at sight of him, becomes anxious for Ganymede: "Our lord Jupiter," says he, "has now only to keep watch over our cup-bearer."

⁴ *Digest*, xlviii. 19, 5.

⁵ *Panegyric*, 36.

Often he came and took a seat among the judges, heard the witnesses, and rendered decisions, though it might, as in case of Marius Priscus, require him to remain three whole days in the senate, over which he presided in capacity of consul. He received the appeals from all the tribunals of the Empire, and retained the cases for which his personal examination was solicited. Pliny has left us the picture of one of these imperial assizes, in a charming letter which awakens our love for the writer, but far more still for the prince concerning whom it was written. "I have been," says he, "summoned to a council at *Centum Cellæ*. Cases of different kinds were heard. Claudius Aristo, a man of consequence among the Ephesians, had been accused by envious persons. He was acquitted and received satisfaction.¹ The next day the case of Galitta, wife of a military tribune, was heard. She was accused of adultery with a centurion. The husband wrote an account of it to the consular legate, who referred the matter to the prince. The proofs being conclusive, Cæsar broke the centurion and condemned him to banishment. His accomplice remained. But the husband delayed, and, content with the removal of his rival, retained his wife in his house. He was summoned to finish the charge, which he did against his will, but even in spite of the accuser she was found guilty and sentenced to the punishment inflicted by the *Lex Julia*. The emperor added to the sentence both the name of the centurion and an account of the military discipline, lest it might be imagined he reserved the power of all such trials to himself."²

"The third day they examined the codicils of Julius Tiro, some of which were admitted and other parts charged to have been forged. Sempronius Senecio, a Roman knight, and Eurythmus, a freedman of the prince and an officer of his household, were accused in this case. Their heirs jointly, by a written epistle, petitioned the emperor, during his Dacian expedition, to take the determination of the cause upon himself. On his return to Rome he appointed a day for their hearing. Some, out of respect to a freedman of the palace, would have dropped the prosecution. 'I

¹ That is, the delator was punished. I give only so much of this letter as treats of the judgments.

² It is as *imperator* or chief of the army that he gave judgment in this cause.

am not Nero,' said he to them, 'nor is he Polycletus.' Then, in accordance with the opinion of the council, he commanded that notice should be given to all the heirs to prosecute their cause, or that each of them should assign his reasons for desisting; otherwise he would pronounce sentence against them as calumniators. You see in how honourable and weighty affairs our days were passed."¹

He disliked the delators, although that class was a necessity at Rome and the law encouraged them by according to them, even in civil cases, one quarter of the fortune of the condemned (*quadruplatores*). Under the bad princes they gained far more. Trajan, who had already expelled from Rome those who were most compromised in the political accusations, greatly lessened for the others the perquisites of their industry, by deciding that the citizens holding caducary property who, of their own motion, might make a declaration of it to the treasury prior to the introduction of any suit, should share the heritage with it. He seems even to have established a sort of penalty of retaliation.² Pliny has just shown Trajan condemning as calumniators those who preferred a charge without sustaining the accusation, and the penalty was a grave one—usually that which the accused would have incurred. "Let them suffer," says Pliny, "what they have made others suffer; let them fear as much as they are feared."³

The law of majesty had received a deplorable extension by the permission granted to slaves to accuse their master: Trajan⁴ withdrew this right from them. At the same stroke he broke one of the weapons of tyranny and restored peace to the bosom of families, for the rich were no longer to be surrounded by hateful spies in their inmost dwellings, even in the intimacy and secrecy of private life. He strengthened the discipline of slavery and clientelage, by deciding by an edict that the freedman or slave who had purchased or obtained of an emperor, without the knowledge of his patron or master, the complete right of citizenship and

¹ *Epist.*, v. 31.

² This is the opinion of Bach, *de Leg. Traj. imp. comment.*

³ *Panegy.*, 35.

⁴ The torso of the statue given on page 785 was found in 1747, near ancient Minturnæ. On the cuirass are two young girls dancing at the side of Minerva. The head is added, but antique. The arms and legs are restored. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl. 942, No. 2,412.)



Statue of Trajan (Museum of Naples).

consequently the free disposition of his property, might retain this right during his life-time, but at his death should become a Latin freedman, so that his fortune reverted to his former patron.¹ The former legislation condemned to death all the slaves of the master who had been assassinated; it was aggravated by a constitution of Trajan, which in this case subjected to torture not only the testamentary freedmen, but those who, having received during the life-time of the master their liberty, possessed in totality or in part the Roman citizenship. This prince did not, therefore, feel the effect of the doctrines which were then agitating slavery. He preserved the ancient institution, and yet he did not allow it to be fraudulently altered. A great number of children born free were exposed or stolen, and served as slaves. He recognized their perpetual right to reclaim their liberty, without having to repurchase it by payment for food which they had received.²

With the same spirit of justice he directed a legitimate blow at paternal authority, by forcing the father who had maltreated his son to give him his freedom and to renounce his heritage.³ It appears that we must also date back to him the creation of the *curator rei publicæ*, a function excellent within the limitations which he gave it, but injurious to municipal independence when it had become the foremost office in the cities. At least, it is in three inscriptions of the reign of Trajan that we find the earliest mention of these extraordinary magistrates appointed by the emperor to look after the financial administration of municipal officers.⁴ Bergamum, which had one, found itself from that day under guardianship, since it could not, without authority from its curator, alienate a part of its domain, or even undertake a construction of any importance. Æcæ, in Apulia, and ancient Cære obtained them. These towns had doubtless solicited the intervention of the prince, as we shall further on see Apamea requesting Pliny to audit its accounts. It

¹ Martial, *Epigr.*, x. 34. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 4 and 6.

² Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 72. Constantine will recognize the right of paternal power to him who shall have adopted and reared an abandoned child.

³ *Digest*, xxxvii. 12, 5. He accorded to a pupil an action of indemnity against the magistrate who had not exercised suitable care in the choice of his tutors.

⁴ L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie*, p. 41; Orelli, 3,787, 3,808 and 4,007, and Henzen, *Ann. de l'Inst. arch.*, 1851, pp. 5-35. The *curator* of the Antonines is not the functionary who will absorb all the life of the cities: it is a comptroller who defends the towns against incurring expense or the unfaithful conduct of certain agents.

was well to send them a temporary commissioner, with a special mission to correct irregularities and bring matters into good condition. It will be an injury to create a permanent function which will eventually suppress the administrative autonomy of the cities.

He also sent a legate into the Transpadane district. The presence of a superior magistrate invested with the military *imperium* had doubtless been rendered necessary there by some tumult; but Italy lost one of its privileges, and the whole region beyond the Po was brought back to the condition of a provincial territory.

During his reign of nineteen years Trajan augmented no tribute, but diminished several,¹ confiscated no fortune, and exacted no legacy. "The citizens at last enjoyed security in making their wills, and the prince was no longer, in consequence of his name having been inscribed or forgotten on the testamentary document, the sole heir of every one."² He refused the presents, formerly voluntary but now become obligatory, which people were required to offer to the prince as a "gift of happy accession," and he remitted taxes in arrears.³ This had been done by several of his predecessors; but he abolished the distinction which Augustus had established by the law of the twentieth between the old and new citizens. Those who had attained the municipal right by the privileges of Latium, or who had obtained it from princes without receiving at the same time the *jus cognationis*, were considered as strangers in the bosom of their family, and subjected, when they succeeded to an inheritance, to the payment of dues, were they father, son, or brother of the deceased. Many small heritages were consequently exempted from dues of transmission,⁴ as we exempt lesser tenants from tax in great cities. It was a diminution of receipts, but at the same time the emperor charged a senatorial commission to seek means of lessening the public expenditure,⁵ and we are assured that with a firm will, as was that of Trajan, the commission fulfilled its duty.

¹ Pliny, *Panegyrr.*, 41.

² *Panegyrr.*, 43. Cf. Suet., *Calig.*, 38; *Nero*, 31, 32.

³ A marble, found at Rome in 1872, seems to represent Trajan burning a pile of tablets bearing treasury dues. (*Bull. di Corresp. archeol.*, 1872, p. 280.)

⁴ *Panegyrr.*, 37-40.

⁵ *Minuendis publicis sumptibus* (Pliny, *Epist.*, ii. 1, and *Panegyrr.*, 62).

It is, in fact, curious to see with what ease the finances of the Empire recovered as soon as an intelligent prince put a stop to foolish prodigalities. We know the financial embarrassments of Domitian and Nero; their successor, thanks to order, to economy in the expenditures of luxury and ceremonial, was in a condition to carry on immense works, a great war, magnificent building enterprises, all the while diminishing the taxes, and yet had resources remaining to create the finest institution of the Empire.

Nerva, some months before his death, had resolved to aid poor parents of free condition to rear their children, to "insure," as an inscription has it, "the eternity of Italy."¹

Trajan adopted this project and gave it grand proportions. From the year 100, 5,000 children received State aid at Rome.² The *Inscription of Veleia*, one of the longest which have come down to us, and the *Table of the Bæbiani* for the apportionment of food



Victory Flying: Figurine of Bronze found at Veleia (Cabinet de France).

¹ That relating to Pomponius Bassus, *ap. Orelli*, No. 784: *Qua æternitati Italie sue prospexit . . . ita ut omnis ætas curæ ejus merito gratias agere debeat.*

² Pliny, *Panegyrr.*, 28. For the distributions they still continued at Rome to make use of the lists prepared by Cæsar, on which new names were inscribed as often as vacancies occurred, *in locum erasorum*. Trajan ordered that the portion for the sick and the absent should be held in reserve until they should be able to come and receive it. (*Panegyrr.*, 25.)

among the poor, enable us to ascertain the ingenious system which he devised.¹ The means employed consisted of a two-fold operation skilfully combined to assure the future of the institution against the hasty caprices of a less generous government. The treasury lent money on mortgage, through the municipality, to certain proprietors, for the improvement of their estates, and the interest paid by them at the moderate rate of five per cent., sometimes even of two and a half,² supplied the resources by means of which a sort of benevolent fund was established. Thus, according to the Table of Veleia, fifty-one proprietors had received for property of ten or twelve times the value of the loan on mortgage,³ a sum of 1,116,000 sesterces (278,000 francs), the annual interest of which, 55,800 sesterces (13,950 francs), served for the support of 300 children: 264 boys and 36 girls. The boys received annually 192 sesterces (48 francs), the girls 144 (36 francs).⁴

¹ It was discovered in 1747 in the neighbourhood of Plaisance, and contains 630 lines in seven columns. In 1832 another was found at Campolattari, near Benevento: *Tabula alimentaria Bebianorum*. The first is of the year 104, the second of the year 101. Veleia was destroyed by a landslide from a mountain in the time of Probus. (*Rev. arch.*, 1881, p. 242.)

² The usual interest in the provinces was twelve per cent: *Duodenis assibus*. (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 62.) It remained at this rate from Severus to Justinian. In Italy it was only six. (Columella, iii. 3, and Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 18.) We have seen (vol. iii. p. 759) Augustus lend without interest to whoever could give security for twice the amount; Tiberius did the same (vol. iv. p. 360); and Alex. Severus will lend money to the poor at three per cent. to enable them to purchase land.

³ This is at least the relative value most frequently found in the tables of Veleia and of the *Bebiani*. Cf. Desjardins, *de Tabulis alim.*, and Henzen, *Tab. alim.*

⁴ I take the value of the sesterce at 25 centimes (2½d.); this is about the value given it at this time by Dureau de la Malle, Hultsch, Friedländer, and Mommsen, but this value is probably too high. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 20, 2) gives as the average price of flour in his time forty asses or ten sesterces the *modius*. He adds that the *modius* (nearly two gallons) furnished twenty-six or twenty-seven pounds of bread. The Roman pound being a little less than three-fourths of a pound avoirdupois, for ten sesterces they had then about nineteen pounds of bread, and for 192 sesterces, the annual allowance of a boy, 365 pounds a year, or a pound a day. But the price of wheat, four sesterces a *modius* in the time of Cicero (*Verr.*, iii. 77), had certainly not risen in the country as high as the figure given by Pliny for choice flour, and we know that at that time an abstemious philosopher could get along on half a sesterce a day. Seneca, urging Lucilius to live from time to time on hard, coarse bread, *panis durus ac sordidus*, to practise voluntary poverty, tells him: "It will not cost you more than two asses to be satisfied, *dipondio satur*." (*Epist.*, vi. 18.) Origen, who lived a long time on four oboli a day (5½d., or eleven cents), was a prodigal. Epicurus succeeded in making on certain days less than one as suffice; but his disciple, Metrodorus, who had not yet attained the state of perfection of the *magister voluptatis*, required an entire as. (*Ibid.*) Besides, Seneca (*Epist.*, 63) informs us that the salary of an actor, playing important parts but of servile condition, was five *modii* and five *denarii* per month, that is, per day a little more than 2½lbs. of bread and 2½ asses. Friedländer (ii. p. 27) gives the reckoning of a dinner at a Cisalpine inn which cost only three asses; in the time of Polybius (ii. 15) it cost six times less, *ἡμισσαρίων*—one-half of an as (or ½ths of a cent), or ⅓ths

Illegitimate children had less: the boys 144 sesterces, the girls 120; but in the 300 assisted of Veleia only two illegitimate are included, one boy and one girl. The foundation was established for a definite number of children, a number that did not change so long as the foundation was not increased, but the assistance varied, doubtless as the price of provisions in different localities: thus, at Veleia, 16 sesterces per month, at Terracina, 20.

At first glance one is tempted to believe that this institution is born of the sentiment of charity which philosophy infiltrated into the heart of pagan society. But, considering that among the children assisted only one-tenth were girls, it must be recognized that the alimentary law of Trajan had the same end as the laws of Augustus *de prole augenda*;¹ it was an encouragement given to the free population, and we remember that already the first emperor had, at Rome, admitted children to his distributions. Pliny shows plainly the character of the new institution: "These children are reared at the expense of the State, to be its support in war, its ornament in peace. Some day they will fill our camps, our tribes, and from them will arise sons who will no longer need this assistance."² But in another place he adds: "The truly liberal man gives to his country, to his neighbours, to his poor friends. . . . He seeks out those who are in want, succours them, maintains them, and makes a kind of family of them."³ Trajan himself reprimanded the towns which expended their revenues foolishly instead of aiding the poor;⁴ and the extension given to the alimentary institution by his successors, the foundations which private individuals established, certainly had also for their motive an idea of benevolence, which may again be discovered in the very

of a penny. From all this it results that with sixty-four or eighty asses per month, sixteen or twenty sesterces, a child of poor family could live. In spite of the character of the *Satyricon*, it is allowable to take some account of these words of Petronius: "Then a loaf for an as was sufficient for two persons; to-day the as loaves are not bigger than a bull's-eye."

¹ See vol. iii. pp. 767 sq. Tacitus complains of the diminution of the class of free men in Italy, *minore in dies plebe ingenua* (*Ann.*, iv. 27).

² *Panegy.*, 28.

³ *Epist.*, ix. 30; x. 94.

⁴ For instance, at Amisus, where he desired that a part of the revenue should be employed *ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam* (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 104). A woman of Alexandria having brought forth at one birth three boys and two girls, Trajan or Hadrian assumed the expense of rearing them. (Phlegon, *Περὶ θαυμασίων*, 58, ed. Didot.)

ancient usage of *sportule* accorded to clients, and of distributions of land or grain made to the poor of Rome since the epoch of the Republic.¹

It is to be noted that if, by the combination which Trajan had devised, the State lost the interest of its money, which it did not require to invest as an usurer, it preserved the capital, which, passing from one proprietor to another, carried fruitfulness to the country lands. The enfeebled agriculture of Italy was succoured² at the same time as the poor families, and the government hoped that these, having received timely assistance, would grow up in their condition in life, so that many of them, in the second generation, would have no further need of assistance.



Trajan, Restorer of Italy
(Great Bronze,
Cohen, No. 373).

Our modern societies, pervaded by the same evil as the Roman Empire, the proletariat, have as yet devised nothing so broad, and we may also add so skilfully conceived, as the alimentary law of Trajan; for they have for poor children only a small number of asylums and free schooling.

It cannot be affirmed that the institution was in a general measure established in the whole of Italy; but coins, inscriptions, and even sculptures, enable us to discover it in many places. Thus the bas-reliefs of the Arch of Benevento represent men carrying young boys on their shoulders, and four women, their heads adorned with mural crowns, conducting young girls to Trajan. Are these women the image of the four towns of the vicinity, or the symbol of all the cities of Italy which had profited by the same benefaction? The second hypothesis is the most probable, and Dion confirms it.³

¹ We read in an inscription as early as the time of Augustus: . . . *hominis boni, misericordis, amantis pauperes* (Henzen, *ap. Orelli*, No. 7,244). The centurion Cornelius, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, was praised, before his conversion, for his alms to the poor.

² Another measure favourable to property in Italy, without always being so to its agriculture, was the edict which obliged the provincials who were candidates for the magistracies of Rome to have a third of their estate in Italy. (Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 19.) This was in the spirit of a law of Caesar and of another of Tiberius. Cf. vol. iii. p. 369. This edict was renewed by Marcus Aurelius, who only required a quarter. (Capitolin., *M. Anton.*, 11.)

³ lxviii. 5. Cf. Rossini, *gli Archi trionfali*, tav. 38-43, and the coin last given (Cohen, ii., *Trajan*, No. 373), which represents Trajan standing, holding a sceptre surmounted by an

Provincial cities and wealthy individuals followed the example given by the emperors;¹ this pagan society, which ameliorated the lot of the slave, which was mindful of the misery of its poor, and



Arch of Trajan, built in 114 by Apollodorus, at Beneventum.

taught with Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius the finest precepts of morality, thus showed before its downfall that it possessed within

eagle, and raising up Italy, who is kneeling; between them two children extending their hands, and for legend: REST. ITALIÆ. Cf. *Id.*, Nos. 13, 14, 299-304.

¹ The successors of Trajan preserved and developed this institution. Hadrian, says Spartianus, *7, pueris ac puellis . . . incrementum liberalitatis adiecit*; and he decided that the alimentary pension should be continued to the boys until eighteen, to the girls until fourteen (*Digest*, xxxiv. 1, 14). Antoninus, in honour of his wife, increased the number of the young girls assisted, *Faustiniane* (Capit., 8). We possess inscriptions in the name of the *pueri et puellae alimentarii* of Cupra Montana, in honour of Antoninus and Urbinus, and of Ficulnea in honour of Marcus Aurelius. Capitolinus says of this prince: *de alimentis publicis multa prudenter*

it powers of renewal sufficient to save it, had it not been ruined by bad political enactments.

In the number of benevolent measures taken by Trajan must be reckoned the colonization¹ of Dacia, executed on a scale so vast that the Latin race still holds the immense country of which it then took possession. That this should have been the case requires us to admit that the number of colonists was considerable, and it

invenit, and, like his predecessor, at the death of the second Faustina, *novas puellas Faustianas instituit*. Alexander Severus instituted also, in the name of his mother Mammæa, *Mammæanas* and *Mammæanos* (Lampridius, 57). Macrinus proposed to do the same (*Id.*, *Diad.*, 2). The example of the emperors was followed by the rich citizens; thus Pliny (*Epist.*, vi. 18, and i. 8) instituted on one of his estates, in favour of Comum,



Memento
of the Alimentary Law.⁽¹⁾

his native town, a perpetual revenue of 30,000 sesterces *in alimenta ingenuorum*; Cælia Macrina bequeathed 1,000,000 sesterces to support 100 children at Terracina (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. iv. p. 269, with annotations of L. Renier); a woman of Hispalis established a similar foundation (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 1,174); at Sicca, under Marcus Aurelius, a citizen presented to the town 1,300,000 sesterces in order that, with interest at five per cent., there might be annually support for 300 boys and 200 girls between the ages of four and fifteen, chosen by the duumviri, from the families not only of the *municipes*, but also of the *incolæ* established in the city. Each boy received two and a half denarii per month, each girl two denarii, and the list of the assisted was to be kept full (Guérin, *Voy. en Tunisie*, vol. ii. p. 59, No. 234). We find at Curubis in Africa a *curator alimentorum*. Cf., for other examples, Henzen, *Tab. alim.*, pp. 16 sq. This custom was even ancient: a contemporary of Augustus, Helvius Basila, *Atinibus sestertium quadringenta millia legavit ut liberis eorum ex reitu, dum in ætatem pervenirent, frumentum et postea sestertia singula millia darentur* (Orelli, No. 4,365). In each town a *quæstor alimentorum* administered the fund of this institution. It seems that Marcus Aurelius had created, for the general oversight of this service, the *præfecti alim.*, who were men of high standing, former consuls and governors of provinces: *præf. alim. per Æmiliam*; *præf. alim. vie Flaminie*, etc. See Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. iv. pp. 135 sq. We find again in 283, at Sarmizegetusa, a procurator of Dacia who had been, about the year 220, *procurator ad alimenta per Apuliam, Lucaniam et Bruttios* (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,456). On the extension which this institution had assumed, see the reign of Caracalla.

According to the inscriptions and coins (Eckhel, vi. p. 406, coins of Gallienus and Claudius II.), the institution of Trajan seems to have lasted into the second half of the third century; the calamities of this epoch caused it to disappear. Constantine, in 315, attempted to combat the fearful progress of want by charity. His law (*Code Theod.*, xi. 27, 1 and 2) prescribed alms, but did not revive the grand institution of the Antonines.

¹ [But what about the conquest?—*Ed.*]

(¹) S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI S. C. ALIM. ITAL. A woman, standing, holding ears of corn and a horn of plenty; at her side a child. Large bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.

(²) The emperor seated has before him a woman, who is presenting children to him, one of whom is in her arms. Reverse of a bronze of the *Cabinet de France*.

is not to be supposed that they were taken among the rich. There was, therefore, a very extensive distribution of lands made, after the example of Republican Rome, to the needy of the Empire. In giving lands, they must also have given implements, seed, cattle, and everything necessary for a first establishment in a climate rigorous for southerners. The spoils of the Dacians served for these advances, and a number of towns were relieved of a part of their poor.¹

We would not venture to say that Trajan established free trade in grain, and consequently produced a decline in the price of wheat, or a more equable distribution; but the measures indicated by Pliny must have tended at least to this result,² and were a benefit.



The Forum of
Trajan, FORUM
TRAJAN.
(Gold Coin.)

Trajan honoured his reign by great public works, another fashion of giving bread to the poor. Apollodorus of Damascus, the bold constructor of the bridge over the Danube, wrote in marble the grand page of history which unrolls around the column under which the prince caused a tomb to be prepared for himself, and he built a new forum, which by its splendour eclipsed all those of the Cæsars. Two centuries and a half later Constantius contemplated it with admiration, and Ammianus Marcellinus esteemed it "the most magnificent group of edifices under the sun."³ With his arch of triumph, his temple at that time consecrated to the divinity of Trajan, his two libraries for Greek books and for Latin books, his basilica, his immense porticoes surmounted by a people of great men in marble and bronze, forming as it were a guard of honour around his equestrian statue and his triumphal column, Trajan had surpassed Augustus in magnificence.



The Ulpian
Basilica: BASI-
LICA VLP'IA.
(Gold Coin.)

Rome owed to this great builder⁴ many other embellishments;

¹ When Trajan raised *Petovium* to the rank of a colony, he sent there some veterans *missione agraria*, who were veritable colonists in the ancient meaning of the word. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 4,057.)

² *Panegy.*, 29-32: . . . *Emit fiscus quidquid emere videtur; inde copia, inde annona, de qua inter licentem vendentemque conveniat; inde hic satietas, nec fames usquam.* He reorganized at Rome the guild of bakers, and the regulations which he gave them were so wise that Aurelius Victor could say (*de Cæs.*, 13) that Trajan had thereby *annonæ perpetuæ mire consultum*.

³ xvi. 10: *Singularem sub cælo structuram.*

⁴ *Orbem terrarum ædificans* (Eutropius, viii. 2).

let us only note a tenth aqueduct, which conducted to the Janiculum water from the lake Sabatinus (*lago di Bracciano*).¹

Two of the best of the ports of Italy which nature has not made entirely are the work of Trajan, and still remain: on the Adriatic, that of Ancona, where an arch of triumph in white marble recalls the benefactor of the town, and by its elegance puts to



Interior of the Ulpian Basilica (Restoration by Lesneux).

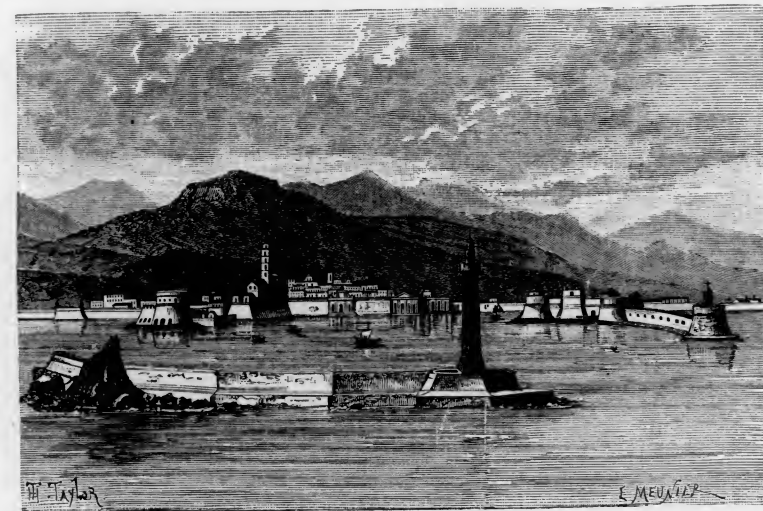
shame the arch which they have had the imprudence to erect in the vicinity to Pope Clement XII.; on the sea of Tuscany, that of Civita-Vecchia (Centum-Cellæ), a city which owes everything to him. To hasten the execution of the work he had a villa built there, in which he came and resided. Pliny, who passed several days there, describes vessels going continually to cast into the sea entire cliffs, to form in front of the harbour and its two moles a dike against which the sea broke with fury. Great sanitary works were undertaken throughout all Italy, and the celebrated

¹ This is the *Acqua Paola* of modern Rome.



Arch of Trajan, at Ancona.

Galen, who was almost a contemporary, extols their happy effects upon the public health. "Many ancient roads were out of repair and encroached upon by brushwood; others difficult of ascent, dangerous to descend, or gullied by torrents. By the care of the prince the wet and low portions were paved, the places difficult to pass were levelled, the turbulent waters restrained by dikes and bridges."¹ On one of these highways, reconstructed at the expense of the prince, the senate caused the Arch of Benevento to



Civita-Vecchia; Harbour of *Centum Cellæ* (Restoration, *Bibl. nationale*).

be erected to preserve the remembrance of these great works. Trajan proposed, like Cæsar, to drain the Pontine Marshes, and Dion speaks of stoned causeways which he constructed there; but the levels were badly taken, and the *Ponte Maggiore*, through which the waters were to flow off, did not afford a sufficient outlet for them.² He seems to have resuscitated, by sending a colony there, the antique city of Lavinium, where the consuls and prætors, at their entrance on their duties, went and sacrificed to Vesta and the Penates.³

¹ *De Meth. medendi*, ix. 8.

² De Prony, *Dessèchement des marais pontins*, pp. 76 and 241.

³ The custom still subsisted in the time of Macrobius (*Sat.*, II. iv.).

He enlarged the harbour of Claudius at Ostia by excavating in it the *lago Trajano*, which communicated with the Tiber by a canal, the *Fiumicino*; vessels then had for their manœuvres a surface of water of 280 acres.¹

In Egypt, Trajan made such extensive improvements in the *Ptolemæus amnis*, between the Nile and the Red Sea, that the canal henceforth bore his name, *Τραϊανὸς ποταμός*. It was to afford new facilities to commerce and especially for working the fine quarries of porphyry and granite at Djebel-Dokhan and Djebel-Fateereh, in the neighbourhood of the harbours of Myos-Hormos and Philotera, so that the columns which were quarried there were easily transported to Rome and to all the maritime cities of the Empire.²

We have seen that he threw two permanent bridges across the Rhine and the Danube; they have disappeared, like those which he constructed to keep open to the legions the countries situated beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates; we have discovered one of them, in ruins, in the valley of the Medjerda, in Tunis, but that of Alcantara, on the Tagus, is still in existence, 196 $\frac{3}{10}$ feet high and 616 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.³ For the latter Trajan had only to second the zeal of the provincials by sending one of his best architects to several Lusitanian cities, which had taxed themselves for the expense of this colossal structure, a new proof of the prosperity of the provinces at this period, and of the ease with which the interests of their inhabitants could be brought home to them. Numerous inscriptions show that the roads were made or repaired at the expense of the municipalities whose territory they traversed, sometimes with a grant from the treasury.

In imitation of the capital, the provincial cities expended enormous sums for their embellishment. Whence did they derive them? The prince had recently opened to them a new and prolific

¹ Lanciani, *Sulla città di Porto*.

² Letronne, *Inscr. gr. et rom. d'Égypte*, i. 195 and 420. At Djebel-Fateereh or *Mons Claudianus*, in the Porphyritic chain, several inscriptions prove that Trajan gave a great impulse to the work of these quarries. (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. Nos. 24, 25, and Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, 39-42.) At Djebel-Fateereh, at a distance of ten leagues from the Red Sea, monoliths have been found lying on the ground, which were 59 feet long by 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference.

³ *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. Nos. 759, 762. That of Chaves (Aquæ Flavie), on the Tamago in Galicia, still subsists also. (*C. I. L.*, vol. ii. No. 2,478.) There is no bridge in England as high as that of Alcantara, and only one in France, that of Saint Sauveur, which surpasses it by a few yards.



Bridge of Alcantara, constructed by Trajan.

source of revenue. The old jurisprudence, considering the towns, like the guilds or associations, as "undefined persons," did not deem them capable of receiving a legacy,¹ at least without a special authorization.² Nerva recognized in them this capability, but in quite vague terms, it appears, since the prudent Pliny did not dare to use this rescript.³ The Apronian senatus-consultum, passed under Trajan, permits cities to receive inheritances by way of trusteeship, a last inconvenience which will disappear under Hadrian.⁴ Then the city will become a civil person, as our French commune is, but between the two epochs a great difference exists. Municipal patriotism was in those times active in a far different way than now, and there were no religious congregations to attract [and secure] the liberality of the dying; so that donations, which have now become authorized, become very abundant and go directly to the city to serve its wants and even its pleasures.⁵ Often, on the eve of a municipal election, a candidate agreed to execute some public work for the town, and on the morrow forgot his promise. A rescript made this promise a legal obligation which bound even his heirs.⁶ Finally, the abstraction of municipal funds, hitherto considered as a simple misappropriation, was assimilated to peculation, which was punished by the confiscation of property and banishment.⁷ This is how the whole Empire, at the epoch of the Antonines, could become covered with aqueducts, thermæ, theatres, bridges, and roads, over which the imperial post system, lately reorganized, promoted circulation.⁸ The honour of this impulse given

¹ Ulpian, *fr.* xxii. 5.

² See in vol. v. the chapter concerning the *City*, § 3.

³ *Epist.*, v. 7.

⁴ Paulus, *Digest*, xxxvi. 1, 26; *Cod.*, vi. 24, 12, and Ulpian, *fr.* xxiv. 23: *Civitibus . . . legari potest; idque a D. Nerva introductum, postea a senatu, auctore Hadriano, diligentius constitutum est.*

⁵ Paulus (*Digest*, xxx. *fr.* 122) says: *Civitibus legari potest quod ad honorem ornatumque civitatis pertinet. Ad ornatum, puta quod ad instruendum forum, theatrum, stadium legatum fuerit. Ad honorem, puta quod ad munus edendum, venationemve, ludos scenicos, ludos circenses relictum fuerit, aut quod ad divisionem singulorum civium, vel epulum relictum fuerit. Hoc amplius, quod in alimenta infirmæ ætatis (puta, senioribus, vel pueris, puellisque) relictum fuerit.*

⁶ Paulus, *Digest*, xlviii. 13, 2 and 4, § 4.

⁷ *Digest*, l. 12, 14, pr.

⁸ It was maintained by the cities. Nerva, in 97, had exempted the Italian towns from this tax. (See on this point p. 736.) Trajan appears to have improved the service by correcting abuses, such as the use which private persons made of the *cursus publicus* in their private interest, and by placing the service under the direction of *præfecti vehiculorum*. Cf. Pliny,

to public works was justly ascribed to the prince, and so many monuments, from the borders of the Tagus to those of the Euphrates, bore the date of his reign, that Constantine, vexed at finding his name everywhere, compared Trajan to the wall-wort which attaches itself to every stone wall. But these temples, these basilicas, bridges, and aqueducts had been built by him,¹ or he had instigated the construction of them; and he had not decorated them with spoils stolen from others, while Constantine carried away bas-reliefs from the Arch of Trajan to ornament the one he erected in Rome.

Yet men were found to conspire against him, so difficult was it for the Roman aristocracy to abandon plots, even under the prince who testified so much regard for it. One Crassus, who had been condemned under Nerva for a like attempt, tried to assassinate him. Trajan refused to pay any attention to the affair; he let the senate inquire into it, render judgment, and put the sentence into execution, which only amounted to banishment. Crassus is the only member of the senate who was punished under this reign for an attempt against the life of the emperor.²

The prince who, better than any other, deserved a historian, has none,³ and we can know nothing more when we have completed the study of the monuments, inscriptions, coins, and a few rare fragments scattered here and there in the epitomists. Yet there remains to us a document of this time, valuable for information, by an example taken from life, of the state of the provinces, the duties of the legate, the part of the prince in the general administration, and how much the towns had already lost of their independence: it is the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan. Let

Epist., x. 62 and 120, and Henzen, *Ann. de l'Inst. arch.*, 1857, p. 98. The passage of Aur. Victor (*Cæs.*, 13) is not clear.

¹ The bridge of Simittu Colonia had been built *opera militum suorum et pecunia sua*.

² . . . *unus senator damnatus per senatum*, says Eutropius (viii. 2), *ignorante Trajano*. He had accomplices who were banished, or other plots were formed. At least, at the beginning of the following reign, a friend of Hadrian induced him to dispose of one Laberius Maximus, who was banished to an island under suspicion of having aspired to the Empire, and of Crassus Frugi, who was put to death for having quitted his place of exile.

³ He had them, but we do not possess them. The works of Marius Maximus, Fabius Marcellinus, Aurelius Verus, and Statius Valens, who wrote his life, are lost, like the first thirteen books of Ammianus Marcellinus, whose *History of the Emperors*, a continuation of Suetonius, began at Nerva; of Dion only the meagre abstract of Xiphilinus remains to us. The abridgments of Aurelius Victor and of Eutropius give very little.



Bridge of Trajan at Chemtou (Simittu Colonia) in Tunisia, after a Drawing by M. Ch. Tissot (p. 804).

us quote this curious dialogue between the emperor in his capital and the governor of one of his most remote provinces, Bithynia. The questions are simple, the replies exact, and the inferences obvious.¹

I. *Imperial authorization of public works.*

"May the Prusans be authorized to replace with new thermæ their baths which are old and unsightly?—Yes, if they do not thereby incur any new taxation and if the ordinary service is not sufficient."

"Sinope lacks water: I have found a spring sixteen miles away; but the aqueduct will have to pass for a distance of a thousand paces over soft and uncertain ground. I can easily collect the money required; it remains for me to secure your approval.²—Make this aqueduct, but after having carefully examined whether the suspicious locality can bear it, and if the expense does not exceed the ability of the town."

"Nicomedia has expended 3,329,000 sesterces for an aqueduct which is in ruins, 2,000,000 for another which has been abandoned. I have means for making a third which will stand, if you will send an aqueduct-builder and an architect.—Conduct water to Nicomedia, but investigate by whose fault so much money has been wasted."

"Nicaea has expended 10,000,000 sesterces for a theatre which is tottering, and great sums for a gymnasium which was burned and which they are rebuilding. At Claudiopoli they are excavating a bath with money which the decurions offer for their admission to the Curia. What ought I to do with respect to all these works? Send me an architect.—You are on the spot, decide. As to architects, we send to Greece for them; you will therefore find them about you."

"It seems to me that the contractors of the works of the town of Prusa are getting more than is due them. Send me a

¹ I do not give, of course, the text of these letters, but the briefest indication of their contents. Mommsen, in his *Étude sur Plin.*, p. 30, thinks that the correspondence with Trajan extends from September, 111, beyond January, 113.

² In these two cases it is a question of deferring or establishing taxes, and in France to do this requires the decision of a sovereign, that is to say, a law. Besides, from the nature of the imperial power, the emperor could always intervene, even for the slightest interests. A prefect of Egypt asked authority of Nero to clear away the sand which accumulated at the foot of the pyramids. (Letronne, *Inscr. d'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 466.) On all these municipal questions see, in vol. v., the chapter on the City.

surveyor to measure the work.—They are to be had everywhere; make good search and you will find one.”

“Amastris is infected by a sewer which ought to be covered. If you permit this work to be executed I have the money required.—Cover this infectious stream with a vault.”

“There is a great lake on the confines of the territory of Nicomedia; it would be highly advantageous to connect it with the sea by a canal.—Take care that the lake, in uniting with the sea, does not run out entirely. I will send you from here men conversant with this kind of work.”

II. *Supervision of municipal finances.*

“The towns of the province have money and no borrowers at 12 per cent. Ought I to lessen the rate of interest and then compel the decurions to take charge of these funds?—Put the interest low enough to find takers, but do not force any one to borrow against his wish.”

“In the free and allied town of Amisus, which, thanks to you,¹ is governed by its own laws, a request has been handed me concerning mutual aid societies. I add it to this letter that you may see, my lord, how much may be tolerated or forbidden.—Allow them their societies (*eranoi*) which the treaty of alliance gives them, especially if, instead of expending the product of their assessments in cabals or illicit assemblies, they employ them to comfort their poor. In all the other towns of our dominion it should not be permitted.”

“Most of my predecessors have accorded to the towns of Pontus and Bithynia a privileged lien upon the property of their debtors. It would be fitting, sir, that you should kindly make a regulation on this matter.—Let it be decided according to the laws peculiar to each town. If they have not a privilege over other creditors, I ought not to grant it to them at the expense of private individuals.”

¹ Pliny is indeed correct (*Epist.*, x. 93) in uniting these words, which nevertheless clash with one another: *Civitas libera et federata quæ beneficio indulgentiæ tuæ legibus suis utitur*, for they did not fail to scrutinize, on occasion, the affairs of so-called free cities. Thus Trajan sent Maximus to Achaia *ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum* (Pliny, *Epist.*, viii. 24); Pliny himself had had a special mission into Bithynia (Wilmanns, 1,180); others received them from Hadrian. Cf. *C. I. L.*, Nos. 1,624, 4,033-4, and Orelli, No. 6,482. The towns themselves often invoked this intervention.

“The inhabitants of Apamea request me to examine their accounts, despite their privilege of administering their own affairs. Ought I to do it?—Yes, since they themselves desire it.”

“Julius Piso has received 40,000 denarii as a gift from the senate of Amisus. The *edictus* reclaims them in accordance with your edicts, which forbid such acts of liberality.—If the gift dates back more than twenty years, let it subsist; for we must regard the security of the citizens while taking care of the public funds.”

“The Nicæans pretend to have received from Augustus the privilege of collecting the inheritance of their fellow-citizens dying intestate.—Examine this affair in presence of the parties, with Gemellinus and my freedman, Epimachus, both procurators, and order what may appear to you just.”

“The Byzantines spend annually 12,000 sesterces in transmitting to you their formal homage, and 3,000 to send one of their officers to salute the governor of Mœsia.—It is sufficient for them to forward to me through your hands their decree of homage. As to the governor of Mœsia, he will pardon them if they make their court to him cheaper.” A reply which certainly pleased Byzantium, for, in spite of the police duties performed in the Empire, to go to Rome was not only an expense but a peril. Petronius and Apuleius show that highway robbers were numerous, and we possess a marble on which the good people of Mehadia on the Danube, sent out by their fellow-citizens, have engraved their gratitude toward the *Divinities of the Waters* for having brought them back safe and sound into their city.¹

III. *The Decurions.*

We have just seen Pliny proposing to Trajan to constrain the decurions from subscribing to loans of which they had no need. It is the idea of placing in the care of the curiales the burdens of cities, which is beginning to dawn and which will soon

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 1,562, in the year 150. These onerous deputations were very frequent: they arrived at every event of note in the life of the emperors, or at each dispute which arose between quarrelsome cities. A letter has recently been discovered from Antoninus to the Coroneians thanking them for having tendered their condolence for the death of Hadrian and their felicitations for the adoption of Marcus Aurelius. In another he reminds them that their deputies have requested him to decide between them and the Thespians on a matter of some plethora of pasturage. (*Bull. de Corresp. hellén.* for 1881, p. 456.)

render their condition deplorable.¹ Already they summon to the senate-house more than the prescribed number of members, and these members must pay for an honour which they have not always solicited. Pliny sees in this exaction a source of revenue for the cities and wishes to make it a legal prescript. "In certain towns of the province," he says, "the decurions are obliged, on their admission to the senate, to give—some, 1,000, others, 2,000 denarii. It pertains to you, sir, to make a general law.—No. The safest way is to follow the custom of each town, especially regarding those who are made decurions against their wish."

"The law of Pompey, observed in Bithynia, requires the age of thirty years in order to exercise the functions of the magistracy and enter the senate. But an edict of Augustus has permitted fulfilling the inferior magistracies at twenty-two years. I have concluded from this, that those who attain to these duties at that age ought to sit in the municipal senate. But what shall be done with regard to others who, having the age prescribed for the magistracies, have not obtained them?²—Close the senate-house to them."

IV. Right of Citizenship.

"To obtain the right of citizenship in a town it is necessary, by the law of Pompey, to be a native of the province. Many of the decurions belong to other countries. Should they be excluded from the senate-house?—No; but see to it that, in the future, the law is better observed."

V. The Defender of the State.

In some towns we already find ill-defined offices which will become that of the *defensor civitatis*, whose importance is so great in the fourth and fifth centuries. "Byzantium has a legionary centurion to watch over its privileges. Juliopolis of Bithynia desires of you the same favour.—Byzantium is a great city, where a large number of strangers land. A guardian of its rights is necessary to it. If I give one to Juliopolis all the small towns will want one. It pertains to you to keep watch that no injury be done to the cities in your government."

¹ In the third century the *decurions* were generally called *curiales*. (Henzen, No. 6,414, and *C. I. L.*, vol. v. No. 335).

² *Epist.* x. 83. Those whom their fortune and birth designated to fill them, as, at Rome, the sons of senators.

It has been seen above that Amisus had an *eccicus*, a sort of town advocate or tribune whose duty it was to defend its interests before the governor.¹

VI. Religious questions.

"May a temple of Cybele at Nicomedia be removed?—Yes.



Bas-relief consecrated to Cybele.

The provincial soil is not *capable* of receiving Roman consecrations."

"I am asked to transfer tombs. At Rome a decision of the pontiffs is required. What must I do here?—Grant or refuse,

¹ There is found in an inscription of Hadrian (*C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 586) the name of *defensor*, but with the meaning of advocate pleading for the interests of the town. The *ἐκδικος* was, in the time of Cicero, the town advocate (*ad Famil.*, xiii. 56, and *ap.* Waddington, the inscription of Cibra, No. 1,212). The *συνδικος* was a citizen sent on extraordinary occasions to the emperor or governor for a special affair. (*Digest*, l. 4, 18, § 13). In this passage it is said: *Defensores quos Græci syndicos appellant.* Cf. Waddington, *ad n.* 628 and 1,175.

² Lebas and Waddington, *Foy. arch. en Grèce*, etc., pl. 44, fig. 1.

according to justice. It would be too hard to require provincials to come and consult Roman pontiffs in this matter."

"I have found a ruined house in which to put the bath of the Prusans. The proprietor chose to build a temple to Claudius in it, but nothing is left of it.—Put the bath in this house, unless the temple has been built, for, even though it may have disappeared, the place remains sacred."

"It is said, sir, that a woman and her sons were buried in the same place where your statue is set up. The statue is in a library, the burial places in a large court surrounded by galleries. I beg you to enlighten me as to judging this affair." It might have been a grave matter indeed, under another prince, for an accusation of high-treason might have arisen from it. Trajan is vexed that he should be thought capable of authorizing it and replies: "You should not have hesitated about such a question, for you know very well that I do not propose to make my name respected by terror and by judgments of *majesty*. Dismiss this accusation, which I shall not allow."

VII. *Military Discipline.*

"Should the prison be guarded by soldiers, or, according to custom, by public slaves? I have stationed both.—That is not well. Usage must be adhered to, and the soldier must not be sent away from his flag."

"The prefect of the Pontic coast, who has only twelve soldiers, asks for more.—No. All the chiefs wish to extend their command, and small garrisons destroy the military spirit."

"Slaves have been found among the recruits. What shall be done with them?—If they have been chosen, the fault is with the recruiting-officer; if they have been furnished as substitutes, you must punish those whose places they fill; if, knowing their condition, they have come and offered themselves, punish them."

VIII. *Civil Discipline.*

"In many towns, persons condemned to the mines or to combat as gladiators, are serving as public slaves, some of them with wages. What is to be done?—Execute the sentences, except in the case of those whose condemnation dates back more than twenty years."

"A man who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by

Bassus has remained in the province without making use of the right given him by a *senatus-consultum*, after the rescinding of the acts of Bassus, to claim within two years a new judgment.—He has disobeyed the law; send him to the prefects of the *prætorium* for a more rigorous punishment."

"Those assuming the *toga virilis*, marrying, inaugurating some public work, or entering on the exercise of a magistracy, are accustomed to invite the decurions and many people—sometimes more than 1,000 persons—and to give each one a denarius or two. I am afraid these re-unions are assemblies forbidden by your edicts.—You are right. But I have made choice of your prudence to reform all the abuses of this province."

"A great fire has devastated Nicomedia. Would it not be well to establish a society of 150 artisans, charged with the duty of looking after fires?—No; corporations are good for nothing."

This correspondence disgusts us with Pliny. Timid, undecided, hesitating about everything, as governor of a great province he makes a sorry figure.¹ Trajan, on the contrary, is clear and precise; he replies like an experienced and just master, commands without verbiage, and in everything makes the law respected. Beneath his affectionate words to "his very dear Secundus,"² one perceives the impatience of a superior whom an incapable subordinate disturbs every day with his troubles. But what especially results from this correspondence is the proof of the imperial omnipotence and of the fearful progress that the central government has made. It is true that, without a strong general administration, affairs of the State are not attended to and local affairs run the risk of being slighted; but to invade all civil rights, such as the penal right of cities, the administration of the finances, such as that of highways and public works, was too much. Already one might almost say that a paving-stone in the provinces could not be disturbed without a petition to Rome, as when it was a question of covering a muddy stream or removing a dead person whose tomb

¹ Yet he sought, after the example of Cicero, to give counsel to a governor. Compare the two letters (Pliny, viii. 24, and Cicero, *Ep. ad Quint.*, i. 1), and you have the measure of the difference between the two men.

² Pliny the Younger was called *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus*.

had fallen in; and they sent a courier to the prince to ask what guard they should place at the door of a prison.

Thus the emperor makes the law, and, by himself or his lieutenants, decides the particular cases; he governs the Empire, and we may say that he administers the cities, for he does not



Trajan crowned with Laurel, wearing the *paludamentum*.¹

hesitate to look into all their affairs: that these towns are simply municipalities fallen under the power of Rome by conquest, or cities allied and free joined to the Empire by a treaty. Trajan, it is true, respects their laws and their privileges, because he is shrewd and wise; but his legate does not doubt that the prince might change everything. After reading this official correspondence, we easily form an idea of what the Empire will become when the emperor instead of being Trajan is Commodus or Elagabalus. We are as yet only in the second century, and we behold

the dawning of the evil which is to undermine the Empire. Trajan speaks of persons who are made to enter the senate against their will,² and Pliny already regards the municipal magistrates as servants of the public service.

It will be said that Pliny had a special mission,³ that, as Libo will have under Marcus Aurelius,⁴ he had obtained of the

¹ Cameo. Sardonyx of three layers. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Cabinet de France*, No. 240.

² *Qui inviti sunt decuriones* (Pliny, *Epist.*, 114). That often occurred: the law of Malaga takes prevision of the case.

³ Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. v. 407-415.

⁴ *Se scripturum esse si quid forte dubitaret* (Capito, *Verus*, 9).

emperor authority to ask his advice in doubtful cases; that, finally, all the legates did not overwhelm the prince with so numerous letters. This may be so, but we cannot affirm it, since the official correspondence has perished, with a single exception, that of the governor of Bithynia. In any case, whether the emperor decides at Rome, or the proconsul declares it on the spot, the result is the same: the dependence of the provincials. Emperors like Caligula and Nero, entirely occupied with their pleasures, allow things to go as they will; princes like Tiberius and Vespasian, who found the task of governing the Empire sufficiently burdensome, gave no thought to the petty details of the administration of cities. Trajan, a man accustomed to command and discipline, wished to have everything in order, and this led him to look after everything. He has already created the *curators* to control the finances of certain towns; he sent commissioners extraordinary to suppress abuses in them. This was well. But these measures placed the government on a path where it will easily proceed until it comes to interfere, according to its good pleasure, with the smallest affairs, and check their progress. A freedman of Vespasian offers to the *Cærites* to construct at his expense a hall of re-union for their *Augustales*, on condition that they give him the ground. The municipal council cedes the land, but the consent of the curator is requisite, and that official occupies ten months in forwarding it.¹

The most important of Pliny's letters relates to the Christians. They had not justified the fears at first inspired by their adoration of the crucified, which had appeared to some a menace of revolt. S. Paul had preached submission to authority, "to the prince who is the minister of God," and S. Peter wrote: "Honour all men."² The Church did not even labour directly to destroy slavery, that foundation of pagan society. Believers had slaves, and Christian slaves, to whom Peter said: "Servants, be in subjection to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."³ They accordingly lived peaceably and retired, multiplying in the midst of the poor by virtue of that

¹ Egger, *Examen des hist. d'Auguste*, p. 390.

² *Romans*, xiii. 1-7, and I. *Peter*, ii. 13, ii. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 18, and Paul, *Colossians*, iii. 22-24.

charity which revealed to them brethren in all the unfortunate. But the essential condition of their religion was prayer in common. Now Trajan did not like associations;¹ we have just seen that he would have none, not even against conflagrations, and that too great re-unions, though for a festival, were an object of suspicion to him. He perceived, without being able to account for it, a secret power, as it were, undermining Roman society, and his letters bear traces of the irritation he felt against everything which sought to go out of the established order. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the secret *agapæ* of the Christians appeared to him to be dangerous. Besides, one is forced to repeat, that, according to the legal enactments of this time, an attack against the gods of Rome was an insult to the emperor, and that, in consequence of the union of politics and religion, the unbelievers in the apotheosis of the prince became rebels against his authority. It is always so. Too often the present and the future are two mortal enemies, which in the eternal transformation of things come into collision and combat. The old world, destined to perish, wrathfully defends itself against that which attacks and will soon destroy it. The hemlock of Socrates, the cross of S. Peter, the stake of John Huss, the pillory of the Puritans, the Bastille of the Liberals, have had victims, but also triumphant deaths. Trajan, narrow-minded and harsh, like all that Roman race, despite his real greatness, was an enemy of novelty, and incapable of comprehending what was then coming. It would even be a matter of profound astonishment to see men such as Tacitus, Trajan, Pliny, Suetonius, Marcus Aurelius, unable to perceive the immense revolution which was in preparation, if all history did not testify to the ignorance in which the rulers of the day persist touching the powers that will rule on the morrow.

"It is, Sir, a rule which I prescribe to myself, to consult you upon all difficult occasions. I have never been present at the resolutions taken concerning the Christians, therefore I know not for what causes or how far they may be objects of punishment.

¹ He forbade them all. . . . *Secundum mandata tua*, says Pliny, *heterias esse veteram*. Yet he reorganized one of them at Rome. But it was the guild of bakers: "By an admirable foresight," says Aurel. Victor (*de Cæs.*, 13), "and in order to maintain perpetual plenty at Rome, he re-established and consolidated the *pistorum collegium*." On the right of association and the colleges or corporations of the Romans, see chap. lxxxiii. § 3.

Nor have I hesitated a little in considering whether the difference of age should not make some variation in our procedures. Are those who repent to be pardoned? Must they be punished for the name, although otherwise innocent? I have pursued this method. I have asked them if they were Christians, and to those who have avowed the profession I have put the same question a second and a third time, and have enforced it by threats of punishment. When they have persevered, I have put my threats into execution. For, whatever their confession might be, their audacious behaviour and immovable obstinacy required absolute punishment. Some who were infected with the same kind of madness, but were Roman citizens, have been reserved by me to be sent to Rome.¹

"An information without a name was put into my hands containing a list of many persons who deny that they are, or ever were, Christians; for, repeating the form of invocation after me, they called upon the gods, and offered incense and made libations to your image; and they uttered imprecations against Christ, to which no true Christian, as they affirm, can be compelled by any punishment whatever. I thought it best, therefore, to release them. Others of them have said that they were Christians, and have immediately afterward denied it by confessing that they had entirely renounced the error several years before. All these worshipped your image and the images of the gods, and they even vented imprecations against Christ.

"They affirmed that the sum total of their fault, or of their error, consisted in assembling upon a certain stated day before it was light to sing alternately among themselves hymns to Christ as to a god; binding themselves by oath not to steal nor to rob, not to commit adultery nor break their faith when plighted, nor to deny the deposits in their hands whenever called upon to restore them. These ceremonies performed, they usually departed, and came together again to take a repast, the meat of which was innocent² and eaten promiscuously; but they had desisted from this custom since my edict, wherein by your commands I

¹ The right of appealing to the emperor was the most important of the privileges which remained to the citizens.

² *Cibum innoxium*, to reply to the accusation often brought against Jews of immolating children.

had prohibited all assemblies. From these circumstances, I thought it more necessary to try to gain the truth, even by torture, from two women who were said to officiate at their worship. But I could discover only an obstinate kind of superstition, carried to great excess. And, therefore, postponing any resolution of my own, I have waited the result of your judgment. To me an affair of this sort seems worthy of your consideration, principally from the multitude involved in the danger. For many persons of all ages, of all degrees, and of both sexes, are already and will be constantly brought into danger by these accusations. Nor is this superstitious contagion confined only to the cities; it spreads itself through the villages and the country."

As a good courtier, Pliny adds that the evil may be stopped, that it is so already, since the deserted temples behold the crowd returning, the sacred rites are again performed, and the victims, which hitherto had few purchasers, are now sold everywhere; and, like an honest man who would not send inoffensive persons to punishment, he asks the prince to grant pardon on repentance.

Trajan does not appear to have been greatly moved by the contradictory picture which his legate had sketched: this impious contagion which was reaching the towns and hamlets, this new life which was displaying itself in the temples; and he refused to take any general measures. "In an affair of this general nature," he says, "it is impossible to lay down any settled form. The Christians need not be sought after. If they are brought into your presence and convicted they must be punished. But anonymous informations ought not to have the least weight against any crime whatever."

This sentiment was so thoroughly Roman that two persons of consular rank, of very peaceful disposition, express themselves on this subject in the same fashion at two centuries distance from each other. "Let no one," says Cicero, "have peculiar gods; let no one introduce new or strange gods, unless they have been admitted by public authority."¹ And under Alexander Severus, Dion Cassius makes Mæcenus recommend to Augustus to punish the worshippers of false gods.²

¹ *De Leg.*, ii. 8 . . . nisi publice adscitos.

² l. iii. 36.

Like orders, called forth by similar requests, were doubtless sent elsewhere, and what took place in Bithynia must have occurred in other provinces, even with more rigour wherever governors were found less humane and populations less peaceable, who thought they avenged their gods by crying out in the amphitheatre: "The Christians to the beasts!" Thus the tradition of the Church places under this reign the martyrdoms of S. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and of S. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem—martyrdoms which we do not recount, because the internal history of the Church cannot come within the limits of this general history of the Empire.¹

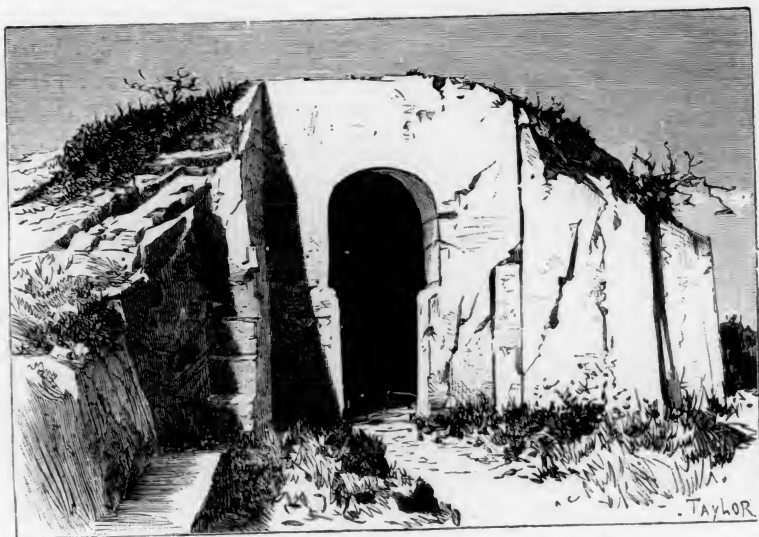
The two letters which we have just quoted throw light on several points. Pliny, born under Nero before the burning of Rome, a lawyer, juriconsult, senator, and consular, mingling in all the political activity of his time, knew very imperfectly when he arrived in Bithynia what a Christian was—a proof that there had never been as yet any legal information against them, any solemn decision or general persecution.² It is because they and he in spirit belonged to two different worlds, and while speaking the same language could not comprehend each other. Hence, I am assured that Trajan, the rigorous guardian of military and civil discipline, sent a Christian to punishment with no more hesitation and remorse than if it had been a question of a refractory soldier or of a fugitive slave.³ These cruelties are revolting to us, and

¹ There are, besides, great doubts with reference to the *Acts* of S. Ignatius, which appear to have been drawn up very long after, according to Uhlhorn, in the sixth century (cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. p. 103), and the authenticity of his *Letters* is open to much dispute.

² We have seen, pp. 506 *sq.*, what the persecution under Nero was; under Domitian there was a legal condemnation of certain citizens who, not belonging to the Jewish nation, *judaized*, that is, abandoned the national faith; the words of Pliny prove that, among these *judaizers*, were included the Christians, since he condemned some before having received Trajan's reply. This prince was the first to withdraw from the Christians, without distinction of origin, the privilege of the legal tolerance under which the sectaries of foreign religions existed; but there was, under him, no search, no *inquisitio*; they punished the *public manifestation*, which was of itself alone a public revolt against the law and the magistrates. Hence there was only a small number of martyrs until the great persecution of Decius (Origen, *Adv. Cels.*, iii. 8). Even then, a church so flourishing as that at Alexandria only reckoned seventeen martyrs—eleven men and six women (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 41), and in almost every time the remains of the victims could be rescued.

³ The number of the condemned must have been very small, for neither Tertullian (*Apol.*, v.), nor Melito (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 26), nor Lactantius (*de Morte persecutorum*, chap. iii.), counted Trajan among the persecutors. From Domitian, says Lactantius (*ibid.*), to Decius, *multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clarum regimenque tenuerunt*. Christian inscriptions dating back with certainty to the third century, that is, one century after Trajan, are yet

these violations of the rights of conscience make us indignant; but it must be considered that the contemporaries of Trajan thought as he did and could not think otherwise: that to them the Christians were rebels, and that, in fact, these men who were going to break up the old order of things were the greatest revolutionists the world had yet seen. We are with them against their perse-



Tomb at Delphi (Lebas and Waddington, *op. cit.*, pl. 39).

cutors, though with grief obliged to say that they experienced the lot of all reformers, that which they themselves afterwards inflicted on whoever undertook to replace the old law by a new one.¹ Is it very long since to act as did the Christians of Pliny, with other ideas, ceased to expose persons to the same peril?

Trajan, who inscribes on the penal code of Rome a new crime, that of *Christianizing*, attempts at the same time to consolidate the

very rare. (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1867, p. 168.) M. de Rossi dates two of them in 107 and 110. (*Inscr. Christ. ant.*, 2 and 3.)

¹ Tertullian expressly says: *Sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. Summa hæc causa immo tota est (Apol., x.)*. It must be added that the law of majesty did not only involve the penalty of death, but also torture. (*Paulus, Sent.*, v. 20, § 2.) Besides, Tertullian well understands that these two societies are absolutely incompatible with each other. "The emperors," says he, "would have believed in Christ, had not Cæsars been necessary to the world, or if they could have been at once Christian and Cæsar. . . . *Si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et christiani potuissent esse Cæsares*" (*Apol.*, xxi.).



View of Delphi (Castrum), from the South West.

masters of Olympus upon their crumbling thrones. In a long inscription recently discovered, we have proof of his solicitude to restore to the ancient gods their honours and to an old institution its authority. In the time of Strabo, Delphi was very poor, although the domain of the temple was very rich, since a single one of its forests of olives, on one of the spurs of Parnassus, yields to-day an annual revenue of 70,000 drachmas. But this domain had been invaded on all sides by neighbouring cities, despite a solemn judgment of the amphictyons who, 190 years before our era, had fixed its limits. Trajan charged one of the great men of the Empire to have the amphictyonic decision respected as sovereign law, to restore to the god his property, and to set in place again the twenty-six consecrated boundaries.¹ Was this pious zeal on his part? Not at all. Apollo and his associate divinities were to him perfectly indifferent. But, after the example of Augustus and Vespasian, he considered the official religion as a necessity of public order. He was pre-eminently a conservator, and we must recognize the fact that he could not be otherwise.

IV.—THE PARTHIAN WAR.

After a few years Trajan thought he had gained, by his labours in time of peace, the right to return to his military tastes, and to revive his Dacian triumphs by new victories. Old age was approaching. He was fifty-nine, or it may be, sixty-two years old. If he did not now take up arms again he never would, and his glory would be limited. Britain was too narrow a theatre, good for Claudius; the Germans afforded no pretext for any war; Dacia was becoming Latinized peaceably, and from the mountains of Caledonia to the borders of the Euxine no field of battle presented itself where any far-sounding exploit could be performed. On the south bank of the Mediterranean the Empire had reached an impassable frontier, the desert. There was then nothing to be done, either in Europe or in Africa; at least, he thought so. There

¹ Wescher, *Mém. des Sav. étr. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, pp. 54 sq., and *C. I. L.*, vol. iii. No. 566. Cf. *Additum*, p. 987.

remained Asia. In this direction one might find to accomplish what complaisant history styles great deeds: for instance, to make Armenia an outpost against Asiatic barbarism, as Dacia was against European; to subdue the Euphrates and the Tigris, as the Rhine and the Danube had been; in a word, to finish in the East the work of consolidating the frontiers of the Empire. It was the reasoning of the reign of Trajan; but for him war was above all things an ardent desire for glory,¹ and he was right in having

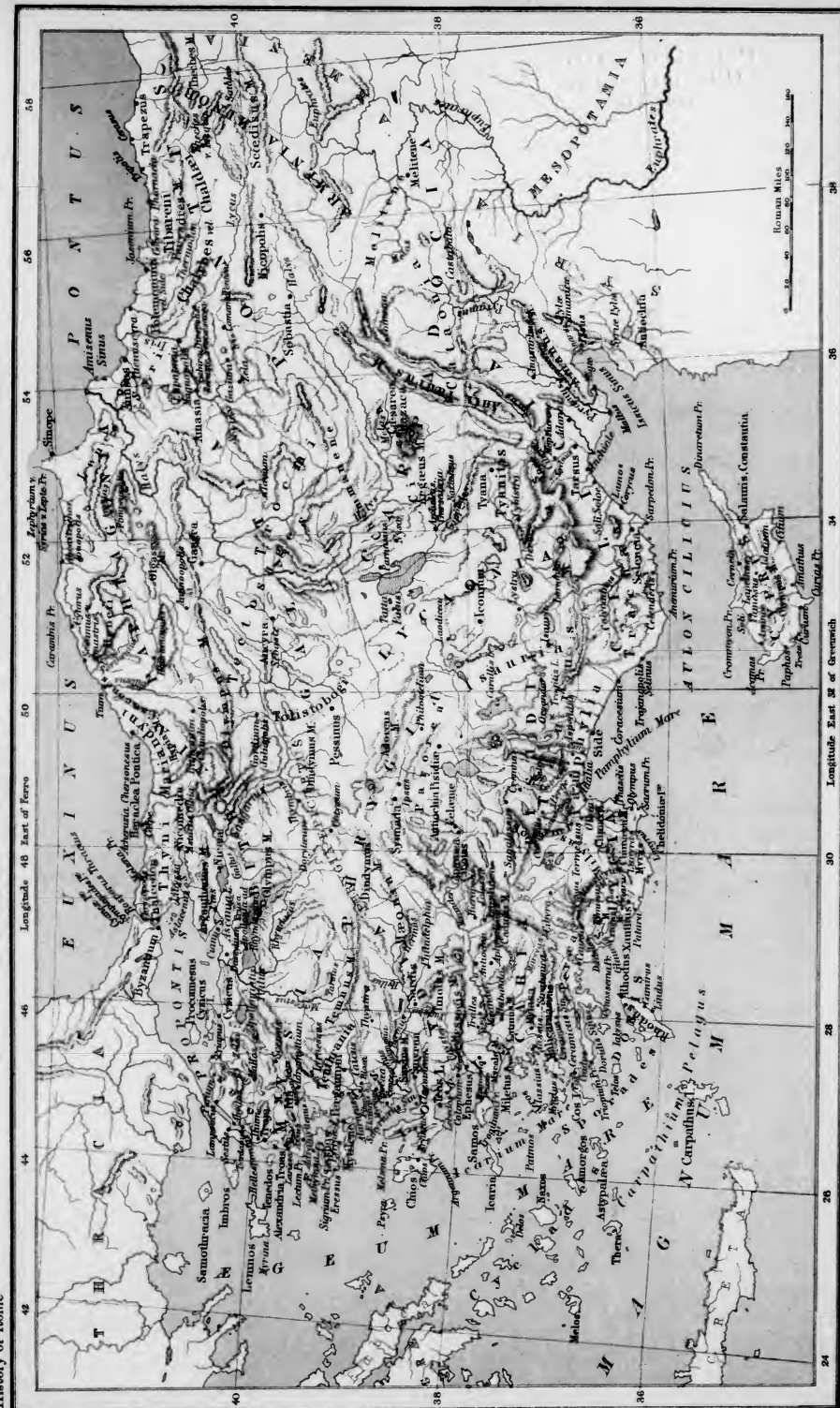


Trajan offering a Sacrifice to Mars.²

himself represented, on his arch of triumph, sacrificing to Mars: it was the god whom he had best served. The motive of the expedition was an attempt of the Arsacidæ to re-establish their influence in Armenia. Chosroes had succeeded in placing his nephew Exedares on the throne of this country, which the Romans wished to keep under their influence at least; and Trajan had not forgotten that at the court of Ctesiphon they had doubtless lent an ear to the overtures of Decebalus to form a vast coalition, which would have menaced the Empire in Asia while the Dacians should attack it in Europe. The emperor went during the winter of 113 to Athens, where Chosroes, disturbed by the magnitude of the preparations which threatened him, sent him a humble embassy with rich presents, limiting his demand to a request that the Roman should grant the kingdom of Armenia to another of his nephews, Parthamasiris. The emperor sent back the embassy and the presents, and said that he would make known his answer when he should be on the banks of the Euphrates. At the opening of the year 114 he arrived at Antioch, and that all the capitals might possess trophies of his Dacian war he deposited in the temple of

¹ . . . Τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ, δόξης ἐπιθυμία (Dion, lxxviii. 17). Dierauer (*Gesch. Traj.*, p. 153) combats very justly the motives which Merivale assigns for the expedition of Trajan to the East, and which the English historian draws chiefly from the fear inspired in this prince by the Christians, about whom he hardly concerned himself, and by the Jews, to whom he gave no attention.

² Fragment of a bas-relief of the Arch of Trajan, now in the Arch of Constantine.



Jupiter Kasios some offerings which Hadrian celebrated in Greek verses.¹

The military events of the years 114-117 are very imperfectly known to us, and the chronology of the Parthian campaigns is uncertain. Trajan had first to re-establish discipline in the lax and seditious legions of the Eastern provinces. He applied his customary severity, and everything yielded to this energetic hand. He entered on the campaign in the very heart of summer, and



Fortress serving as Treasury and Tomb to the Kings of Armenia.²

ascended the valley of the Euphrates as far as Armenia Major. In his first letter, Parthamasiris had assumed the title of king; it was sent back without reply; in a second he suppressed the title, but asked that they should send the governor of Cappadocia to treat with him. The emperor summoned him to come himself. The Armenian hesitated to confide himself to the Roman good faith, yet, as the legions still continued advancing, he came to the camp, saluted the emperor seated upon his tribunal with the entire army drawn up behind him, laid down at his feet the crown which

¹ *Anthol. palat.*, vi. 332.

² To-day Ani, on the left bank of the west branch of the Euphrates (*Kara-su*) and anciently called Camacha, "the corpse." The remains of Roman ramparts are seen there. (*Texier, Arménie*, pl. 15 or 16.)

he had upon his head, and erect, silent, with the grave dignity of the Orientals, waited until Trajan should permit him to take up his diadem. At the sight of this Arsacid, of this uncrowned king who seems to them a captive, the soldiers sent up an immense shout as after a victory, and proclaimed their general *imperator*. The prince, in the midst of the camp, was required to set forth his requests. "But I have not been conquered!" cries he; "I have not been made prisoner! It is of my own free-will that I have come, in the expectation that my kingdom would be rendered to me by you, as it was to Tiridates by Nero." "Armenia," replies Trajan, "belongs to Rome, and shall have a Roman governor." Some Armenians and Parthians had accompanied the prince to the camp. Trajan retained the first as being already



Trajan and Parthamasiris
(Large Bronze of the
Cabinet de France).

his subjects, and suffered Parthamasiris to lead away the others, giving them an escort to prevent them from holding communication with any one. We do not know in detail what afterwards took place. Eutropius speaks of the murder of Parthamasiris, and in a fragment discovered on a palimpsest a friend of Marcus Aurelius said: "It is difficult to excuse Trajan in the matter of the death of this king. Doubtless he perished justly in the midst of the tumult which he had excited; but, for the honour of Rome, it would have been preferable that this suppliant should return without harm than suffer a merited punishment."¹ Was Parthamasiris slain while attempting to escape from his escort, or did they feign an attack so as to have an opportunity to be rid of him? We do not know; but it is clear that, if he did not fall into an ambush on his departure, he fell into one on his arrival. This fashion of overthrowing a king had nothing heroic in it, and it has left a stain of blood on the hand of Trajan. Neither he nor any one else saw it then. This stranger was a source of annoyance: they suppressed him; the political morality of the time was not shocked, and the friend of Marcus Aurelius was perhaps alone in being astonished

¹ . . . *Meliore tamen Romanorum fama impune supplex abisset, quam jure supplicium luisset.* It is a fragment of Fronto, the friend of Marcus Aurelius, *ap. Principia historiae*, p. 209 of his *Works*, ed. Naber, 1867.

at it. They even dared, at Rome, to strike a medal on which Parthamasiris is represented bare-headed and bending the knee, with the brief and disdainful legend: *Rex Parthus*, without even the name of his kingdom.¹

Trajan, by his renown and by the imposing mass of his forces, caused such consternation that the peoples and kings, from the Euphrates to the Caucasus and from the Euxine to the Caspian, submitted without combat. For two centuries Rome had dreamed of this conquest, and with reason, for it would have given the key to one of the gates of Asia, the Caucasus, whose narrow defiles² are so easy to render impassible, and it would have assured in Armenia an excellent position for attack or defence. In Rome's hands the lofty mountains of this country would have become an impregnable fortress, which would have covered Asia Minor and even Syria. Well-established forts at the head of the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates would have rendered any attack against their rich provinces impossible, or at least exceedingly dangerous for the assailant. In fact, before reaching the two great passes of the river at Thapsak and Zeugma, where the last hills of the Amanus³ disappear, a Parthian army would have been constrained to march along the foot of the Armenian mountains, at the constant risk of being taken in flank or turned. More to the south the desert defends Syria, and defended it well until the day when religious fanaticism caused an unexpected enemy to issue from these solitudes.

The occupation of Armenia was then required by great interests, and Trajan did well—except as to the means employed—to settle a question which Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Augustus had failed to solve—some for lack of time, others for want of skill or resolution. But, the more important this acquisition was, the

¹ Cohen, ii., *Traj.*, Nos. 207 and 376. See the coin given on page 826.

² The Caucasus, whose highest point, the Elbruz, exceeds by nearly 3,280 feet the height of Mont Blanc, has scarcely one practicable pass, that of *Dariel*, which attains, at Krenzberg, an altitude of more than 8,200 feet, and is so narrow that at the place called the Caucasian Gates it is supposed to have been formerly closed by gates of iron. The chain falls, at its two extremities, into the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea.

³ Mount Amanus, which runs from the Euphrates to the sea, absolutely hems in Asia Minor, only leaving two narrow passes at its extremities—on the sea, the Syrian Gates; on the Euphrates, the Amanic Gates. Here the stream scarcely makes a passage for itself through the cataracts between the Amanus and the Taurus, which joins on to the lofty peaks of Armenia. The two mountains then give to Asia Minor a formidable rampart.

more necessary to assure it to the Empire by giving to the new province a civil and military organization which should promptly make it Roman, and by employing for this work of patience the forces, resources, and time which Trajan was about to squander in useless expeditions.

He passed the winter of 114-115 at Antioch, which during his visit was almost destroyed by an earthquake: a great number of notable persons lost their lives by it; the consul, with Vergilianus Peto, was seriously injured, and Trajan was near perishing. The pagans without doubt attributed this disaster to the wrath of the gods, irritated by the impiety of the Christians, and S. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, about that time suffered martyrdom. We have seen that Trajan did not hesitate to consider the Christians as rebels, and when they made public profession of their faith, as rebels who should be punished. He did not then experience any scruples, before a people convulsed with fear, in satisfying at one stroke his gods, the populace, and the detestable laws of the Empire.¹

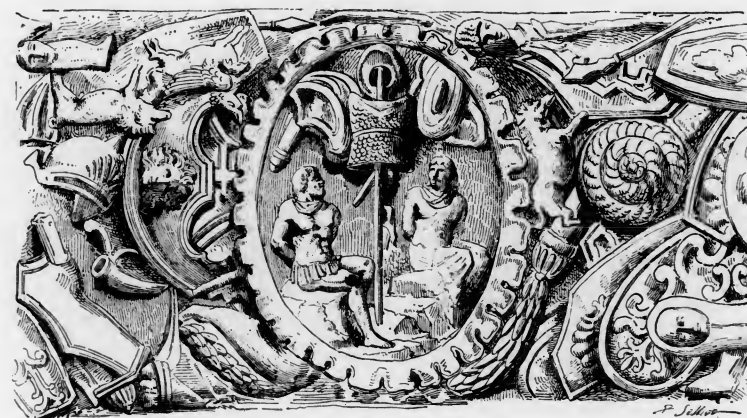
In the spring he crossed the Euphrates, doubtless at Zeugma, and proceeded to Edessa, whose prince was saved by his son.² From this town he sent forward across Mesopotamia a column of advance guard led by Lusius Quietus: it captured the stronghold of Singara, which commanded the road from the desert. He himself carried Nisibis, and as all the chiefs of this region were at war among themselves or in revolt against Chosroes, he was able to reach the borders of the Tigris without difficulty, opposite Adiabene. It was there that Alexander had vanquished Darius and conquered Asia. Trajan delighted to follow the track of the Macedonian hero, whose good fortune he hoped to attain. The Tigris had in these parts a broad and deep channel; a fleet was needed to cross it and to insure communications. The remainder of the season was employed in constructing in the forests of Nisibis boats which were taken apart and carried on carts to the points selected for the passage. Astonished at seeing their river so easily overcome and this barrier fallen, the barbarians made no resistance to a spirited

¹ According to the *Acts of Martyrdom* of S. Ignatius he must have been condemned at Antioch by the emperor and sent from there to Rome to be thrown to the wild beasts; this is scarcely probable. We have already remarked the evident intention of the compilers of these *Acts* to furnish a sequel to the last voyage of S. Paul. Cf. Dierauer, p. 169, No. 3.

² Καλοῦ καὶ ὁραίου ὄντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Τραϊανῷ ὑψευμένον (Dion, lxxviii. 21).

assault which gave to the Romans the left bank. Although this success was not equivalent to the victory of Arbela, it opened, as that did, the road to Babylon, which the Parthians, enfeebled by their feuds, did not venture to blockade. Trajan entered it with the title of *Parthicus*, which his soldiers bestowed upon him, and sacrificed to the manes of Alexander in the palace where the hero had expired. This was in the year 116.

Public opinion was dazzled by these facile triumphs. Every day the senate learned that new peoples had submitted to his sway; that kings consented to receive their crowns from him: that



Trophy of Victory (Bas-relief of the Temple of Mars at Merida).

countries bearing the great names of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, which recalled those of Ninus, Semiramis, Xerxes, and Alexander, were subjects of his Empire. With the eagerness of a youthful victor, Trajan hastened to declare the regions traversed by his army to be united for ever to the domain of the Roman people. Already Armenia formed one province: he made two others from it—that of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the foot of the Armenian mountains, and that of Assyria, comprising the eastern valley of the Tigris as far as the chain of the Zagros, which separates it from Media. At the same time great preparations were completed. An entire fleet brought down the Euphrates was dragged to the Tigris, across the isthmus which extends between the two rivers, in order to attack

Ctesiphon.¹ The Parthians defended their capital no better than their provinces. Chosroes or his successor fled to the interior of Media; the daughter of the great king and his throne of massive gold



Trajan wearing a Cuirass.²

and a bow unstrung.³ But these Parthians were going to rise, the quiver was about to be filled, the bow to twang again, and the victorious emperor will hear, even in his camp, the whirr of those arrows which he thought he had broken.

¹ Or more precisely, by the canal called *Naharmalcha*, "royal river," which extended from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

² Statue of Parian marble, found at Gabii. (Museum of the Louvre. Clarac, No. 48.) The cuirass, in place of a head of Medusa, bears a mask of Triton. In this has been seen an allusion to the Roman fleets which Trajan sent to the Indian ocean.

³ Cohen, ii., *Trajan*, Nos. 318 and 375. See these coins on the following page.

were captured at Susa, and Seleucia, the ancient Greek capital, opened its gates. Master of the principal places of Babylonia, Trajan descended the Tigris with his fleet, receiving on his passage the submission of the chiefs along the banks, and arrived at the Persian Gulf. Here, seeing a vessel setting out for India, he exclaimed: "Were I younger, I would give to Rome for its frontier the limits of the empire of Alexander!" And the Eternal City, confident as its prince, struck medals representing Armenia overthrown and trampled under foot by the emperor, or two Parthians seated on the ground, having before them an empty quiver

Already, in fact, defections broke out everywhere in his rear. Seleucia had risen in rebellion, and the revolt of the towns in the north of Mesopotamia, by which the Roman army had penetrated into Assyria, threatened to hem in the Romans in the desert. It was to be feared that the expedition would end like that of Crassus. Trajan's generals struck some vigorous blows. Nisibis was recaptured; Edessa and Seleucia, carried by assault, were delivered to the flames. These successes served at least to conceal under the appearance of victories a forced retreat. Trajan even decided, in order to check these dangerous movements, to restore the Parthian royalty, which he had thought to destroy. On his return to Ctesiphon, in the midst of the people and of the army, he placed the crown of the King of Kings upon the head of an Arsacidan, Parthamaspates; then, by the shortest way, he resumed the route to Syria. Stopped in a desert without water or forage, before the little place of Atra, he sought to carry it and was repulsed. A legate and many legionaries perished there; men of his escort were killed around him. "The victorious emperor returning to Rome in triumph over so many nations marked his route with blood and by the dead bodies of his soldiers."³



Trajan placing his foot upon Armenia.¹



Trajan and Parthamaspates.²

The fatigue, the chagrin, and perhaps some malady contracted like that of Alexander in the marshy plains of Babylonia, undermined his robust constitution. He reached Antioch, where he bade farewell to his army, but was unable to go further than Selinus in Cilicia. He died at that place on the 10th of August, 117.

He left the East on fire. In the island of Cyprus and at Cyrene in Egypt a formidable insurrection of the Jews had broken out, the signal for which seems to have been given by the

¹ ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P. R. REDACTÆ, S. C. (Large bronze, Cohen, No. 318.)

² REX PARTHIS DATVS S. C. Trajan seated, presenting Parthamaspates standing, to Parthia kneeling. (Great bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, Cohen, No. 375.)

³ Fronto, *Princ. Hist.*, p. 204: . . . *Legatus cum exercitu cæsus, et principis ad triumphum decedentis haudquaquam secunda nec incruenta regressio.*

co-religionists of Mesopotamia,¹ and the recent conquests reverted to their former masters. Once again the Roman Empire, as in the time of Crassus and Antony, was convicted of inability to extend



Trajan giving a King to the Parthians. (After one of the four bas-reliefs of the Arch of Trajan, now in the Arch of Constantine.)

itself beyond the Euphrates and that line of deserts which separates two worlds. The West even, was disturbed, at least along its borders. The Moors were wearying Africa with their incursions, the Britons were uneasy in their island, and the Sarmatians

¹ We may conclude from a military diploma of Domitian that, already under this prince, there had been some ferment in Palestine, since we see him, in the year 86, sending troops thither and retaining the veterans on duty.

menaced the provinces of the Danube.¹ Such is the state in which Trajan left the Empire, and history judges reigns by their results, as the tree is judged by its fruit.

He had desired to resume the policy of conquest of the Republic and of Cæsar, which Augustus and his successors had abandoned. Was he right? Yes, and no. Yes, for the expedition to Armenia and the conquest of the country of the Dacians; no, for those of Babylon and Ctesiphon. We have several times given the reasons which ought to terminate at the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris the frontier of the Empire. To go further in this direction was to go contrary to the nature of things, which is the greatest of forces. It was not the same upon the Danube. Trajan, who was bent on reviving the military spirit of the Romans, did well in con-



Statue, broken at its lower part, of a High Priest of the Temple of Athieno, in Cyprus. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1878, pl. 36, and p. 192.)

quering Dacia. But he should have completed his work by planting his eagles on the other side of the Theiss and in Bohemia. Then the Empire would have inclosed within its frontiers the whole valley of the Danube and held the chain of mountains which extends, almost without interruption, from the suburbs of Mayence to the Black Sea, by the already fortified Taunus, by the mountains

¹ *Mauri lacessebant, Sarmatæ bellum inferrebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant* (Spartian, *Had.*, 5)

of Franconia, Bohemia, Moravia, and the Carpathians. Master of this grand line of defence, collecting its forces in the provinces situated in the rear, increasing in them the number of the military posts, the colonies of veterans, and, on the other side of the mountains, developing in the midst of the Germans the Roman manner of life by commercial relations and the contagion of example, the Empire would have resisted longer the assaults of barbarism.

But these services would have been without striking effect; and Trajan desired the re-echoing glory given by the conquest, though ephemeral, of the Parthian capitals and an expedition rivalling that of Alexander. Let us, however, terminate the history of this great reign by the wish that, after the time of Trajan, the senate always expressed on the accession of a new emperor: "May you be happier than Augustus, better than Trajan!" The Middle Ages have taken up this thought, and Dante has placed Trajan in his *Paradise*.



Trajan in a Chariot, drawn by ten Horses. (After a Coin.)

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